CAVE ADSUM
EX·LIBRIS
WILLIAM·JARDINE
1903
CAPE TOWN

THE

CELTIC MAGAZINE:

A Monthly Periodical

DEVOTED TO THE

LITERATURE, HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, FOLK LORE, TRADITIONS,

AND THE

SOCIAL AND MATERIAL INTERESTS OF THE CELT AT HOME AND ABROAD.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A. SCOT.,

Author of "The History and Genealogies of the Clan Mackenzie"; "The History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles"; "The History of the Mathesons"; "The Prophecies of the Brahan Seer"; "The Historical Tales and Legends of the Highlands"; "The History of the Highland Clearances"; "The Isle of Skye in 1882-83"; &c.

VOL. VIII.

INVERNESS: A. & W. MACKENZIE, 25 ACADEMY STREET.

1883.

All Rights Reserved.

INVERNESS: PRINTED AT THE COURIER OFFICE.

DA
750
C3
v. 8

LIBRARY
728815
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

CONTENTS.

PAGE

The History of the Camerons.—The Editor. 1, 81, 97, 145, 301, 370, 415, 467, and 539
The Inveraray Proclamation 11
Rogart Educational Association and Speech by Mr John Mackay, Hereford ... 12
The Gaelic Census 17
Professor Blackie and the Land Laws 19
The Highland Brigade and the Highland Crofters... 20
Origin of the Names Douglas and Skene.—H. 21
Sheriff Mackintosh and the recent Rogart Eviction Trials 25
The Irish "Comhluchd Clann na'n Gaoidhil" 28
A Run Through Canada and the States.—Kenneth Macdonald, F.S.A. Scot. 29, 89, 109, 229, 275, 360, 429, 479, and 516
The Sutherland Evictions.—A.M. 35
Altavona—2nd Notice 42
Sculptured Stones of Ross & Cromarty.—Captain Colin Mackenzie, F.S.A. Scot. 49
The Late Daniel Mackinlay.—A.M. 56
The Highlanders and their Tastes.—Dr Begg 60
The Glenalmond Highlanders at Wimbledon 60
Land Nationalisation—Its Necessities and its Aims—Review 61
Notes and Queries—
The Chief of the Macraes 67
Rev. Lachlan Mackenzie of Lochcarron 67
Frater and Fraser 67
Clan Ross 177
Memorial to the Late Rev. Alexander Macgregor, M.A. 75
Achaluachrach's Bridal.—M. A. Rose 76
Death of Lewis Ross, a Native of Tain, in Canada 80
The Honours of Scotland.—M. A. Rose ... ... 118 and 202
An Ancient British Hill Fort.—N. M'Neil Brodie 125
Anecdote of "Ali-na-pairc" 126
Mr William Jolly, H.M.I.S. 127
Depopulation of the County of Argyll.—A.M. 131
General Sir Herbert Macpherson, V.C., K.C.B., K.S.I. By "M.A.R.S." ... 134
First Highland Emigration to Nova Scotia : Arrival of the Ship "Hector" ... 140
The Marquis of Bute on Evictions and the Rights of the People 156
Ethics of Political Economy.—Malcolm Mackenzie. 157, 213, 285, 309, 349, 449, 522, 547
Lia-Fail, or the Scottish Coronation Stone.—H. 168
Our First Celtic Professor 171
On an Ayrshire Custom—Thomas Stratton, M.D. 177
The Highland Problem and the Government Programme 178
Inverness Gaelic Society—Eleventh Annual Dinner— ... ...
Speeches by Sir Kenneth Mackenzie and others 180
Do. Election of Office Bearers 257
Do. Twelfth Annual Gathering—Patriotic Speech by H. C. Macandrew... 485
The Highland Dress. J. G. Mackay ... ... 197, 245, 320, 381, 445, and 508
The Crofters—Great Meeting in Edinburgh 209
Celtic Dyes—H. 211
Professor Blackie on the Sutherland Clearances 228
The Highland Clearances—Press Notices. ... ... 241, 347, and 478
Life of John Duncan, Scotch Weaver and Botanist—Review 242
Curious Superstitions in Tiree.—J. Sands 252
Malcolm Mackenzie and the Braes Crofters 255
Archbishop Tait in Rannoch.—Rev. John Sinclair 258
The *Scotsman*, Professor Blackie, and the Highland Crofters 262
The *Perthshire Constitutional* sold to Mr Hunter 267
A History of Rob Roy by A. H. Millar, F.S.A. Scot. 267
The Royal Commission and the Highland Crofters.—A.M. ... ... 282, 317, and 369
Scottish Myths—Review 291
Celtic Mythology.—Alex. Macbain, M.A. ... 293, 341, 389, 437, 491, and 566
The Glendale Crofters' Trial ... ... 307 and 308
The Highland Clearances. –Rev. A. C. Sutherland, B.D. 328
The late Mrs Helen Matheson or Bell 340

PAGE

Celtic Languages and Literature.—Prize by Professor Blackie 347
The Glendale Martyrs Liberated 359
Gaelic Names of Plants—Review 377
The Celtic Lyre—Review 397
The Long Island. By "Strath-na-sealg" 398
The General Assembly of the Free Church and the Highland Crofters ... 407
The Inverness Highland Land Law Reform Association 426
The London Highland Land Law Reform Association—Speech by Professor Blackie 427
Remarks by Captain Macleod of Gesto on "Canntaireachd" 434
A Truly Noble Act—The Earl of Kilmarnock and his Son at Culloden ... 444
The Brave Old Skye Crofter.—W. M. 458
Proclamation against Rob Roy Macgregor in 1719 ... ... 476 and 537
A Celtic Department in Morningside College, Edinburgh 490
Lord President Forbes of Culloden. By H. R. M. 500
"Sin Cnaimh is Cnaim e."—Mary Mackellar 507
Cromb's Highlands and Highlanders of Scotland 521
"The Isle of Skye in 1882 and 1883" ... ... 521, 533, and 579
Clarsach-an-Doire—Review 527
The Highlanders of New Zealand and their Distressed Countrymen at Home 531 and 584
The New Canadian Deputy-Minister of the Interior, Mr A. M. Burgess ... 536
The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, Ex-Premier of Canada, in Inverness ... 538
"Peer-Men" and some of their relations.—George Linn 556
Decrees of Removal against Crofters in the Isle of Skye—1840 to 1883 ... 564
The Kilt after 1745 565
Proposed Civil List to Mary Mackellar 572
Lower Fishings of the Ness—I.—C. Fraser-Mackintosh, F.S.A. Scot., M.P. ... 573
The Royal Commission and the *Scotsman*—Letters by Dean of Guild Mackenzie 589
Nether-Lochaber—A Review 582
Droving in 1746 586
Completion of our Eighth Annual Volume 586

POETRY.

The Tartan Avalanche.—Alexander Logan 10
My Bonny Rowan Tree.—D. Macgregor Crerar 26
The Greatness of God.—Translated by the Rev. John Sinclair, B.D. ... 58
Lachlan Macdonald of Skeabost.—Professor Blackie 96
Oran Chlann Domhnuill nan Eilean.—Alastair Buidhe Mac Iamhair (Alex. Campbell) 107
Mementos of My Father's Grave.—D. Macgregor Crerar 117
Ex-Voto.—W. A. Sim 167
A Spray of White Heather.—D. Macgregor Crerar 210
Oran na H-oige.—John MacCodrum 236
Highland Sufferings—Highland Wrongs.—William Allan 240
Glenquaich.—D. Macgregor Crerar 300
Argyll Evictions.—W. C. O. 327
Rob Roy's Death.—Wm. Allan 348
Plea for being a "Gall."—J. Sands 358
An Old Strathnaver Man's Ballad 367
Marbhrann do'n Urramach Alastair MacGhriogair.—Mairi, Nighean Iain Bhain 436
Oran le Iain Mac Mhurchaidh 462
Oran do Dh-Iarla Dhunmor.—F. D. MacDhomhnuill 465
To-Morrow.—D. Macgregor Crerar 563

CORRESPONDENCE.

Origin of the Name Gordon.—William Brockie 27
Gaelic Etymologies, and Anecdotes of Sir Allan Cameron of Erracht.—Rev. Allan Sinclair, M.A. 68
A Celtic Medical College.—"Sgeulaiche" 71
The Braes Crofters and Lord Macdonald—Correspondence between Mr Malcolm Mackenzie, Dean of Guild Mackenzie, and Messrs J. C. Brodie & Sons, W.S. 72
Origin of the Macgillony Camerons.—"Ceirre-an-t'Sith" 105
" —Mary Mackellar 175
Roy's Wife.—George D. Macnaughtan 176
Military Ardour of the Highlanders.—A. B. 238
History of the Camerons.—Mary Mackellar 268
Mr Patrick Sellar and the Sutherland Clearances—Correspondence between Thomas Sellar and Alex. Mackenzie, editor of the *Celtic Magazine* ... 338
The New French Ambassador to Great Britain.—Captain A. M. Chisholm ... 505
Proclamation against Rob Roy Macgregor.—A. H. Millar 537

THE

CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

No. LXXXV. NOVEMBER 1882. VOL. VIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

I.

INTRODUCTORY.

IN an old Manuscript history of this family printed with "The Memoirs of Locheill" in 1842, the author says—"The Camerons have a tradition among them that they were originally descended of a younger son of the Royal Family of Denmark, who assisted at the restoration of King Fergus II., anno 404. He was called Cameron from his crooked nose, as that word imports. But it is more probable that they were of the aborigines of the ancient Scots or Caledonians that first planted the country." Skene quotes the family Manuscript in his "Highlanders of Scotland," and agrees with its author that the clan came originally from the ancient inhabitants of the District of Lochaber. He says, "with this last conclusion I am fully disposed to agree, but John Major has placed the matter beyond a doubt, for in mentioning on one occasion the Clan Chattan and the Clan Cameron, he says, 'Hae tribus sunt consanguineæ.' They therefore formed a part of the extensive tribe of Moray, and followed the chief of that race un-

til the tribe became broken up, in consequence of the success of the Mackintoshes in the conflict on the North Inch of Perth in 1396," after which the Camerons separated themselves from the main stem, and assumed a position of independence. Major says that "these two tribes are of the same stock, and followed one head of their race as chief." Gregory, who agrees with these other authorities, says that the Camerons, as far back as he could trace, had their seat in Lochaber, and appeared to have been first connected with the Macdonalds of Islay in the reign of Robert Bruce, from whom Agus Og of Isla had a grant of Lochaber. "There is reason to believe," he continues, "that the Clan Chameron and Clan Chattan had a common origin, and for some time followed one chief." They have, however, been separated, according to this author, ever since the middle of the fourteenth century, if not from an earlier date. Alexander Mackintosh-Shaw, in his recently published History of the Mackintoshes, makes a sturdy attempt to upset the authorities here quoted, founding his argument mainly on a difference between the original edition of Major, printed at Paris in 1521, and the Edinburgh edition of 1740. We can only say here that the ingenious argument used appears to us to weaken rather than strengthen the position taken up by the author of the Mackintosh History, and in his "Postscript," written in reply to Skene's views as set forth in Vol. III, *Celtic Scotland*, Mr Mackintosh-Shaw modifies what he previously, in the body of his work, contended for. In this Postscript he says :—"I have no wish to deny the *possibility* that the two clans were connected in their remote origin; all I say is, that no sufficient evidence of such connection has yet appeared, and therefore that no writer is justified in affirming the connection as a fact." Compare this with what he writes at p. 129 of the same work, where he says that the original reading of Major, and the considerations suggested by it, "afford very strong evidence that the statements of Mr Skene as to the community of stock of Clan Chattan and Clan Cameron. . . are in reality unfounded." Skene has also to some extent modified the opinion published by him, in 1837, in his "Highlanders of Scotland." In that work he maintained that the famous combat on the North Inch of Perth was fought between the Mackintoshes and the Macphersons, whereas in his later work, *Celtic Scotland*, he comes to the conclusion that the

combatants were the Mackintoshes and the Camerons. All our leading authorities are thus now at one on this ticklish question.

Skene's later conclusions on this subject are important. In his more recent work he informs us that when the Royal forces attacked Alexander, Lord of the Isles, in 1429, and defeated him in Lochaber, the two tribes who deserted him and went over to the Royalists were, according to Bower, the "Clan Katan and Clan Cameron;" while Maurice Buchanan gives them, "more correctly, as the Clan de Guyllequhatan and Clan Cameron." On Palm Sunday, being the 20th of March following, the Clan Chattan attacked the Clan Cameron when assembled in a church, to which they set fire, "and nearly destroyed the whole Clan." Though it would seem from these statements that all the Camerons and Mackintoshes deserted the Lord of Isles on that occasion, it is clear that this was not the case, for, after his restoration to liberty, the Hebridean chief, in 1443, granted a charter to Malcolm Mackintosh of the lands of Keppoch, and, in 1447, conferred upon him the office of Bailie of the Lordship of Lochaber. Ample evidence is forthcoming that the Clan Cameron was by no means totally destroyed as stated by the chroniclers. "It would thus appear," says Skene, "that a part only of these two clans had deserted the Lord of the Isles in 1429, and a part adhered to him; that the conflict on Palm Sunday was between the former part of these clans, and that the leaders of those who adhered to the Lord of the Isles became afterwards recognised as captains of the respective clans. It further appears that there was, within no distant time after the conflict on the North Inch of Perth, a bitter feud between the two clans who had deserted the Lord of the Isles, and there are indications that this was merely the renewal of an older quarrel, for both clans undoubtedly contested the right to the lands of Glenlui and Locharkaig in Lochaber, to which William Mackintosh received a charter from the Lord of the Isles in 1336, while they unquestionably afterwards formed a part of the territory possessed by the Camerons. By the later historians one of the clans who fought on the North Inch of Perth, and who were termed by the earlier chroniclers Clan Quhele, are identified with the Clan Chattan, and that this identification is well founded so far as regards that part of the clan which adhered to the Royal cause, while that, on the part of

the Clan Cameron who followed the same course, and were nearly entirely destroyed on Palm Sunday, we may recognise their opponents, the Clan Kay, is not without much probability." We consider this highly probable; and the fact that Skene has found it necessary to depart so far from his earlier theory gives it greater weight, and now makes it altogether pretty conclusive.

The Clan Chattan of modern times who followed Mackintosh as Captain of the clan, consisted of sixteen septs, but the original Clan Chattan was formed of the Clan Mhuirich, or Macphersons, the Clan Daibhidh or Davidsons, "who were called the Old Clan Chattan," and six others, who came under the protection of the clan, namely the Macgillivrays, the Macbeans, the Clan MhicGovies, the Clan Tarrel, the Clan Cheann-Duibh, and the Sliochd-Gowchruim or Smiths. The Clan MhicGovies were a branch of the Camerons, while the Smiths were the decendants of the famous *Gobha* or Smith who took the place of the missing man at Perth in 1396.

On the other hand, the Camerons at that period consisted of four branches or septs, known "as the Clan Gillanfhaigh or Gillonie, or Camerons of Invermalie and Strone; the Clan Soirlie, or Camerons of Glenevis; the Clan Mhic Mhartain, or Macmartins of Letterfinlay; and the Camerons of Lochiel. The latter were the sept whose head became Captain of Clan Cameron and adhered to the Lord of the Isles, while the three former represented the part of the clan who seceded from him in 1429. Besides these there were dependent septs, the chief of which were the Clan Mhic Gilveil or Macmillans, and these were believed to be of the race of Clan Chattan. The connection between the two clans is thus apparent. Now there are preserved genealogies of both clans in their earlier forms, written not long after the year 1429. One is termed the 'genealogy of the Clan an Toisig, that is the Clan Gillechattan,' and it gives it in two separate lines. The first represented the Older Mackintoshes. The second is deduced from Gillechattan Mor, the eponymus of the clan. His great grandson Muireach, from whom the Clan Mhuirich takes its name, has a son Domnall or Donald, called 'an Caimgilla,' and this word when aspirated would form the name Kevil or Quhevil. The chief seat of this branch of the clan

can also be ascertained, for Alexander, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, confirms a charter granted by William, Earl of Ross, in 1338, of the lands of Dalnafert and Kinrorayth or Kinrara, under reservation of one acre of ground near the Stychan of the town of Dalnavert, where was situated the manor of the late Seayth, son of Ferchard, and we find a 'Tsead, son of Ferquhar,' in the genealogy at the same period. Moreover, the grandson of this Seayth was Disiab or Shaw, who thus was contemporary with the Shaw who fought in 1396. With regard to the Clan Cameron, the invariable tradition is that the head of the Macgillonies or Macgillanaigh led the clan who fought with the Clan Chattan during the long feud between them, and the old genealogy terms the Camerons Clan Maelanfhaigh, or the race of the servant of the prophet, and deduces them from a common ancestor, the Clan Maelanfhaigh and the Clan Camshron, and as the epithet 'an Caimgilla,' when aspirated, would become 'Kevil,' so the word 'Fhaigh' in its aspirated form would be represented by the 'Hay' of the chroniclers. John Major probably gives the clue to the whole transaction, when he tells us that 'these two clans'—the Clan Chattan and Clan Cameron, which, as we have seen, had a certain connection through their dependent septs 'were of one blood, having but little in lordships, but following one head of their race as principal, with their kinsman and dependents.' He is apparently describing their position before these dissensions broke out between them, and his description refers us back to the period when the two clans formed one tribe, possessing the district of Lochaber as their Tuath or country, where the lands in dispute—Glenlui and Locharkaig—were probably the official demesne of the 'old Toisech, or head of the tribe.'"* The ancient and common origin of the Mackintoshes and Camerons in that of the Old Clan Chattan will, we think, be admitted by all whose special theories as to the origin of their own families will not be upset or seriously affected by an admission of the fact.

The original possessions of the Camerons were confined to the portion of Lochaber lying on the east side of the Loch and River of Lochy, held of the Lord of the Isles as superior. The more modern possessions of the clan—Lochiel and Lochark-

* *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. III., pp. 313-318.

aig—lying on the west side of these waters were at an earlier period granted by the Island lord to Macdonald of Clanranald, by whose descendants they were for many generations inhabited. Skene holds that, as the Camerons are one of those clans whose chief bore the somewhat doubtful title of Captain, a strong suspicion exists that the Cameron chiefs were of a different branch from the older family, and had, in common with the other families among whom the title of captain is found, been the oldest cadet, and in that capacity had superseded the elder branch at a period when the latter became reduced in position and circumstances.

The traditionary origin of the Camerons proper clearly points to the ancient chiefs of the clan, for, continues the same author, "while they are unquestionably of native origin, their tradition derives them from a certain Cambro, a Dane, who is said to have acquired his property with the chiefship of the clan, by marriage with the daughter and heiress of Macmartin of Letterfinlay. The extraordinary identity of all these traditionary tales, wherever the title of Captain is used, leaves little room to doubt that in this case the Macmartins were the old chiefs of the clan, and the Lochiel family were the oldest cadets, whose after-position at the head of the clan gave them the title of Captain of the Clan Cameron. There is reason to think that, on the acquisition of the Captainship of the Clan Chattan, in 1396, by the Mackintoshes, the Macmartins adhered to the successful faction, while the great body of the Clan, with the Camerons of Lochiel, declared themselves independent, and thus the Lochiel family gained that position which they have ever since retained."* It is supposed that another circumstance—the desertion of the Lord of the Isles by the Clan at Inverlochy in 1431—helped to raise the leader of the Lochiel Camerons to the chiefship of the whole clan, at a time when the Macmartins, after the victory of the Lord of the Isles, were furiously attacked, and their leader driven to exile in Ireland, while his followers had to take refuge in the more mountainous parts of the Cameron country. The Macmartins were afterwards unable to assume their former position at the head of their house, and Cameron of Lochiel, the oldest cadet of the family, assumed the chiefship of the whole clan,

Highlanders of Scotland, Vol. II., pp. 194-195.

with the title of Captain, and was placed at their head. The leader who is said to have first taken up this distinguished position was the renowned Donald Dubh from whom the Cameron chiefs take their patronymic of "Mac Dhomh'uill Duibh," and of whom at length, in his proper place, hereafter.

According to the Manuscript of 1450, which begins the genealogy of the MacGillonie Camerons with Ewen, son of Donald Dubh last mentioned, the descent of the early family chiefs extend back from Donald's son in the following order:—"Ewen, son of Donald Dubh, son of Allan Millony, son of Paul, son of Gillepatrick, son of Gillemartan, son of Paul, son of Millony, son of Gilleroth,* from whom descended the Clan Cameron and Clan Millony; son of Gillemartan Og, son of Gilleniorgan, son of Gillemartan Mor, son of Gilleewen, son of Gillepaul, son of Eacada, son of Gartnaid, son of Digail, son of Poulacin, son of Art, son of Angus Mor, son of Erc, son of Telt."† This genealogy clearly refers to the "Maelanfhaigh" or Macgillonie stem of the family, though it begins with Ewen, son of Donald Dubh, who died before his father without issue, when he was succeeded by his brother Donald, who represented and carried on the Cameron line of succession, which we shall now proceed to trace from its original source, so far as we can with the meagre materials within our reach.

The name Cameron in ancient times was variously written in such forms as Cameron, Cambron, Cambrun. The first of which we find any trace is,

1. ANGUS, who married Marion, one of the daughters of Kenneth III. King of Scotland, and sister of Bancho, Thane of Lochaber, a fact which amply proves that Angus was a person of rank and dignity, even at that early period, for Bancho, in addition to his position as a Royal Prince, was governor of one of the largest Provinces in the Kingdom, Lochaber being said to comprehend, at that time, all the lands between the River Spey and the Western Sea. Angus is alleged to have been instrumental

* Skene says in a foot-note, Vol. III., *Celtic Scotland*, p. 480, "This is the Gilleroth mentioned by Fordun in 1222 as a follower of Macohecan in his insurrection, along with whom he witnesses a charter as Gilleroth, son of Gillemartan.

† Translated by Skene, and printed with the Gaelic original in *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. III. p. 480.

in saving Fleance the son of Bancho, and his own lady's nephew, from the cruelty of Macbeth, and to have been rewarded and highly esteemed on that account. He is said to have died about 1020, when he was succeeded by his son.

2. GILLESPICK OR ARCHIBALD, who joined the loyalists and assisted in the restoration of Malcolm Ceanmore in 1057. For this service he was, according to the family historian, raised with many others to the dignity of a "Lord Baron," on the 25th of April in that year; but such dignities it seems were not hereditary in Scotland in those days, but ended with the lives of those on whom they were conferred, though, in many cases, they were renewed to their sons. This does not appear to have happened in the case of the Camerons, and the dignity died with its first possessor. He was succeeded by his eldest son,*

3. JOHN CAMERON, said to have lived in the reign of King David I., but nothing further is known regarding him. He was succeeded by his son, or grandson,

IV. ROBERT CAMERON. In a donation to the Monastery of Cambuskenneth, before 1200, in the reign of William the Lyon, Henry, Archdean of Dunkeld; Alexander, Sheriff of Stirling; Henry de Lamberton; and this Robert Cambron, are found witnesses. He died early in the reign of Alexander II., leaving issue—

1. John, his heir and successor.

2. Robert de Cambron, whose name is mentioned with that of his brother in the Chartulary of Scoon in 1239, and is said by some to have been the progenitor of the Camerons of Strone.

3. Hugo, or Hugh, or Ewen de Cambron, mentioned in the Chartulary of Arbroath in 1219, but of whose posterity nothing is known.

Robert Cameron was succeeded by his eldest son,

V. SIR JOHN DE CAMERON, who, as John de Cambrun, is witness to a donation in favour of the religious house at Scoon in 1234, with Walter, son of Alan, Lord High Steward and Justiciar of Scotland; Walter Cumin, Earl of Menteith; Adam de Logan; John de Haya; and his own brother, Robert de Cambrun. He

*He is said to have had a second son, Angus, who had a son Martin, from whom the Macmartins of Letterfinlay sprung. This is, however, scarcely consistent with what is already stated.

is also mentioned in connection with some marches, in the Diocese of Aberdeen, in 1233; and in 1250 he is found designed "Johannes de Cambrun, Miles" &c. He had two sons—

1. Robert his heir and successor.

2. John, mentioned in Pryme's Collections in 1296. He is alleged to have been progenitor of the Camerons of Glen-Nevis. Sir John died in the reign of Alexander II., and was succeeded by his eldest son,

VI. SIR ROBERT DE CAMERON, one of those who made their submission to Edward I. of England, is twice mentioned in Pryme's collections, first as *dominus Robertus de Cambrun*, Miles, and afterwards, in 1296, *Robertus de Cambrun*, Chevalier. He was succeeded by his son,

VII. JOHN DE CAMBRUN also known as "John MacOchtery," who made a considerable figure in the reign of Robert I., at which early period this clan is said to have been numerous in Lochaber. He was one of those who signed the famous letter sent to the Pope by the Scottish Nobility in 1320, in which they plead for the King's title to the Scottish Crown, and for the independence of Scotland. He also joined David II. with a considerable body of his followers, whom he commanded in the third Division of the Scots army at the battle of Hallidon Hill, on the 15th of July 1333. He continued in the King's service until the English were expelled from the Kingdom, and the King firmly settled in the government of Scotland. It was in his time that the long continued and deadly feud between the Camerons and the Mackintoshes first began, though it was many years after his death before it was finally brought to a close.*

John was succeeded by his son.

(To be continued.)

* The only Chiefs prior to this period named in the Family MS. are the first two and the last, Angus, Gillespick, and John. The others are given in Wood's edition of Douglas's Baronage, where at this point two Johns are given in succession. The acts ascribed to the two Johns of Douglas's Baronage are ascribed to one John in the Family MS. We have followed the latter. It is, however, quite impossible to secure certainty on a genealogical question so remote in the case of any of our Highland Clans. Referring to these discrepancies, the editor of the "Memoirs" says that he "has been informed by one of the highest authorities on these subjects, that the earlier generations contained in Douglas's Baronage, when not fabulous, were not of the Locheill family, but belonged to the family of Camerons of Balligarnoch in

THE TARTAN AVALANCHE.*

Dedicated to Sir Archibald Alison.

Charge, ye noble-hearted heroes,
Make the tyrants backward reel;
On as did your dauntless fathers
With their trusty Highland steel!
Where the battle fray was fiercest,
They did death and danger spurn,
And their free and fearless spirits
Still within your bosoms burn!

Charge ye Scottish braves in triumph!
Burst the proud oppressor's chains!
Like your own immortal Wallace,
Noble blood rolls through your veins!

Charge for Scotland's stainless honour!
Round her deathless laurels twine!
Make her golden page of glory
With unfading lustre shine!
Yours the strath of purple heather,
Yours the mountain and the glen;
Let the despots, by your valour,
Know these nurse but gallant men!
Charge ye Scottish braves in triumph, &c.

Perthshire, and that the founder of the Locheill branch was Donald Dubh MacAllan, the sixth chief according to the Memoirs. "It ought, however, to be observed," he continues, "that although the author evidently labours under the impression that the first were of the Locheill branch, yet he merely asserts that they were the principal men of the name of Cameron of whom he could find any mention in History." This is a point which, at least for the present, we must leave where we found it. John Cameron is mentioned in a document, dated 10th of March 1233, printed by Mr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, p. 24 of his *Invernessiana*, and, at p. 44 of the same work, Robert de Chambroun de Balgligernaucht (? Baligarny) is mentioned in a document, dated the 16th of December 1292, by which the King grants him a pension of 50 merks payable by the burgesses of Inverness.

* The Highland Brigade, at the decisive battle of Tel-el-Kebir, with pipes playing and a wild ringing cheer, rushed in gallant style through the enemy's fire and carried the trenches at the point of the bayonet. They had 50 killed and 170 wounded! Apart from the Highlanders, all the rest of the army had only 13 killed and 165 wounded. Scotland may well be proud of her sons, who still retain the bold martial spirit and dashing valour which distinguished them in bygone times.

Hearts more valiant, true, and loyal,
Never trod a battle-field;
Far amid the wild war-billows
Die they may but never yield!
Swiftly as the dark hill-torrent
Dashes to the vale below
So the avalanche of tartan
Rushes on to meet the foe!
Charge ye Scottish braves in triumph, &c.

To the pibroch, proudly sounding,
On they bound with hardy pride;
In the van the claymore flashes,
Foemen fall on every side.
Naught can stay old Scotland's heroes,
Frowning forts, nor belching guns!
On Fame's brilliant scroll, in splendour,
Shine the brave deeds of her sons!

Charge ye Scottish braves in triumph!
Burst the proud oppressor's chains!
Like your own immortal Wallace,
Noble blood rolls through your veins!

Edinburgh. ALEXANDER LOGAN.

THE INVERARAY PROCLAMATION.—The disciples of Isaac Walton, who find it a difficult task to discover an open water, will relish the proclamation given in the Dunoon book as having been made at the Market Cross of Inveraray in the last century:—

Ta-hoy! Te t'ither ahoy! Ta-hoy
Three times!!! an' Ta-hoy—Whisht!!!

By command of his Majesty, King George
an' her Grace te Duke o' Argyll:

If any body is found fishing aboon te loch,
or below te loch, afore te loch, or ahint te loch,
in te loch, or on te loch, aroun' te loch, or
about te loch,
She's to be persecutit wi' three persecutions:
First, she's to be burnt, syne she's to be
drownt, and then she's to be hangt—an'
if ever she comes back she's to be persecutit
Wi' a faur waur death.

God save the King an' her Grace
te Duke o' Argyll!

—*Literary Notes in the Daily Mail.*

ROGART EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION AND MR JOHN MACKAY, C.E., HEREFORD.

PROFESSOR BLACKIE, in one of his recent "Highland Sketches" in the *Scotsman*, writes:—The Educational Association of Rogart—of whose seventh anniversary, held under the presidency of her Grace the Duchess of Sutherland, a short notice appeared in your columns, and at which I had the good fortune to be present—is, I believe, a unique phenomenon in Highland parishes, to the importance of which it seems proper to direct the attention of the public. Rogart is a parish of considerable extent—about 10 miles by 6—and as such demanding, for the convenience of children of unripe ages in a raw climate, under the new regulations, four separate schools. Mr John Mackay, of Hereford, an engineer of well-known efficiency in Wales, being a native, and son of a crofter in this parish, and, like all true Highlanders, possessed by the noble passion of doing good to his fellow-countrymen, conceived the idea of uniting these schools in a general association for the purposes of common action. This scheme, under his wise direction and the co-operation of the clergy and other influential persons in the district, leaped at a stride into distinct reality, and has already become not the least potent factor in the moral machinery of the district. Its action is threefold—(1) It unites all the four schools of the parish in a general competition for prizes, after the fashion of the Ferguson scholarships, which are open to the students of all the Scottish Universities, giving the most effective spur to a generous rivalry among the competing schools, and creating, at the same time, a feeling of unity, and nursing the habit of common action, in the highest degree beneficial to the best interests of the parish; (2) It supplies a fund large enough to equip any one of the best scholars of the parish for a University career, where, after a good start, he may be able to fight his own way up into professional usefulness; (3) It maintains a library for parochial uses; and (4) Has a debating society connected with it for improvement in English composition, and the discussion of subjects of human and social interest. I feel quite confident, Mr Editor, that you will agree with me in thinking that a local movement of this kind,

however small it may bulk among the scenes that are enacted on more prominent and more pretentious platforms, is a movement, not only in itself of great social importance, but in the hope which it holds forth of being the germ of educational action on a similar principle all over the Highlands, and, it may be, over the whole of Scotland.

Mr Mackay, to whom a grateful address was delivered by the parishioners, has appealed, in this movement, to the great principle of self-help—a principle which, whenever it is called into operation, not only achieves the desired result in the promptest possible way, but achieves it by rousing into full play all those moral forces by the action of which a man becomes, in the complete sense of the word, a man. Whatever is done for us and not by us, however well done, can never make us strong in the doing of it; may only leave us dexterous tools, or well-trained puppets, in the hands of those who have done it for us. This is the fundamental principle of all true democracy; the one root out of which all individual strength and all social dignity proceeds. Some things, no doubt, must be done externally by social compulsion—that is, by the State and by public law; otherwise, as human nature is constituted, they will either not be done at all, or done in a very inadequate fashion. Nevertheless, it is well that outside of all State arrangement there should be a free field left for voluntary creation; and one such free field Mr Mackay has appropriated in the Rogart Educational Association. It is an evil inherent in all centralised systems that they tend to apply a rigid rule, in a mechanical way, to all material, however diverse, that comes within the sphere of their operation; while the local element, which, as the most characteristic, is not seldom the most valuable element in all true culture, under the panoramic view of remote redtapists, becomes unduly subordinated or altogether invisible. An example of this necessary peculiarity of centralised optics we find in the systematic omission of the native lauguage and the native music, in the favoured subjects of the Educational Code for the Highlands; though nothing is more certain, on the one hand, that the comparative study of Gaelic and English is the best possible intellectual exercise for young Celts, just as the comparative study of Latin and English is for the young Lowlander; and, on the other hand,

that, for the cultivation of the emotions and the moral nature, the national songs and the national music are among the most potent instruments that Nature has put into the hands of the educator. To counteract this onesidedness, Mr Mackay, with the large views of a patriot, and the warm heart of a man, has instituted in Rogart a Gaelic class for young persons and adults, in connection with the Association, giving prizes, as, indeed, he does largely on all occasions, principally out of his own pocket. I have only to add that this Association, in its special action for the encouragement of the mother tongue, points out to Highlanders, with a significant index, the only way by which they can hope to have anything worthy of the name of a Highland education in Highland schools. The men who measure out educational red tape in London or Oxford do not seem to have the most remote notion that good Highland education consists in drawing out *(educo)* the best elements that God and Nature have put into the Highland breast; their method is to suppose that Highland souls are empty vessels, into which knowledge is to be poured in the quality, and according to the quantity, that the Metropolitan man, in the plenitude of his codifying and inspectorial wisdom, may weigh out; a method which will have the infallible result of annihilating the noble race called Highlanders altogether, and turning them all out as the accomplished monkeys and flunkeys and dancing bears of omnipotent John Bull. I crave, in conclusion, a place for a few complimentary lines

TO JOHN MACKAY, ESQ., OF HEREFORD, THE FOUNDER OF THE ROGART SCHOOL ASSOCIATION, SUTHERLAND.

Who love the Highlands? not with murtherous guns,
Who scour the moor, and chase the flying deer;
Who lure the speckled troutling from the mere,
And hook the strong-nosed salmon, where he runs
Cleaving the adverse flood. These love their sport;
But thou, Mackay, dost love the stout-thewed men,
Whose sweatful toil redeemed the stony glen,
And filled wide Europe with the proud report
Of their high-daring deeds; and thou didst stir
In fresh young hearts brave memory of their sires;
And mothers hailed in thee God's minister,
To fan the slumbering flame of patriot fires.
Who loveth thus loves well, and, nobly wise,
Weds earth to heaven with worth that never dies.

JOHN STUART BLACKIE.

At the meeting of the Association, referred to by Professor Blackie, Mr Mackay was presented with the address from the people of Rogart, his native village, "as a token at once of their high admiration of his character and career, and of their very grateful appreciation of his intelligent, liberal, and unwearied endeavours to advance the social and intellectual welfare of the inhabitants of that, his native, parish." After giving him full praises for founding the Rogart Association, the Address proceeded.—

It is creditable to you as well as encouraging and pleasing to us to find this Society already a power for good in the parish, chief among its many fruits being a literary institute, with its debating society, library, and reading-room, as also a singing class. Its excellent results are further seen in the creditable position attained in grammar schools and Universities by some of those aided by this Association. While, no doubt, it is in this parish amongst ourselves that your name and the history of your highly creditable and successful career are and will be treasured with a special pride and affection, it is well known that your fame as a true Highlander and a benefactor of your countrymen is not confined to Rogart, not even to the Highlands. Wherever Highlanders are to be found, in the distant colonies of Australia and New Zealand, among the brave, industrious Gaelic-speaking settlers of Canada, by the Celts that occupy positions of trust and influence on the sunny fields of India, and, nearer home, by the Celtic population of the large towns and cities, and of the far-off hamlets of the Outer Hebrides, the name of John Mackay, of Swansea, the designation by which you are better known, is respected and cherished with a fond regard as an accomplished Highlander—a true friend of the people and of the ancient Gaelic tongue, an intelligent student of Highland traditions, and a liberal, thoughtful, promoter of the best interests of his Highland countrymen, as tillers of the soil, and in all other spheres of life.

Mr Mackay eloquently replied in feeling and patriotic language, after which Professor Blackie delivered, as usual, a telling speech. Speaking of the Duchess of Sutherland, who was present, and listened to his eloquent and well-deserved encomiums, he said.—

I am happy to know that she is the right kind of duchess—(Cheers)—she is a duchess that loves her people. (Loud cheers.) That I know; and any one who walks up through Strathpeffer can see that. You will see there white cottages on the hill sides, tenanted by the native population—the place teeming with a thriving Highland peasantry. (Applause.) You will not there see one big house occupied by an Elliot or a Paterson, or some outlandish name of that sort. (Great laughter.) The Highland peasants are still there like the heather upon the hills, or the old Caledonian pines, remaining where they should be. (Cheers.) This is the effect of good management; and when her Grace looks upon these people we know her sentiments. "These," she says, "were my father's tenants, and so far as I can, consistent with good man-

agement, they shall be mine. (Cheers.) They shall not leave that property unless it be for their better, and mine also." (Applause.) I have been accused of being a sonneteer—(Laughter)—and a sentimentalist, but I would be a brute and a craven-hearted beast if I could walk through the Highland glens which I have seen utterly desolate—(Applause)—where we know that thirty or forty years ago there was a happy and prosperous population—the nursery of our best labourers, of our best soldiers—(Cheers)—but instead of whom we now find ten hundred thousand sheep and one big south country farmer—(Laughter and applause)—I say that with that sight before me I weep when I go there. (Applause.) But our duchess loves her people. She knows her position and her relation to them—she knows that that relationship is higher than mere rent-gathering—she is not like your miserable shopkeeper and ordinary rent-collectors. God forbid! True nobility has higher aims and higher duties than these—(Applause)—it loves, it honours, it reveres the people. (Applause.) If our aristocracy look upon the people on merely mercantile principles they will fall into contempt, and deservedly so. (Applause.) Now, I am afraid of becoming eloquent—(Laughter) but I have been called on to speak—the thought rises, and you must take it as it comes. I am sure there is nothing higher or nobler than the position of the owner of a great landed property, if that person looks upon it as an onerous position, and feels called upon to improve the land and advance the well-being of the people—(Applause)—I know nothing like it. There is no profession superior to that of elevating the position of the people—raising them in the physical, intellectual, and moral scale. (Applause.) What can be better than that? Some proprietors send some fellows down to gather as much money as possible out of the people, and after that let them emigrate or starve. Now that is a wretched policy—(Applause)—and a policy with which I know her Grace has no sympathy, for we see in her one of the highest in the land doing the noblest and best acts to her people—preserving them in the country of her fathers and their fathers, encouraging them to improve their possessions and generally promoting their interests. (Loud applause.)

The reader should know that her Grace has large properties of her own in the counties of Ross and Cromarty, and it was to these and not to Sutherland that the Professor referred. Speaking of the objects of the Association, the Professor continued.—

Love is the regular bond of society, which binds class and class, and if anybody says that cash payment is the only and leading principle, to him I say—Maranatha—(Laughter)—a curse upon you! That man is not a Christian. He is not animated with the spirit of the old landlords—the love which was the old bond in the time of the clans, which some of you with big pockets and small hearts—(Laughter)—call times of barbarism and thieving—(Laughter)—I wish to take the liberty which all speechmakers, and sometimes many preachers, take of departing from the subject—(Laughter)—in saying a single word to express my view of the aims of such an Association as this. This is one of the things which in these literary days I enjoy. It means two things. In the first place, it means self-dependence, and in the second self-help. (Applause.) That is the root of all true national greatness; and it follows that without it your men become mere puppets—or bonny, well-behaved girls. (Great laughter.) You will get that sort of thing in Austria and under the Jesuits, but in order to have a little manhood the people must be taught to do things for themselves, and to demand the sort of education which they want and which they require. The

whole of Scotland is deficient in the matter of secondary education—and why? Because the people up in London don't care a copper for you—they think that your salvation must come from London—(Great laughter)—and that your chief function is to let John Bull ride over your necks—to bring out all the Celtic soul that is in you. But my advice to you is to cultivate all your traditions, especially all your Gaelic songs and all your Gaelic legends, and learn the morals which they convey. I do not want to prop up the Gaelic by artificial means, but while it is a living tongue, use it, and benefit by it—(Applause)—and because your aged mother is sixty years, and you a strapping young dame, don't kick her into the grave—let her tell her story; for if you despise your mother, others will naturally and deservedly despise you. (Applause.)

Nae treasures or pleasures
Could mak' us happy lang;
The heart's aye the part aye
That mak's us richt or wrang.

During the proceedings the Rev. Mr Mackay intimated that hitherto four girls and five boys had been assisted by the Association at Grammar and Normal Schools. The very first boy the Association took in hand—one who had lost both his parents at an early age—went to the Grammar School at Aberdeen. In his first year there he got a bursary of £18 for two years. After attending the Grammar School for two years he entered the University, where he carried off a bursary of £20 for four years. Last year this same boy obtained another bursary of the value of £10.

THE GAELIC CENSUS.

IN the month of March last year, when the census schedules were issued, bearing the puzzling instruction to enumerators and householders about "habitual" speakers of Gaelic, the worthlessness, for any practical purposes, of such a census as was there required was pointed out, and our countrymen were warned that use would be made of this incomplete and altogether fallacious enumeration to institute comparisons as to the relative strength of the English and Gaelic speaking districts of our country, a comparison which would inevitably tell to the disadvantage of the Gaelic speaking people, and which, to those who did not know, or did not choose to pay attention to the circumstances

of the enumeration, would supply a convenient ground for further official ignoring of the Highland people and their language.

That such caution was not uncalled for is now evident from the returns by the Registrar-General of the completed census. In his report, without the slightest hint as to the notoriously incorrect and incomplete character of the Gaelic statistics, he goes on to make his calculations of the numerical strength of the Gaelic population. In the first place he calls the Gaelic return an attempt to give "an accurate account of the numbers of the population who in each locality are said to be 'Gaelic-speaking,' or to be in the habit of making colloquial use of the Gaelic language." Let our readers mark, "an *accurate* account," or, as he further on says, the percentage of Gaelic speakers "*clearly* shown." He then goes on to state that the percentage of Gaelic speakers in the various districts stands thus:—The North-Western Division, 71·08 per cent. of the population; the West, Midland, and Northern Divisions contain 18·49 and 16·99 per cent. respectively. The counties show as follows:—Sutherland, 75·31 per cent.; Ross and Cromarty, 71·40; Inverness, 70·80; and Argyle, 60·81. In the county of Lanark, including the city of Glasgow, there are 10,513 persons returned as "Gaelic speakers," this number being only 1·16 per cent. of the population of that county. It is probable that the percentages quoted above may be fairly accurate so far as they apply to Highland districts and counties, and may be accepted as furnishing an approximation to the numbers of persons colloquially speaking the Gaelic language. But the natural inference that the remaining percentages represent the proportion of English speakers we protest against, because they embrace many of the infants and young children of exclusively Gaelic-speaking people (who will in all probability grow up Gaelic speakers) as well as the "unspeakable" children of English speaking parents. Manifestly, therefore, the comparison is quite unfair.

It is simply ridiculous to speak of the return for Lanarkshire as an "accurate" account of the number of Gaelic speakers. Glasgow shows only some 8500. Why, any one who sees the Gaelic congregations of that city dismissing on a Sunday forenoon may find in Hope Street alone over 3000 Gaelic speakers issuing from two churches. We venture to say that if the number

of Gaelic speakers returned for Glasgow were multiplied by seven it would be much nearer an accurate return.

It may be remarked by some that the census only contemplated enumerating those who were *habitual* speakers of Gaelic, and that possibly the returns for Glasgow may be nearly correct. But granting that, what is the value of it? or what dependence can be put on a census that in Lewis returns the whole population of certain parishes, down to the infants at the breast, as speaking Gaelic, while in other places the enumerators carefully excluded all who were able to converse in Gaelic if they did not do so habitually, as was evidentally done in Glasgow? It is a notorious fact that many of the enumerators deliberately ignored their instructions, and made no enquiries about the filling up of the Gaelic column. Even in the town of Inverness we personally know of cases where whole families—some numbering nine persons—scarcely any member of whom can express the commonest idea intelligently in English—who are in every sense Gaelic-speaking people only—were returned by the enumerators as English-speaking, while they never utter a word of English unless they are obliged to do so to make themselves understood. This sort of thing holds equally true of other places North and South.

On the whole, we have no hesitation in pronouncing the return of so-called Gaelic speakers as very misleading, indeed almost worthless, and would caution Highlanders against any statistical uses that may be made of it.

PROFESSOR BLACKIE AND THE LAND LAWS.—Professor Blackie writes as follows to the *Scotsman*:—"Sir,—I observe a paragraph in your paper of the 3rd inst., in which my name is mentioned in connection with 'a land agitation in the Highlands,' forthwith to be inaugurated. I write this to state that I gave no authority to any person to make such a use of my name. With regard to our Land Laws generally, not only in the Highlands, but all over the country, long study and observation have convinced me that they are unjust and impolitic in an extreme degree; and it may be that, from certain local causes, they are made to act more harshly and more perniciously in the Highlands than in the low country. So soon as any fundamental changes in these laws shall be put into a practical shape by influential politicians and men of business, the leaders in such a movement may calculate on my warm sympathy and active co-operation, so far as it may be worth anything. But I am a student by profession, and not an agitator, and meddle with questions of legal and social reform only in a subsidiary and secondary way."

THE HIGHLAND BRIGADE AND THE HIGHLAND CROFTERS.

A VALUED correspondent, referring to a prospective Measure of Relief to the Highland Crofters, writes to us as follows:—I rejoice to think that a measure of relief of this nature is now within easy reach. The gallant charge of the Highland Brigade at Tel-el-Kebir has again placed the Empire under obligations to this contingent of the army, and as the time will soon be at hand for rewarding deserving general officers, the claims of the men could not be acknowledged by the country in a more befitting manner than by conferring freedom and security upon the stock from which they are drawn, so that the Highlands may still be preserved as a nursery for brave men and bonnie lasses.

The most effective demonstration that can be made is to get up a petition of crofters to Parliament setting forth their grievances, and praying to be made peasant proprietors with enlarged holdings where the land admits of it. A roll should be sent to every parish, and ministers of both Churches might be enlisted in favour of the step, and be useful in getting it signed. This being done, a deputation of crofters, of about 100 men, or say, a representative man from every parish, should be sent to London dressed in their usual best garb and Kilmarnock bonnets, with a piper at their head, to deliver their petition to Mr Bright or some *English* member of weight and talent for presentation. It would be a respectful, a manly, a constitutional, and altogether a unique and telling demonstration. Our difficulty is to command the attention of Englishmen. Our existence must be made known to them, and we ought to show them that we are in earnest.

The money can be easily found. I think £1000 ought to cover all the expenses. I shall be glad to contribute a ten pound note myself, although I am not wealthy, but I have wealthy friends upon whose liberality I may count.

The following table, from the *Inverness Courier*, gives point to our correspondent's suggestion :—

THE HIGHLANDERS AT TEL-EL-KEBIR.—An examination of the list of the killed and wounded at Tel-el-Kebir, as finally

made up by Sir Garnet Wolseley, brings out the melancholy fact that the Highland regiments suffered more than all the other regiments under Wolseley's command put together. The number of regiments returned as having been engaged in the action is 17. Of these five are Highland regiments. The total number of casualties of all ranks is 459. The casualties among the Highlanders alone number 245, thus leaving only 214 to be divided among the other twelve regiments. Nothing tells more eloquently of the heroic part the Highland regiments took in this battle. We tabulate their losses as follows :—

	Officers Killed.	Officers Wounded.	Other Ranks Killed.	Other Ranks Wounded.	Missing.
Black Watch.....	2	6	7	37	4
Gordon Highlanders.....	1	1	5	29	4
Cameron Highlanders.....	...	3	13	45	...
Highland Light Infantry...	3	5	14	52	11
Seaforth Highlanders.....	...	...	1	3	...
Total.....	6	15	40	166	19
The other twelve Regiments	3	12	8	187	3
Grand total.	9	27	48	353	22

In other words, five Highland Regiments lost six officers killed, and the other twelve regiments together lost only three officers killed. The Highland Regiments lost forty non-commissioned officers and men killed, and all the others put together lost only eight non-commissioned officers and men killed.

ORIGIN OF THE NAMES DOUGLAS AND SKENE.

IN the last issue of the *Celtic Magazine* there appeared an account of the origin of the name Gordon from the pen of M. A. Rose, and I thought it would not be amiss to present you this month with a legendary version of the origin of the names Douglas and Skene. The first runs thus :—

Towards the end of the 11th century, when Scotland was the scene of much bloodshed, there lived in England a youth of about twenty-two years of age, who, although at that time a hostage at the English Court, was destined to become King of Scotland. He was a natural son of Malcolm Canmore, but his

father having been killed at Alnwick, and leaving no children old enough to succeed him except Duncan, who, as I have said, was detained as a hostage in England, the throne had been seized by a brother of the late King, named Donald Bane.

At length, Duncan obtained his freedom, and the first use he made of it was to collect an army and advance to dethrone his uncle. Donald immediately marched to meet him, and in a short time the rival armies were facing each other upon a level plain, which gave neither party any advantage over the other. Donald's army, however, far outnumbered that of his nephew, but, nothing daunted, Duncan ordered his men to advance, and with wild shouts, they threw themselves upon the ranks of the enemy. At first, the foe gave way, but immediately after he rallied, and was bearing Duncan and his brave little army back, when a horseman appeared upon the scene who very quickly changed the aspect of affairs. The new comer was of immense stature, and was mounted upon a magnificent black horse. Both horse and man were defended by massive armour of a dark grey colour, and the rider carried a large two-handed sword, a lance, and a mace, which consisted of a short, stout staff, to one end of which was attached a short chain terminated by a ball of iron studded with sharp spikes.

Shouting to the remnant of Duncan's army to follow him, he rushed upon the enemy, making fearful havoc with the dreadful mace. Thus encouraged by his brave demeanour, he was followed by most of the survivors of Duncan's army, shouting "Dubh-glas, Dubh-glas, follow the Dubh-glas;" that is, "Dark-grey, Dark-grey, follow the Dark-grey." So unexpected was this sudden attack, and so astounded were the enemy at the extraordinary prowess of the dark-grey horseman, that they broke and fled, and left Duncan victorious in possession of the field.

As soon as the battle was over, Duncan called the unknown horseman to him, and inquired his name and lineage, that he might be rewarded for his timely aid. Bowing low, the stranger replied, "Sire, my name is James Macduff, at your Majesty's service, and I am a son of Macduff, Thane of Fife. Hearing of your advance against Donald Bane, I hastened to offer you my poor aid, and by dint of hard riding, I managed to arrive at a most seasonable crisis." Duncan replied, "I am about to reward

your services by conferring upon you the honour of knighthood, but before I do so, are you willing to exchange your name of Macduff for that of Dubh-glas, which will be a lasting memorial of the occasion which gave rise to it?" The young gentleman signified his willingness to do as Duncan had suggested, and bidding him kneel, the new king touched him lightly on the shoulder with the flat of his sword, saying, "Arise, Sir James Dubh-glas, and accept our best thanks for your brave conduct."

In due course the name of Dubh-glas drifted into Douglas, and the son of the Thane of Fife became the progenitor of the most powerful family in all Scotland.

Regarding the name of Skene the legend is as follows :— During the reign of James V. a great hunting expedition was organised by the King, which was to consist of some two or three hundred noblemen and gentlemen connected with the Court. The scene of the hunt was to be Stocket Forest, in Athol, then the haunt of wolves, foxes, stags, badgers, hares, rabbits, and other game.

On a fine day in September, the royal party set out for the forest, enlivening the journey with jests and snatches of song. At length the hunting-ground was reached; several hundred beaters were employed to beat the undergrowth and bushes with long poles, and, soon, a magnificent stag royal was started. The king's deer-hounds were let loose, and in a moment the dark, gloomy forest was echoing the deep-toned bay of the hounds, and the clear "Tally-ho" and "Yoicks" of the merry huntsmen. All were in their element, except the unfortunate object of their pursuit, for now the pace at which the noble animal was going began to tell upon his form, and the lolling tongue, wild eye, and unsteady, rocking gait of the poor fellow made it clear to all that he must soon give in. At last, he was driven into a grassy dell, at the bottom of which ran a tiny rivulet of purest water. The hounds were at his heels, but stooping his graceful head, and taking one cool draught, he stood at bay. The foremost hound was received upon his deadly horns, and tossed, gashed and bleeding, high in air. The second and third met a like fate, but then, collecting their energies for a final rush, the whole pack simultaneously sprung upon him, and in a few moments, the keen blade of the huntsman finished what the hounds had begun.

Placing the body of the stag upon a pack-horse, the cavalcade proceeded, and ere long a gigantic wolf was roused from his lair. Again the hounds gave tongue, and the wolf was chased for many a mile, until furious, he turned savagely upon his howling pursuers. The dogs held back, terrified at his ferocious aspect, but at length one of them mustered up sufficient courage, and sprung at the wolf's throat. Shaking off the hound with a fierce snarl, the brute leaped upon the king's horse, which was foremost, and had it not been for the thick leather hunting-boots which his Majesty wore, and which resisted the attacks of the wolf's teeth, the King would have been seriously wounded. He dealt the animal several blows with his heavy hunting whip, but it would not loose its hold until a gentleman of the party, one of the family of Strowan, drew a short "Sgian" or dirk, which he wore, and attacked the ferocious animal in the rear. Releasing the horse, the wolf sprung upon this gentleman, when there ensued a terrible struggle. The wolf seized him by the right arm, but with the left our hero made repeated stabs at the animal's side. The combatants fell to the ground, rolling over and over, but at last the gentleman arose, fearfully torn, but victorious, and pointing to the gasping wolf, he said, presenting his bloody knife to the King, "Your Majesty, will you be pleased to give the *coup de grace*." The King took the reeking dirk and cut the animal's throat, and then, placing the weapon carefully in his bosom, he addressed his preserver, "I have to thank you for my life, brave Sir, and I beg that you will allow me to keep the Sgian as a memorial of your courage. Meanwhile, I request you to change your name of Robertson for that of Sgian or Skene as a slight reward for your act, and if ever you wish any favour from me, you have only to refer to the weapon, which I have kept, and I promise, on the word of a Stuart and a King, that it shall be granted you." H.

DONALD MACLEOD'S "GLOOMY MEMORIES OF SUTHERLAND," edited by the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, with, in addition, a complete history of Evictions in the Highlands from the Battle of Culloden to the present time, is in the press, and will be published about Christmas or the New-Year by A. & W. Mackenzie, Publishers, Inverness. It will form a neatly printed volume of from 300 to 350 pp., uniform with Macgregor's "Life of Flora Macdonald," and "The Prophecies of the Brahan Seer." Price, to Subscribers, 4s.; by post, 4s. 4d. Those wishing to secure copies should send in their names without delay.

SHERIFF MACKINTOSH AND THE RECENT ROGART EVICTION TRIALS.

THE Glasgow correspondent of the *Oban Times* of the 7th of October, referring to this trial, says:—"The crofter, Andrew Mackenzie, who was reinstated by his neighbours recently, was tried before the Sheriff at Dornoch on Saturday, and received the heavy sentence of one month's imprisonment, *without the option of a fine.* Professor Blackie recently referred to this case in the following manner:—

> Rogart, however minutely its social condition has been described in that solid and instructive little work, "The Chronicles of Stratheden," had it not been for a recent revolt of certain recalcitrant crofters against certain public officers engaged in the disagreeable duty that occasionally falls to them, might have been to this day a name as unknown to most Scottish readers as the name of any parish in Iceland. Into the merits of this unfortunate encounter between legal claims and human feelings I have no desire to enter; my belief is, that in all such cases a little good sense and good feeling on the side of the stronger party will go much farther to prevent undesirable collisions between the different classes of society than all the law and all the political economy in the libraries.

People who know the case thoroughly wonder why the case was tried before the Sheriff-Principal, and not before the Sheriff-Substitute, who was conversant with the local circumstances. In a Licensing Court no one having a connection with the "trade" is allowed to sit on the bench; but here we find Sheriff Mackintosh, himself a laird, and, in his capacity of advocate in Edinburgh, senior counsel in the case of Lord Macdonald against the crofters of Ben-Lee, sitting to judge a case which arose out of an attempt to evict Mackenzie from his croft, which he has improved to the extent of £200. In passing sentence, the Sheriff said "it was at the present time especially necessary that the authority of the law should be supported and vindicated;" and so we have his sentence—thirty days' imprisonment, and a fine denied. One can understand how difficult it is for a person to administer law which concerns himself. If procurator-fiscals should not be allowed to act as factors, neither should sheriffs be allowed to act as advocates, when their doing so involves them in a peculiar manner. It is probable that this may be brought before the notice of Parliament by the Federation of Celtic Societies."

The same authority in the *Times* of 14th of October states that Sheriff Mackintosh was the guest of the Duke of Sutherland in Dunrobin at the time of the trial. We trust this will immediately receive official contradiction; for, while we are quite satisfied that these social courtesies would not in the least affect the mind of the learned Sheriff, we are equally decided that, in present circumstances, every precaution should be taken to keep our judges above suspicion.

MY BONNIE ROWAN TREE.*

Thrice welcome, sweet green spray,
Cull'd from my Rowan Tree,
By lov'd ones far away,
In bonnie Amulree.

In boyhood's days thy root
Was planted by my hand,
Just ere I left my dear,
My Scottish fatherland!

Thou but a sapling then,
Though now a shelt'ring tree,
While warblers in thy boughs
Sing sweetest melodie.

Oh! handsome Rowan Tree!
I'm growing old and gray;
But thou art fresh and green,
Remote from all decay.

One boon for which I pray—
A home in Amulree!
Where friends of yore I'd meet
Beneath thee, Rowan Tree!

The Fraochie wimpling by,
In cadence soft and slow—
Craig Thullich tow'ring high,
The fragrant woods below.

The old Kirk on the knowe,
The graveyard mossy green;
Thy bosky birks, Lubchuil!
Thy streamlet's silv'ry sheen.

With warm Breadalbane hearts,
'Mong those romantic braes,
I happily could spend
The gloaming of my days.

The mem'ries of langsyne—
Bright days of gladsome glee—
We fondly could revive
Beneath thee, Rowan Tree!

New York, U.S.A. D. MACGREGOR CRERAR.

* A spray of rowan, culled by my brother John (to whom I inscribe the verses) from a tree which I had planted in our mother's garden, thirty years ago.

Correspondence.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME GORDON.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

SIR,—The traditional origin of the name of Gordon, mentioned by Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., F.S.A., Scot., in his *Antiquarian Notes*, and referred to by M. A. Rose in last *Celtic Magazine*, is one of those punning etymologies that are so common, like Tranent from "Try fornent," Rutherford from "Rue their ford," Selkirk from "Sell the Kirk," Melrose from "a Mallet and a Rose," &c., &c. Gordon, in Berwickshire, from which the family derives, has evidently got its name from its situation—Goirtin, in Gaelic, "a little field of corn;" standing, as the village does, on what may be called a fertile oasis, in the midst of barren moors and dismal peat mosses. Burke, in his "Peerage and Baronage," says of the Gordons:—"Although there are numerous histories of this illustrious family extant, yet the historians do not coincide as to its origin and first settlement in Great Britain. Some bring the Gordons from Greece to Gaul, and thence into Scotland, at least a thousand years ago; while others convey them from Spain, Flanders, &c. The more probable conjecture, however, is that some of the Gordons came into England with William, Duke of Normandy, and into Scotland with King Malcolm Canmore." He goes on to mention the boar tradition, which may be quite true, but, nevertheless, certainly did not give rise to the family name, though it may have given occasion to its bearers assuming three boars' heads for their armorial bearing. In the different lists of the conquerors of England, published by Bromton, Leland, and Duchesne, and quoted by Thierry, we find the names of Gurdon, Gerdoun, Verdon, Verdoun, and Werdoun; but there is nothing except the resemblance in sound to connect them with the Gordons of that Ilk, the ancestors of the Dukes of Gordon, Earls and Marquises of Huntly, Earls of Aboyne, Earls of Aberdeen, &c. These Gordons are, indeed, by paternal descent, a branch of the Setons, who, again, took their name from a place in Haddingtonshire, so called "by reason that the *town* thereof is situate hard upon the *sea*." Their ancestor on the mother's side, an Anglo-Norman, whose proper name is unknown, had the territory of Gordon granted to him, in the reign either of Malcolm Canmore or of David I., and assumed from it the surname of Gordon. One of his descendants, probably a grandson, named Bertrand de Gurdon, wounded to death King Richard I. of England, while that lion-hearted monarch was engaged in reducing the Castle of Chaluz, in Aquetaine, in the year 1199; and though he was given his liberty by the generous dying King, with a hundred shillings to take him home to Scotland, he was detained, flayed alive, and then hanged, by order of Marchadee, the leader of the Brabantine mercenaries serving in Richard's army. Richard de Gordon gave lands to the Abbey of Kelso in the year 1267. Thomas, his son, was also a benefactor to that religious house; and his grandson, likewise Thomas, "taking upon him the sign of the Cross, according to the devotion of those times," left his inheritance to his daughter Alicia, who married her kinsman Adam Gordon, to whom she bore a son and heir, Sir Adam Gordon, Knight, who, "being a zealous assertor of the independency and freedom of his native country, stood in such high favour with King Robert Bruce, that the said

King, in consideration of his good services, gave him the Lordship of Strathbolgy, in Aberdeenshire," to which he changed his residence, in order to overawe and quell the Cumyns. He was killed at the battle of Haledon Hill in 1333. His son and heir, Sir Alexander, lost his life at the battle of Durham in 1346, as his great-grandson, Sir John, did at the battle of Homildon in 1401. This Sir John left issue by Elizabeth his wife, daughter to the Lord Keith, an only daughter of her name, who was her heir; and she, in the year 1408, marrying Sir Alexander Seton, second son to Sir William Seton of that Ilk, Robert, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, granted this gentleman a charter, dated 20th July, in the same year, of "the lands of the baronies of Gordoun and Huntly, Fogow, Fawnys, and Mellerstaines, in Berwickshire, Strathbolgy and Beldygordoun in Aberdeenshire;" and he was thenceforth styled Alexander de Seton, Dominus de Gordon. His son, Sir Alexander, resumed the surname of Gordon, and placed the arms of that name in the first quarter of his heraldic shield, where they have ever since been borne. It would be a waste of room to pursue the story further; but I may conclude with the following quotation from Chambers's "Gazetteer of Scotland":—"It is understood that when this great historical family removed to the North, where for three or four centuries they have possessed more territorial influence than any other, they carried along with them, and conferred the designation of Huntly upon a place in their new domains, from which they afterwards took the title of lord, earl, and marquis in succession; and on being raised to a dukedom in the year 1684, the parish of Gordon was resorted to for a new title [extinct in 1836], though for centuries they had had no seignorial connection with it."

Bishopwearmouth, Sunderland. WILLIAM BROCKIE.

THE IRISH "COMHLUCHD CLAN NA'N GAOIDHIL."—This Society was established in Belfast on the 17th March of the present year to promote the revival of the ancient language of the country, and to encourage the study of Irish history, music, and antiquities. It owes its origin to the patriotic zeal of a number of gentlemen desirous of emulating their countrymen in Dublin and elsewhere, who were making laudable efforts towards the resuscitation of the Gaelic tongue, which was fast dying out in several districts of the country, where until of late days it was universally spoken. The Society already numbers some 150 members, men of every shade of religious and political opinions, working harmoniously together for the common objects of the Association. Classes have been formed, at which a knowledge of Gaelic is imparted by efficient teachers through the medium of the Primers issued by the Society for the preservation of the Irish Language, together with Dr Joyce's Irish grammar. The meetings take place during the season on each Monday and Thursday evening, from 8 to 9.30, a portion of the time is devoted to the rehearsal of Irish songs, principally Dr M'Hales' translation of Moore's melodies. There is a Library in connection with the Society, containing some 200 volumes, chiefly of Celtic Literature, a large number of which have been liberally presented by members and friends, and will be increased as funds permit. Monthly meetings are convened for the purpose of hearing lectures delivered and papers read on popular Gaelic subjects. So far the Society has proved a success, and we trust it will continue to do so. If Irish Celts were only to use the Roman character in their works, their brother Scottish Celts would take a greater interest in their proceedings, and the task of learning to read their native tongue would be much simplified to Irishmen themselves.

A RUN THROUGH CANADA AND THE STATES.

By Kenneth Macdonald, F.S.A., Scot.

I.

The new Canadian province of Manitoba has been so extensively advertised, and so frequently written about of late years, that it has aroused the interest of thousands of the people of what our brethren across the sea call the "old country." The stories told of the depth and fertility of its soil, of the salubrity of its climate, of its extensive lake system, and its rivers navigable for thousands of miles, might lead one to suppose that here an earthly Paradise had been discovered, and that to be truly and completely happy and prosperous one had only to sever the ties which bound him to his home in the Old World and make for himself a home in this particular part of the New. And, unquestionably, strong inducements are offered to our farmers and farm servants, and, indeed, to every one of our people who are willing and able to work, to go to the new province. To the average Scotsman, with his land-hunger, which he cannot in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred gratify at home, the offer of a Free grant of 160 acres of good arable land, with the option of purchasing 160 acres more on almost nominal terms, is a strong temptation, and thousands of our countrymen, the most energetic and industrious of their race, have already availed themselves of the offer, and are now settled in the North-West. Many more are contemplating the same step, and many who do not contemplate it, may, by the force of circumstances, and under the pressure of our present insane and suicidal system of land laws, be compelled to take it on an early day.

I have never advocated emigration, and so long as there is even a distant prospect of our Legislature so amending our present laws affecting land as to afford protection to the cultivator of the soil for his labour and capital, I shall not advocate it. But meantime emigration is a *fact*. Thousands of our people are leaving our shores every year seeking a home elsewhere; and while

emigration need not be advocated, it must be recognised. Then it is unquestionable, that unless a speedy change takes place in our laws, or in the manner of administering them, there will almost of necessity be a pretty extensive depletion by emigration of the already sparse population of the Highlands within a few years.

These considerations, and the fact that Canada is becoming a greater favourite with emigrants than it has hitherto been, led me to resolve upon spending my short vacation this year (1882) in making a visit to the Dominion.

The steamer "Manitoban," of the Allan Line, left the Clyde early on the morning of Saturday, 19th August 1882, and, after an uneventful voyage, landed her passengers at Point Levis, opposite Quebec, on the morning of Wednesday, 30th August. I had intended spending a day in the ancient city of Quebec, but my experiences during a short walk through it, decided me to move on. Quebec, if not a dead city, is a decaying one, and the process of decay is all the more melancholy in view of the bustling life and rapid growth of almost every other city in Canada. The town lies on the north bank of the River St Lawrence, and towering above it is the fortress which so long defied the brave Wolfe in 1759, but which capitulated to the British forces almost immediately after the victory, which, at the cost of his own life, the gallant young General achieved on the Heights of Abraham over his French adversaries. Quebec is the natural outlet for the products of Canada coming down the St Lawrence, and the natural centre of distribution of the imports by that river; but, from whatever cause, Quebec has lost the position among cities which nature gave her, and has allowed Montreal, a city which had not her natural advantages, to take the first place.

When I arrived in Quebec, the Royal Ensign was floating over the Citadel, and, on enquiring the reason, I was told that the Princess Louise was there. In a day or two she was to start with her husband, the Governor, on a six months' tour to British Columbia, by way of Toronto, Niagara, Chicago, and San Francisco. The outward portion of this journey they have since accomplished, and as I now write they are being fêted in the Pacific Province.

On the south bank of the St Lawrence, opposite Quebec,

stands the town of Point Levis, or Levi, which forms the terminus at this point of the Grand Trunk Railway. Point Levis is now a town of considerable size, but it appears from Mr Macpherson Le Moine's "Chronicles of the St Lawrence" that up to 1850 the eastern portion of the point used every summer to be thickly studded with the bark wigwams of the Micmac Indians or the North Shore Montagnais—the presumed descendants of the warriors who, in 1775 or 1812 (without the privilege of scalping), had helped Old England to keep out the irrepressible Yankees. The precincts of the city of Quebec being closed to these lawless and rum-loving worthies, they each summer paddled their canoes to the historic point of Levi, erected bark huts, awaiting patiently until the English Commissariat handed them their annual presents for services rendered in time of need; blankets, clothing, beads, trinkets for the Indian princesses; red cloth, feathers, axes, ammunition for the Indian princes. *

From Point Levis to Montreal the distance by the Grand Trunk Railway is 172 miles, and a great part of the line runs through dreary swamps. It is most unfortunate for Canada that for many years her settlers should, immediately after landing, have been dragged through this God-forgotten looking part of the country, and invited practically to form their opinion of Canada from this sample. Why, the effect on a mere visitor is so depressing as sometimes to make him wish himself well out of such a country. What then must its effect have been on many a poor homeless emigrant, whose courage had been gradually ebbing during a long sea-voyage, which was taking him day by day further from home, and all the associations of childhood and youth upon which memory loves to dwell? Must not such an unpromising aspect of the country in which he proposed to rear up a new home have, in many cases, crushed out his little remaining courage and hopefulness, and so increased a thousandfold the difficulties in the way of his ultimate prosperity? To make the matter worse, the route is not even a short one, the line making a long *detour* southwards to Richmond, and thence back northwards to Montreal.

Shortly before entering Montreal the Grand Trunk Railway

* "Chronicles of the St Lawrence," by J. M. Le Moine, p. 190.

passes over the Victoria Bridge, one of the great bridges of the world. The bridge is nearly two miles in length, and was completed in the year 1859 from the designs of British engineers—Robert Stephenson and A. M. Ross. The mere bridging of a river nearly two miles in width was not by any means the most serious difficulty to be overcome by the engineers. At the point where the bridge is built the current runs at the rate of seven miles an hour, and when it is remembered that not only all the water which passes over Niagara Falls, but also all the additional water falling into Lake Ontario from other sources, finds it way out by the St Lawrence to the Atlantic, it will be seen how immense is the pressure which the river must exert over a bridge built across it. When to this, however, is added the fact that in each year the river is loaded with immense quantities of ice, which are hurled and piled against the piers of the bridge, it will be seen that the engineers had a task of no ordinary nature in divising a bridge calculated to withstand the pressure of the water and ice of the St Lawrence, and to carry across that river the railway traffic to and from the large and rapidly growing city of Montreal, the commercial capital of the Dominion of Canada. How successfully the engineers accomplished their task, and solved all the difficulties of the problem submitted to them, is at once seen when the bridge is examined. It consists of twenty-five tubes, supported by twenty-four piers and two terminal abutments; or rather there is a centre tube, and on each side six pairs of double tubes. The centre tube is detached at both ends, and the double tubes are bolted together and to the piers at their inner junction, and free at their outer ends, which rest upon rollers. Openings are left between each set of double tubes, and in this way ample provision is made for the expansion and contraction caused by the extremes of the Canadian climate. The tubes are of wrought boiler-plate iron, built up with the most careful calculation of the varying thicknesses of plate, and stiffened with angles of iron. They are of the uniform breadth of 16 feet, and are arranged for a single track within. Their height varies from 18 ft. 6 in. at the terminal tubes to 22 ft. for the centre tube. The centre tube is 60 ft. above the summer level of the river. Besides the openings placed for expansion, windows are placed in the tubes to afford light. The centre span is 330 feet, all the others

are 242 feet. The dimension of the piers, which are built of limestone, are at their foundations 92 feet by 22½ feet, and at the summit 33 feet in the line of the river, and 16 feet in the line of the bridge. They descend to a point 30 feet above summer level, very gradually increasing in size. At this point the masonry is extended horizontally 10 feet on the up-stream side, from whence it descends at an angle of 45 degrees to a point 6 feet below summer level, and thence perpendicularly to the bed of the river. The main increase in the size of the piers is thus upon the up-stream side, although the other sides also slightly increase in size as they descend. The pressure of the ice upon the piers of the bridge in spring and fall is enormous, but the horizontal gain of 10 feet in the up-stream dimensions of the piers prevents the ice from reaching the shaft, and the sharp edges to which the piers are brought upon that side form saddles upon which the ice cannot rest, but must break asunder or glide aside. From this description of the bridge, which is an abridgement of one prepared for the use of the members of the American Association for the Advancement of Science which met at Montreal a few days before I visited the city, it will be seen how admirably adapted this wonderful triumph of engineering skill is to fulfil all the conditions necessary to its continued existence. It has to carry a heavy traffic, it is therefore built of wrought-iron stiffened and strengthened, and resting on piers of solid masonry of enormous strength; it is subjected to intense heat in summer and intense cold in winter, causing expansion and contraction of the iron—provision is therefore made by having the ends of the tubes detached and resting upon rollers for the necessary movement without shaking the structure; and lastly, the pressure of water and ice is minimised by having the upper sides of the piers made in cut-water form, so that they offer the smallest possible resistance to the water, and afford no rest for the masses of ice which the river projects against them during a considerable portion of every year.

Night was rapidly settling down upon us as our train entered between the parapets of Egyptian-looking masonry which form the entrance to the long tunnel formed by the bridge. I went upon the platform in front of the car in which I had been travelling, to get if possible an idea of the appearance of the inside of the tunnel, but I soon found I could see very little, and the

smoke, soot, and live embers, which came flying round my face, soon induced me to retreat to the inside of the car and my seat. As the train went slowly on its way through the darkness, and minute after minute passed, and the horrid din continued, a weird feeling crept over even experienced travellers, who were making this journey for the first time. I was not therefore much surprised to find, after a few minutes, a lady, who had crossed the Atlantic without any exhibition of nervousness, hide her face, first, in her hands, and then in the nearest soft place she could find, which happened to be her husband's head or somewhere in that neighbourhood. Her husband, a highly orthodox Presbyterian minister returning to Canada with a second wife, bore this exhibition of weakness with exemplary patience, and when, after about ten minutes of darkness and the horrid clamour of rattling iron, we emerged into the open air and comparative peace, he proceeded to soothe his wife and calm her fears with such effect that by the time we reached Montreal she had quite got over her fright.

Arrived at Montreal, I had to part with all the friends made on the voyage across, and notwithstanding the invitations to pay a visit, and the half-made promises to do so, none of us met again. I especially regretted this in the case of my good friend Mr Robert Scott, of Mount Forest, Ontario, whom I was sincerely desirous to see again. We occupied the same cabin crossing the Atlantic, sat together at table, mingled our meals and our lamentations during the dreadful period of sea-sickness, and, when we had sufficiently recovered to eat sardines, we emptied my brandy-flask together in moderate potations to keep these fish at rest. The more I knew of Mr Scott the better I liked him, and, although I was not able to avail myself of his invitation to pay him a visit, I trust that was not the last opportunity I shall have of seeing him.

By the time I had taken a bath and a supper it was too late to see much of Montreal, but I saw a little, and on the following day, and during three subsequent visits I paid to the city, I saw enough of it to enable me to say what it looks like, and to express, with the amount of reservation with which a stranger ought always to give an opinion on such a subject, an opinion on the position and prospects of the city. K. M'D.

(To be continued.)

THE SUTHERLAND EVICTIONS.

RECENTLY much interest has been shown in the history of the "Sutherland Clearances," largely in consequence of the pamphlet issued on the subject by the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, Professor Blackie's "Altavona," and Alfred Russell Wallace's "Land Nationalisation." Many of our readers have expressed a wish to know what has appeared in this now notorious pamphlet, which, with the quotations from it, has so much roused the ire and energy of the present race of Sellars as to induce them to interfere with the sale of the books above named. In response to this wish, we give the following from the pamphlet, this portion of it being abridged from Donald Macleod's "Gloomy Memories," now in the press as part of a complete History of the Highland Clearances to be published on an early day:—

The history of the Sutherland clearances would take a bulky volume. Indeed, a large tome of 354 pages has been written in their defence by him who was mainly responsible for them, entitled "An account of the Sutherland Improvements," by James Loch, at that time Commissioner for the Marchioness of Stafford and heiress of Sutherland. It was the first account I ever read of these so-called improvements; and it was quite enough to convince me, and it will be sufficient to convince any one who knows anything of the country, that the improvement of the people, by driving them, in the most merciless and cruel manner, from the homes of their fathers, was carried out in a huge scale and in the most inconsiderate and heartless manner by those in charge of the Sutherland estates. But when one reads the other side, Macleod's "Gloomy Memories"—now very scarce—General Stewart of Garth's "Sketches' of the Highlanders, and other contemporary publications, one wonders that such iniquities could ever have been permitted in any Christian country, much less in Great Britain, which has done so much for the amelioration of subject races and the oppressed in every part of the world, while her own brave sons have been persecuted, oppressed, and banished without compensation by greedy and cold-blooded proprietors, who owed their position and their lands to the ancestors of the very men they were now treating so cruelly.

The motives of the landlords, generally led by southern factors worse than themselves, were, in most cases, pure self-interest, and they pursued their policy of extermination with a recklessness and remorselessness unparelleled in any country where the Gospel of peace and charity was preached—except, perhaps, unhappy Ireland. Generally, law and justice, religion and humanity, were either totally disregarded, or what was worse—in many cases converted into and applied as instruments of oppression. Every conceivable means, short of the musket and the sword, were used to drive the natives from the land they loved, and to force them to exchange their crofts and homes

—brought originally into cultivation and built by themselves, or by their forefathers—for wretched patches among the barren rocks on the sea shore, and to depend, after losing their cattle and their sheep, and after having their houses burnt about their ears or razed to the ground, on the uncertain produce of the sea for subsistence, and that in the case of a people who, in many instances, and especially in Sutherlandshire, were totally unacquainted with a seafaring life, and quite unfitted to contend with its perils. What was true generally of the Highlands, was in the county of Sutherland carried to the greatest extreme. That unfortunate county, according to an eye-witness, was made another Moscow. The inhabitants were literally burnt out, and every contrivance and ingenious and unrelenting cruelty was eagerly adopted for extirpating the race. Many lives were sacrificed by famine and other hardships and privations; hundreds, stripped of their all, emigrated to the Canadas and other parts of America; great numbers, especially of the young and athletic, sought employment in the Lowlands and in England, where, few of them being skilled workmen, they were obliged—even farmers who had lived in comparative affluence in their own country—to compete with common labourers, in communities where their language and simple manners rendered them objects of derision and ridicule. The aged and infirm, the widows and orphans, with those of their families who could not think of leaving them alone in their helplessness, and a number, whose attachment to the soil which contained the ashes of their ancestors, were induced to accept of the wretched allotments offered them on the wild moors and barren rocks. The mild nature and religious training of the Highlanders prevented a resort to that determined resistance and revenge which has repeatedly set bounds to the rapacity of landlords in Ireland. Their ignorance of the English language, and the want of natural leaders, made it impossible for them to make their grievances known to the outside world. They were, therefore, maltreated with impunity. The ministers generally sided with the oppressing lairds, who had the Church patronage at their disposal for themselves and for their sons. The professed ministers of religion sanctioned the iniquity, "the foulest deeds were glossed over, and all the evil which could not be attributed to the natives themselves, such as severe seasons, famines, and consequent disease, was by these pious gentlemen ascribed to Providence, as a punishment for sin."

The system of turning out the ancient inhabitants from their native soil throughout the Highlands during the first half of the present century has been carried into effect in the county of Sutherland with greater severity and revolting cruelty, than in any other part of the Highlands, and that though the Countess-Marchioness and her husband, the Marquis of Stafford, were by no means devoid of humanity, however atrocious, and devoid of human feeling were the acts carried out in their name by heartless underlings, who represented the ancient tenantry to their superiors as lazy and rebellious, though, they maintained, everything was being done for their advantage and improvement. How this was done will be seen in the sequel. South countrymen were introduced and the land given to them for sheep farms over the heads of the native tenantry. These strangers were made justices of the peace and armed with all sorts of authority in the county, and thus enabled to act in the most harsh and tyrannical fashion, none making them afraid; while the oppressed natives were placed completely at their mercy. They dare not even complain, for were not their oppressors also the administrators of the law? The seventeen parish ministers, with the single exception of the Rev. Mr Sage, took the side of the powers that were, exhorting the people to submit and to stifle their cries of distress, telling them that all their sufferings came from the hand of their Heavenly Father as a punishment for their past

transgressions. Most of these ministers have since rendered their account, and let us hope they have been forgiven for such cruel and blasphemous conduct. But one cannot help noting, to what horrid uses these men in Sutherlandshire and elsewhere prostituted their sacred office and high calling.

The Sutherland clearances were commenced in a comparatively mild way in 1807, by the ejection of ninety families from Farr and Lairg. These were provided for some fifteen or seventeen miles distant with smaller lots, to which they were permitted to remove their cattle and plenishing, leaving their crops unprotected, however, in the ground from which they were evicted. They had to pull down their old houses, remove the timber, and build new ones, during which period they had in many cases to sleep under the canopy of heaven. In the autumn they carried away, with great difficulty, what remained of their crops, but the fatigue incurred cost not a few of them their lives, while others contracted diseases which stuck to them during the remainder of their lives, and shortened their days.

In 1809 several hundred were evicted from the parishes of Dornoch, Rogart, Loth, Clyne, and Golspie, under circumstances of much greater severity than those already described. Several were driven by various means to leave the country altogether, and to those who could not be induced to do so, patches of moor and bog were offered on Dornoch Moor and Brora Links—quite unfit for cultivation. This process was carried on annually until, in 1811, the land from which the people were ejected was divided into large farms, and advertised as huge sheep runs. The country was overrun with strangers, who came to look at these extensive tracts. Some of these gentlemen got up a cry that they were afraid of their lives among the evicted tenantry. A trumped-up story was manufactured that one of the interlopers was pursued by some of the natives of Kildonan, and put in bodily fear. The military were sent for from Fort-George. The 21st Regiment was marched to Dunrobin Castle, with artillery and cartloads of ammunition. A great farce was performed; the people were sent for by the factors to the Castle at a certain hour. They came peaceably, but the farce must be gone through; the Riot Act was read; a few sheepish, innocent Highlanders were made prisoners, but nothing could be laid to their charge, and they were almost immediately set at liberty, while the soldiers were ordered back to Fort-George. The demonstration, however, had the desired effect in cowing and frightening the people into the most absolute submission. They became dismayed and broken-hearted, and quietly submitted to their fate. The clergy all this time were assiduous in preaching that all the misfortunes of the people were "fore-ordained of God, and denouncing the vengeance of Heaven and eternal damnation on all those who would presume to make the slightest resistance." At the May term of 1812 large districts of these parishes were cleared in the most peaceable manner, the poor creatures foolishly believing the false teaching of their selfish and dishonest spiritual guides—save the mark? The Earl of Selkirk, who went personally to the district, allured many of the evicted people to emigrate to his estates on the Red River in British North America, whither a whole ship cargo of them went. After a long and otherwise disastrous passage, they found themselves deceived and deserted by the Earl, left to their unhappy fate in an inclement wilderness, without any protection from the hordes of Red Indian savages, by whom the district was infested, and who plundered them of their all on their arrival, and finally massacred them, save a small remnant who managed to escape, and travelled, through immense difficulties, across trackless forests to Upper Canada.

The notorious Mr Sellar was at this time sub-factor, and in the spring of 1814 he took a large portion of the parishes of Farr and Kildonan into his own hands. In the

month of March the old tenantry received notices to quit at the ensuing May term, and a few days after the summonses were served the greater portion of the heath pasture was, by his orders, set on fire. By this cruel proceeding the cattle belonging to the old tenantry were left without food during the spring, and it was impossible to dispose of them at a fair price, the price having fallen after the war; for Napoleon was now a prisoner in Elba, and the demand for cattle became temporarily dull, and prices were very much reduced. To make matters worse, fodder was unusually scarce this spring, and the poor people's cattle depended for subsistence solely on the spring grass which sprouts out among the heather, but which this year had been burnt by the factor, who would himself reap the benefit when he came into possession later on.

In May the work of ejectment was again commenced, accompanied by cruelties hitherto unknown even in the Highlands. Atrocities were perpetrated which I cannot trust myself to describe in my own words. I shall give what is much more valuable—a description by an eye-witness in his own language. He says:—In former removals the tenants had been allowed to carry away the timber of their old dwellings to erect houses on their new allotments, but now a more summary mode was adopted—by setting fire to them. The able-bodied men were by this time away after their cattle, or otherwise engaged at a distance, so that the immediate sufferers by the general house-burning that now commenced were the aged and infirm, the women and children. As the lands were now in the hands of the factor himself, and were to be occupied as sheep farms, and as the people made no resistance, they expected, at least, some indulgence in the way of permission to occupy their houses and other buildings till they could gradually remove, and meanwhile look after their growing crops. Their consternation was therefore greater, when immediately after the May term-day, a commencement was made to pull down and set fire to the houses over their heads. The old people, women and others, then began to preserve the timber which was their own; but the devastators proceeded with the greatest celerity, demolishing all before them, and when they had overthrown all the houses in a large tract of country they set fire to the wreck. Timber, furniture, and every other article that could not be instantly removed was consumed by fire or otherwise utterly destroyed. The proceedings were carried on with the greatest rapidity and the most reckless cruelty. The cries of the victims, the confusion, the despair and horror painted on the countenances of the one party, and the exulting ferocity of the other, beggar all description. In these scenes Mr Sellar was present, and apparently, as sworn by several witnesses at his subsequent trial, ordering and directing the whole. Many deaths ensued from alarm, from fatigue, and cold, the people having been instantly deprived of shelter, and left to the mercies of the elements. Some old men took to the woods and to the rocks, wandering about in a state approaching to, or of absolute insanity; and several of them in this situation lived only a few days. Pregnant women were taken in premature labour, and several children did not long survive their sufferings. "To these scenes," says Donald Macleod, "I was an eye-witness, and am ready to substantiate the truth of my statements, not only by my own testimony, but by that of many others who were present at the time. In such a scene of general devastation, it is almost useless to particularise the cases of individuals; the suffering was great and universal. I shall, however, notice a very few of the extreme cases of which I was myself an eye-witness. John Mackay's wife, Ravigill, in attempting to pull down her house, in the absence of her husband, to preserve the timber, fell through the roof. She was in consequence taken in premature labour, and in that state was exposed to the open air and to the view of all the bystanders. Donald Munro, Garvott, lying in a fever, was

turned out of his house and exposed to the elements. Donald Macbeath, an infirm and bed-ridden old man, had the house unroofed over him, and was in that state exposed to the wind and rain until death put a period to his sufferings. I was present at the pulling down and burning of the house of William Chisholm, Badinloskin, in which was lying his wife's mother, an old bed-ridden woman of nearly 100 years of age, none of the family being present. I informed the persons about to set fire to the house of this circumstance, and prevailed on them to wait until Mr Sellar came. On his arrival, I told him of the poor old woman being in a condition unfit for removal, when he replied, 'Damn her, the old witch, she has lived too long—let her burn.' Fire was immediately set to the house, and the blankets in which she was carried out were in flames before she could be got out. She was placed in a little shed, and it was with great difficulty they were prevented from firing it also. The old woman's daughter arrived while the house was on fire, and assisted the neighbours in removing her mother out of the flames and smoke, presenting a picture of horror which I shall never forget, but cannot attempt to describe." Within five days she was a corpse.

In 1816 Sellar was charged at Inverness, before the Court of Justiciary, with culpable homicide and fire-raising in connection with these proceedings, and, considering all the circumstances, it is not at all surprising that he was "honourably" acquitted of the grave charges made against him. Almost immediately after, however, he ceased to be factor on the Sutherland estates, and Mr Loch came into power. Evictions were carried out from 1814 down to 1819 and 1820, pretty much of the same character as those already described; but the removal of Mr Young, the chief factor, and Mr Sellar from power was hailed with delight by the whole remaining population. Their very names had become a terror. Their appearance in any part of the county caused such alarm as to make women fall into fits. One woman became so terrified that she became insane, and whenever she saw any one she did not recognise, she invariably cried out in a state of absolute terror—"*Oh! sin Sellar*"—"Oh! there's Sellar." The people, however, soon discovered that the new factors were not much better. Several leases which were current would not expire until 1819 and 1820, so that the evictions were necessarily only partial from 1814 down to that period. The people were reduced to such a state of poverty that even Mr Loch himself, in his "Sutherland Improvements, page 76," admits that—"Their wretchedness was so great that, after pawning everything they possessed to the fishermen on the coast, such as had no cattle were reduced to come down from the hills in hundreds for the purpose of gathering cockles on the shore. Those who lived in the more remote situations of the county were obliged to subsist upon broth made of nettles, thickened with a little oatmeal. Those who had cattle had recourse to the still more wretched expedient of bleeding them, and mixing the blood with oatmeal, which they afterwards cut into slices and fried. Those who had a little money came down and slept all night upon the beach, in order to watch the boats returning from the fishing, that they might be in time to obtain a part of what had been caught." He, however, omitted to mention the share he and his predecessors had taken in reducing the people to such misery, and the fact that at this very time he had constables stationed at the Little Ferry to prevent the starved tenantry from collecting shellfish in the only place where they could find them.

He prevailed upon the people to sign documents, consenting to remove at the next Whitsunday term, promising at the same time to make good provision for them elsewhere. In about a month after the work of demolition and devastation again commenced, and parts of the parishes of Golspie, Rogart, Farr, and the whole of Kildonan were in a blaze. Strong parties with faggots and other combustible material were set

to work; three hundred houses were given ruthlessly to the flames, and their occupants pushed out in the open air without food or shelter. Macleod, who was present, describes the horrible scene as follows:—

"The consternation and confusion were extreme; little or no time was given for the removal of persons or property; the people striving to remove the sick and the helpless before the fire should reach them; next, struggling to save the most valuable of their effects. The cries of the women and children, the roaring of the affrighted cattle, hunted at the same time by the yelling dogs of the shepherds amid the smoke and fire, altogether presented a scene that completely baffles description—it required to be seen to be believed. A dense cloud of smoke enveloped the whole country by day, and even extended far out to sea; at night an awfully grand but terrific scene presented itself—all the houses in an extensive district in flames at once. I myself ascended a height about eleven o'clock in the evening, and counted two hundred and fifty blazing houses, many of the owners of which were my relations, and all of whom I personally knew, but whose present condition—whether in or out of the flames—I could not tell. The conflagration lasted six days, till the whole of the dwellings were reduced to ashes or smoking ruins. During one of these days a boat actually lost her way in the dense smoke as she approached the shore, but at night was enabled to reach a landing-place by the lurid light of the flames."

The whole of the inhabitants of Kildonan, numbering nearly 2000 souls, except three families, were utterly rooted and burnt out, and the whole parish converted into a solitary wilderness. The suffering was intense. Some lost their reason. Over a hundred souls took passage to Caithness in a small sloop, the master humanely agreeing to take them in the hold, from which he had just unloaded a cargo of quick lime. A head storm came on, and they were nine days at sea in the most miserable condition —men, women, and helpless children huddled up together, with barely any provisions. Several died in consequence, and others became invalids for the rest of their days. One man, Donald Mackay, whose family was suffering from a severe fever, carried two of his children a distance of twenty-five miles to this vessel. Another old man took shelter in a meal mill, where he was kept from starvation by licking the meal refuse scattered among the dust on the floor, and protected from the rats and other vermin by his faithful collie. George Munro, the miller at Farr, who had six of his family down with fever, had to remove them in that state to a damp kiln, while his home was given to the flames. And all this was done in the name of proprietors who certainly were not themselves tyrants in the ordinary sense of the term.

General Stewart of Garth, about a year after the cruelties perpetrated in Sutherland, writes with regret of the unnatural proceedings as "the delusions practised (by his subordinates) on a generous and public-spirited proprietor, which have been so perseveringly applied, that it would appear as if all feeling of former kindness towards the native tenantry had ceased to exist. To them any uncultivated spot of moorland, however small, was considered sufficient for the support of a family; while the most lavish encouragement has been given to all the new tenants, on whom, with the erection of buildings, the improvement of lands, roads, bridges, &c., upwards of £210,000 had been expended since 1808 (in fourteen years). With this proof of unprecedented liberality, it cannot be sufficiently lamented that an estimate of the character of these poor people was taken from the misrepresentation of interested persons, instead of judging from the conduct of the same men when brought into the world, where they obtained a name and character which have secured the esteem and approbation of men high in honour and rank, and, from their talents and experience, perfectly capable of judging with correctness. With such proofs of capability, and with such materials for carrying on the improvements and maintaining the permanent prosperity of the county, when occupied by a hardy, abstemious race, easily led on to a full exertion of their

faculties by a proper management, there cannot be a question, but that if, instead of placing them, as has been done, in situations bearing too near a resemblance to the potato-gardens of Ireland, they had been permitted to remain as cultivators of the soil, receiving a moderate share of the vast sums lavished on their richer successors, such a humane and considerate regard to the prosperity of a whole people would undoubtedly have answered every good purpose." He then goes on to show that when the valleys and higher grounds were let to the sheep-farmers, the whole native population was driven to the sea shore, where they were crowded on small lots of land to earn subsistence by labour and sea-fishing, the latter so little congenial to their former habits and experience. "And these *one or two acre lots* are represented as *improvements!*" He then asks how in a country, without regular employment or manufactories, a family is to be supported on one or two acres? The thing was impossible, and the consequence is that "over the whole of this district, where the sea-shore is accessible, the coast is thickly studded with thatched cottages, crowded with starving inhabitants," while strangers, with capital, usurp the land and dispossess the swain. Ancient respectable tenants, who passed the greater part of their lives in the enjoyment of abundance, and in the exercise of hospitality and charity, possessing stocks of ten, twenty, and thirty breeding cows, with the usual proportion of other stock, are now pining on one or two acres of bad land, with one or two starved cows; and for this accommodation a calculation is made, that they must support their families, and pay the rents of their lots, not from the produce, but from the sea. When the herring fishery succeeds, they generally satisfy the landlords, whatever privations they may suffer; but when the fishing fails, they fall in arrears, and are sequestrated, and their stocks sold to pay the rents, their lots given to others, and they and their families turned adrift on the world; but in these trying circumstances, he concludes, "We cannot sufficiently admire their meek and patient spirit, supported by the powerful influence of moral and religious principle."

The beautiful Strathnaver, containing a population equal to Kildonan, has been cleared in the same heartless manner.

In 1828, Donald Macleod, after a considerable absence, returned to his native Kildonan, where he attended divine service in the parish church, which he found attended by a congregation consisting of eight shepherds and their dogs—numbering between twenty and thirty—the minister, and three members of his family. Macleod came in too late for the first psalm, but at the conclusion of the service the fine old tune "Bangor" was given out, "when the four-footed hearers became excited, got up on the seats, and raised a most infernal chorus of howling. Their masters attacked them with their crooks, which only made matters worse; the yelping and howling continued to the end of the service." And Donald Macleod retired to contemplate the painful and shameful scene, and contrast it with what he had previously experienced as a member, for many years, of the large and devout congregation that worshipped formerly in the parish church of his native valley.

The Parish Church of Farr was no longer in existence; the fine population of Strathnaver was rooted and burnt out during the general conflagration, and presented a similar aspect to his own native parish. The church, no longer found necessary, was razed to the ground, and its timbers conveyed to construct one of the Sutherland "improvements"—the Inn at Altnaharra, while the minister's house was converted into a dwelling for a fox-hunter. A woman, well-known in the parish, travelling through the desolated Strath next year after the evictions, was asked on her return home for her news, when she replied—"Oh, chan eil ach sgiala bronach! sgiala bronach!" "Oh, only sad news, sad news! I have seen the timber of our well attended kirk covering the inn at Altnaharra; I have seen the kirk-yard where our friends are mouldering filled with tarry sheep, and Mr Sage's study turned into a kennel for Robert Gunn's dogs, and I have seen a crow's nest in James Gordon's chimney head;" after which she fell into a paroxysm of grief. A. M.

Literature.

ALTAVONA: FACT AND FICTION FROM MY LIFE IN THE HIGHLANDS. By JOHN STUART BLACKIE, F.R.S.E., Professor of Greek, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: David Douglas.

[SECOND NOTICE.]

THE more this work is looked into, the more will the reader be astonished at the variety of topics treated; it is truly a repertory of most matters connected with the Highlands, in places, persons, and problems. Nor less will he be delighted with the unusual temperance with which the whole, including difficult burning questions, are treated, and the skill and fairness with which the different opinions on each are presented. As he says himself, and as the world well knows, the Professor has "decided views" on most of the important social problems spoken of, but, as he also rightly claims, he strives always, when he most violently condemns, to appreciate his antagonist's point of view, and to state his case as sympathetically as possible. Then the mixed *olla podrida* is seasoned with admirable relishes of various kinds, which enhance the piquancy and palatableness of the dish. The amount of quotable phrase and sparkling point is remarkable in regard to most subjects. Errors or slips in style or fact are exceedingly few, as when he follows the vulgar mistake of making the whale feed upon herrings (p. 162). The whole forms a worthy monument of the author on important subjects to which he has devoted his later life; a valuable and speaking presentation of his complex, but attractive, personality, misunderstood by many, and known only to his intimates; and a contribution to Highland literature of eminent merit. The mere enumeration of the many subjects touched by his facile pen would fill our pages. Some of these, and we can touch only on a few in the wide and fertile field, we can scarcely more than mention, to give an idea of the racy variety of the entertainment, just as they come to hand.

Of scenery, he has numerous picturesque sketches, good specimens of word painting, more in the broad, free, dashing style of

Sam Bough than in the fine, if not finical, elaborateness of Waller Paton, who paints the sweet vignette in the title page. It is to be hoped that the book will also help our tourists—it will the thoughtful—to a wider and deeper appreciation of Highland scenery than is common, for as the author pleads, sight-seeing and scenery are much more "serious affairs" than they are generally made; and that it will shew them in high degree how they may become at once both education and enjoyment.

His portraits of the men he represents are unusually realistic and clear, as witness his characterisation of the busy hive of tourists on Oban Pier, but better still those of the greater personages he talks of—such as that "Prince-Apostle" of the Celts, St Columba, "a man of tall, stately, and aristocratic appearance, with powerful, piercing eyes, and grandly resonant voice"; "in temper, like St Paul, a man of mettle and high spirit, and, like King David, a sacred poet; and if he had a rope for his belt round his middle, depend upon it there was a sword hanging from it. In Columba I see a really great man—the man of lofty thought, fervid love, daring adventure, and enduring achievement."

The Professor, of course, pleads for a broad humanity in all men "active, intelligent, heroic and fruitful," and utterly contemns and condemns the systematic stupefaction of manhood in monkery. "We are here to fight the battle of life not to shirk it. To seek for virtue among such men is like swimming in a shallow pool where there is no danger of being drowned; such swimmers will never breast the Hellispont." The breadth and freedom he asks for, however, might frighten weak nerves, as when he admires the Frenchman who "fell on his knees before all the spectators, and gave public thanks to the Architect of the Universe" in Fingal's Cave, as doing something, "at once so rational, so dramatic, and so devout," which no Scotsman or Englishman would do, "the one being girt about with caution, the other with pride."

He scatters his scorn on so-called Highland games, which æsthetics and humanity unite in condemning as if Highlanders were a poor down-trodden generation who have nothing but legs to show, and he wishes "more brain, and less brawn" cultivated at such gatherings.

He bemoans our prevalent want of taste in buildings under

the dominion "of the great goddess, Utilitaria, whom all Scotland and the World worships," though he notes growing improvement in this respect, and specially acknowledges that nothing attracts his eye so much as "the graceful architecture of the new schools throughout the Highlands." He also points out one source of the Scotch want of æsthetic culture, in the fact that "Sandy sees God only in the conscience and in the Bible, and not in nature."

He gives long pieces of history sometimes of little known periods and places, as the story of the Macleans, "high renowned" in their own little corners; but also of greater things, notably of Iona and its mighty influence over British religion, sketching the outline of an epic with Columba as its greater Æneas. And these chapters of history are wisely attached to real places and scenes when these are visited. In the use of these he gives an admirable lesson as to how national history should be learned in order to be felt and truly realised; for with Blackie, as he says, and as it should be with all wise men and patriots, "historical places are like roots from which whole centuries of buried life rise up resuscitated." It is to be feared that his censure of our Scotch obtuseness to the influences of the past, and our "irreverent carelessness" in regard to some of our finest ecclesiastical ruins until recent years, is quite deserved, when he says that "our regular Presbyterian Scot is, in some respects, a most irreverent animal."

He has some good remarks regarding the Celtic pride of ancestry, though in his incursions into this field, with all his power of throwing interest round the dry, he is likely to stop the common reader by a terrible treatise on Macdonald's genealogical tree in his first chapter. When "Church" boasts that he "knows nothing about his grandmother," he exclaims, "the more shame to you. The knowledge and esteem of ancestry has [one of the few grammatical slips in the volume] been the fruitful source whence the most brilliant feats of Celtic chivalry have sprung. It is only the modern Celtic form of that instinct of ancestral reverence which caused the Greeks to raise a temple to Theseus, and the Romans to do the same honour to Romulus"; though he confesses that this feeling has, no doubt, its degenerate type with not a few, "nothing better than a shallow senti-

mentalism, the hobby-horse of a ridiculous vanity, or the full-blown bladder of an empty pride."

Of harder matters, the learned and omnivorous Professor gives full taste, but bright, airy, and instructive withal, such as Gaelic philology, which he seeks to put on a scientific basis, as against the unscientific Gaelic enthusiasts for derivations and its uncorrupted priority and superiority to other tongues; gnarled Geology, as exhibited round Oban, and in Kerrera and Mull, in this case through the pen of that solemn fossil, the scientist "Hilarius," though the Professor trips when he speaks of the limestone of the Garveloch Islands, as "one of the most southerly links of the great limestone vein which crops out grandly at Inchnadamph and uttermost Durness," the Lorn limestone being in a different and much more easterly horizon; and on Botany, on which he delightedly discourses in Kerrara, at the brilliant pic-nic that figures in his third dialogue, with its superabundent good cheer, the liquid elements of which will, we fear, wreck the temperate Professor's good fame with the T.T.'s and the G.T.'s, as the *Times* has already more than hinted.

Of lighter subjects, we have ample store—Highland music; Highland poetry, of which he gives some admirable versions; original lyrics, all sparklingly good of their kind, and not least, that in praise of the Isle of Mist, done in no misty style, by the genial Sheriff of Kirkcudbright; his peculiar views of the functions of war in national manhood; his pro-German "blood and iron" sympathies; his frequent and righteous denunciations of modern fashion and affectation and genteel snobbery, which are "smothering nature and strangling simplicity"; his fears of the time when, "not cousinship and human kindness, but cash payment and political economy shall have become the only bond that binds the different classes of society together"; and a host of other pleasant and profitable intrusions of glowing lavas into the more regular and detailed series of the book.

Several social subjects are treated more in detail by our pro-Celtic Professor as bearing strongly on local and national well-being. Of these, Highland education is one on which he has decided views, and on which he has frequently spoken. He here again dilates on his opinions in favour of Highland culture for the Highland child, rich or poor, in addition to the subjects taught in com-

mon with Lowland schools. In the training of the upper classes of the Highlands, he rightly laments that they are "educated, not as Highland lairds, but as young Englishmen," having "deserted the national schools and colleges for Eton and Oxford, to be trained up in Anglified puppyism and would-be scholarly conceit." "They cannot speak a word of Gaelic, and know more of Horace and Homer—though that may be little enough—than of Duncan Ban and Alastair Macdonald." They thus become "Highlanders for the more part only in pride of pedigree, not in tone of sentiment or in type of culture." He deprecates any severe judgment of such individuals, the common type of even our old Highland proprietors' sons, for "they are what they are by the potent influence of birth, education, habit, and tradition."

On the rational use of Gaelic as a valuable instrument in the early education of the Gaelic child, as well as in his after culture, he is as strong and as sensible as ever ; and he quotes in the appendix the Report of our local pro-Celtic inspector, Mr Jolly, for 1879, in favour of its use in our Highland schools, which was recently adopted by the Federation of Celtic Societies as their reply to the anti-Celtic opinions of some of his colleagues. The Professor puts the whole subject in a nut-shell when he says, "A man may have many languages, but he can only have one mother tongue." But on this topic we need not again enter more at length here.

Another important social subject to which he devotes large space is the religion of the Highlands. On this difficult theme, will be found in these pages as clear, temperate, reverent, and far-reaching a statement of the state of this difficult problem as we remember to have seen; combined with an unusually fresh and philosophical presentation of the Celtic phase of the religious sentiment, such as it has seldom or ever received, for which Professor Blackie should gain our lasting gratitude, including that of Dr Kennedy, who will not, we are sure, refuse it. While characterising our excessive divisiveness in forming sects in Scotland, which it would require "peculiar idiopathic microscopes" to discern the differences between, he sees in this tendency the activity of our national religiousness. He attempts to account for the Disruption on grounds on which there will ever be differences of opinion, but his views deserve to be examined by both parties. He endeavours very successfully to account for the strong anti-

patronage and seemingly anti-Establishment attitude of the Highlanders at the religious revolution of '43, and their present pro-Establishment position, in connection with the movement for Disestablishing the church. In doctrine, he not unjustly characterises the Highlander as "the most orthodox, most narrow-minded, and the most one-sided of all theologians." But no where have the Highlander's special religious views been presented in such attractive and reasonable philosophic guise than in this book, in regard even to those severer forms of Calvinism that are his own pet doctrines, and the antipathy of others. As to the average intelligent Highlander's ability to give a reason for the faith that is in him, he says to his Oxonian friend, "If you do wish to prove your mettle in a stiff theological argument, depend upon it, my dear Kit, with all your Oxford Greek and all your Aristotelian logic, you will find some Ferintosh evangelist, even though not a D.D., an antagonist worthy of your steel"—a not unmerited compliment, though most Lowlanders will doubt its truth,

He strongly and rightly condemns the gloom that haunts our Highland religious life and daily walk, as both "a renunciation of humanity and a declaration of war against all temporal and visible enjoyments—a temper the very reverse of that which was praised and practised by Socrates and other wise Greeks, with whom religion was rather the art of enjoying the present life according to reason." He also states an undoubted fact when he piquantly says that "There is nothing more difficult for the Highland mind to reconcile than gaiety and piety, amusement and religion"; a reconciliation which our northern clergy should set themselves actively to promote, in the interests of religion and morals, and which we hope is now much nearer than it has too long been. As was to be expected from such a lay preacher on secular subjects on Sunday, he condemns "the Pharisaic formalism with which our countrymen inculcate Sabbath observance, as, beyond doubt, Jewish rather than Christian in its character, and as giving to the letter of a statutable enactment a value which belongs only to the laws of eternal and inimitable morality"—a statement of the Sabbath question at once theological and philosophical, though making distinctions in the decalogue that some will not relish.

He highly commends Highland preaching on various grounds. He does not believe that its alleged want of practicality applies more to it than to the general run of sermons "with which pious ears are washed in this country, Sunday after Sunday, with such faithfulness of pious routine." He is strong in praise of its fervid appeal to the emotions, its addressing the heart above the head, even when it offends most against cold pulpit proprieties, for "tameness cannot be the style, nor propriety the law, of any sort of effective discourse. In the English pulpit by systematically cramping nature and damping fervour, you have murdered eloquence," which he holds to exist more in the Highlands than in other parts of the country. The function of that peculiar Highland religious class, the lay assistant bishops, called "the men," he gives an admirable account of, and reason for, and would like to see it in existence elsewhere. He describes the class very felitiously and fairly (p. 333), and holds with truth that they could not have acquired the high influence over their fellows they unquestionably had, unless they had been endowed with talents capable of commanding the attention and moulding the minds of an intelligent peasantry.

But we have already been tempted too far for our space into the attractive field of prose and poetry exhibited in *Altavona*. One other important and pregnant question now daily claiming increased attention and demanding no distant solution, on which he enters very fully, the relation of the landowner to the tenant, we reserve for a future day. Enough has, we hope, been said to show that in this unique work on the Highlands, the intelligent reader—and surely there are many such interested in the problems discussed—cannot but rise from its perusal, to recur once more to the words of its author, "rich in not a few facts and ideas," and with a conviction that the Professor possesses, as he claims, "knowledge enough to correct some of the misty conceptions that float through the mind of the average Englishman," and, he might added, Scotsman, on most subjects connected with the Highlands of Scotland.

TO OUR CONTRIBUTORS.—Several important articles, communications, and queries are unavoidably left over, but we hope to give most of them in our next number.

THE

CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

No. LXXXVI. DECEMBER 1882. VOL. VIII.

THE SCULPTURED STONES OF ROSS & CROMARTY

BY CAPTAIN COLIN MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

X.

THE next stone in order for consideration is the Obelisk at Shandwick. Cordiner seems to have been the first traveller to take any particular notice of it, and thus describes it in his *Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland*:—"On a bank near the shore, opposite to the ruins of a castellated house, called *Sandwick*, and about three miles east from *Ferne*, a very splendid Obelisk is erected, surrounded at the base with large, well-cut flag-stones; formed like steps. Both sides of the column are elaborately covered with various enrichments, in well-finished carved work. The one face presents a sumptuous cross, with a figure of *St Andrew* on each hand, and some uncouth animals and flowerings underneath. The central division on the reverse, renders it a piece of antiquity well worthy of preservation: there is exhibited in that such a variety of figures, birds, and animals, as seemed what might prove a curious subject of investigation; I have therefore given a distinct delineation of them, at

the foot of the column, on a larger scale, that their shapes might be distinctly ascertained, and the more probable conjectures formed of their allusion". This account is contained in a letter from Cordiner to Pennant, dated Dornoch, June 13th, 1776. The "delineation" is that of the reverse of the stone, and the engraving appears along with the above letterpress in the *Antiquities and Scenery.* In the *Remarkable Ruins,* Cordiner says:—"The stone is still in great preservation. Within the circle of a few miles in that district, are many similar monuments; but most of the others are either fallen down or broken, however, many curious fragments of them are still to be seen." A drawing of the obverse of the stone also appears in the *Remarkable Ruins.* Dr Stewart says of this cross:—"This magnificent Obelisk lies near the village of Shandwick, in the Parish of Nigg, about a mile westward from the stone at Hilton, and a quarter of a mile from the sea shore. It was unfortunately blown down within the last ten years [Stewart writes in 1856,] and, in consequence, broken into two pieces." Hugh Miller says, *Scenes and Legends:*—"The stone of Shandwick is still standing,* and bears on the side which corresponds to the obliterated surface of the other [i.e. the Hilton slab,] the figure of a large cross, composed of circular knobs wrought into an involved and intricate species of fret work, which seems formed by the twisting of myriads of snakes. In the spaces on the sides of the shaft there are two huge, clumsy-looking animals, the one resembling an elephant, and the other a lion ; over each of these a St Andrew seems leaning forward from his cross; and on the reverse of the obelisk the sculpture represents processions, hunting scenes, and combats." Dr Stewart does not fall in with all Messrs Cordiner and Miller's conclusions. He observes:—"It has been supposed that the figures on each side of the cross, immediately beneath the transverse bar, are intended to represent St Andrew on his cross, but it may be doubted whether they are not meant to represent angels with displayed wings, like those on the stone at Eassie. The pillar is of freestone. The raised bosses or knobs on the face of the cross appear on many of the Irish monuments, and on

* In a note he remarks, "since, however, blown down in a storm, and broken into three pieces." This is erroneous, as the stone has only been broken in two pieces, as described by Dr Stuart.

St Martin's cross at Iona. The same sort of ornament was long continued on the Highland targets."

The account of the Parish of Nigg, drawn up for the *New Statistical Account of Scotland* by the Rev. Lewis Rose, and revised in 1836, has the following :—"[The cross] at Shandwick is called '*Clach a Charridh*,' the stone of the burying-ground. '*Carridh*' is the Gaelic word for a burial-place; and it was a mistake, in the former Statistical Account, to call this stone '*Clach a Charraig*,' *the stone of the rock*. It is about 8 feet high, 4 broad, and 1 thick. It has been often described and admired by the lovers of antique curiosities. The ground around was, for ages, employed as a burying-place, but it has not been used for that purpose within the last fifty years. [Since 1786?]." Mr Denoon remarks of the cross :—"Another stone somewhat similar to the Hilton stone, stands on a hill at the back of Shandwick village, on the estate of Balnagown. It is about 9 feet high, 3 feet broad, and 6 inches thick. It was erected, we are told, over the remains of another son of the King of Denmark, who had been wrecked on Craig Cary (Cary Rock). These rocks were also called the King's sons, and the stone is called Clach Cary (the Cary stone)." Here we have another proof of many of the uncertainties of tradition. Mr Denoon refers to the "Cary Rock," and calls the cross itself "Clach Cary." Now, this latter name looks very like a repetition of the "Clach a Charraig," *the stone* of *the rock*, mentioned above, and which the Rev. Lewis Rose tells us should be read *the stone of the burying ground*—or has it anything to do with Prince Carius? The reader may remember that the spot where the Edderton incised stone stands is called "Carry Blair," or the battlefield of Carius, and that it is said to mark the grave of a certain Prince Carius, who, at the head of a body of "invading Norwegian pirates," was defeated and slain there. What a talent our ancestors had for ascribing all their antiquities to a foreign origin ; and the belief has not died out yet. Both the incised obelisks and the beautiful sculptured crosses are ascribed contemporaneously to the Vikings ! It is high time that truthful history should be written and error dissipated. In other words, that the civilised Pict should be shown to have been the man of culture, not the semi-barbarous Northman.

That the Shandwick stone is the oldest of the crosses of

Easter Ross, I can scarcely doubt, though the fragmentary state of the Tarbat crosses renders it difficult to assign a particular date to their erection. I shall, however, later on, endeavour to fix an approximate date to the Shandwick cross, but in the meantime I deem it best to lay aside theory, and describe the stone as it actually appears at present. I also beg to refer the reader to a note in No. VIII. of these papers, where I pointed out that though Cordiner's pictures in the *Antiquities and Scenery* were deserving of praise, those in the *Remarkable Ruins* were by no means reliable. Having now carefully observed and noted the discrepancies between Cordiner's sketch in the latter book, the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, and the Shandwick cross itself, I intend, as I proceed with my description, to point out the errors shown in Cordiner's picture of the obverse, as inserted in the *Remarkable Ruins*. This latter I do for the three following reasons. First—of Dr Stewart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, only a limited number of copies were printed for the Spalding Club; the book is very dear; and it is not generally accessible. Secondly—It will probably never be reproduced, as a whole, either in its present or in a more popular form; and but a very scanty number of its plates have been reproduced, often very faultily by means of woodcuts, which must be painfully sought for through the pages of a multitude of writers upon archæology. Thirdly—That Cordiner's *Remarkable Ruins* are in the hands of many persons, who are as unable to obtain access to the writers latterly mentioned, as they are to Dr Stewart's work itself, and who might therefore be led by Cordiner to form erroneous conceptions of the Ross-shire monuments, were no steps taken to point out in what particulars the plates in the *Remarkable Ruins* are at fault.

The first thing to be observed with regard to the obverse of the stone is that it is perfectly square at the top, whereas Cordiner represents it as being rather pointed. A raised rim seems originally to have run all round the stone. What first catches the eye is a large Latin cross, occupying the whole upper half of that face of the obelisk looking seawards, and having semi-circular pieces cut out at the intersection of the arms, a very common Celtic pattern, of which stones at Brodie, Elgin, St Vigeans (No. 2), Kingoldrum, Kirriemuir, &c., might be cited as examples. Cordiner on the contrary inserts at the intersections perforated circles,

a type perfectly distinct from the other and of which the Cross (No. 3) at Meigle is a good example. But what constitutes the most curious feature of this Shandwick cross is that, instead of being filled in with knot or other work, it is ornamented with a double row of bosses or knobs. There are ten of these upon each of the upper arms, twenty-two upon the lower arm or stem of the cross, and four in the centre. These centre four are the smallest; four at each of the intersections, that is sixteen bosses, are of medium size ; while the thirty-six, occupying the broader portion of the limbs, are the largest. There are, therefore, fifty-six bosses in all. Some of these bosses are now almost weathered away. From the peculiar shape given by Cordiner to this cross in his drawing, he has been unable to represent either the proper position, size, form, or number of these bosses. Dr Stuart has called attention to this boss ornamentation as resembling that of St Martin's Cross at Iona and that of various Irish crosses; but I am glad to find that he does not raise upon this fact any hypothesis as to the Shandwick stone being the work of Irish sculptors. The truth is that the boss work was common to all the Celts. It may be found on Sarcophagi at Meigle and St Andrews, and on crosses at Dunfallandy, St Madoes, Aberbuno, a fragment at St Vigeans, and more especially scattered over the head of the very fine cross (No. 4) at Meigle. But the most important fact of all is that bosses are used on all the monuments in the immediate neighbourhood of the Shandwick stone. The Cross of Nigg is most profusely decorated with them, both round and oval, and beautifully ornamented ; the border of a fragment of a cross at Tarbat is studded with them ; between the intersections of the arms, and the circular disc which surrounds the cross on one side of the Edderton stone, are four bosses, and also one in the centre; four bosses appear in the four corners of the square which surrounds the Greek cross on one side of the Rosemarkie obelisk ; and there is no reason why the cross which once was engraved upon the Hilton slab should not have been similarly ornamented. No bosses appear upon the rude symbol-inscribed standing stones.

Regarding the two spaces above the transverse limbs of the cross, we find that the ornamentation of one is quite obliterated, while the other contains a rude sort of padlock-shaped ornament, as if the padlock were turned upside down ; the handle or catch

of the padlock being twisted, and the centre filled, with knot work. And now I have to call attention to one of Cordiner's most flagrant mistakes, which, had he lived in our own day, I trust he would never have committed. Doubtless owing to the height of the cross, he was unable to make out the state of the spaces above the arms, and so he quietly evolved out of his inner consciousness *a couple of kneeling angels*, who never could have existed. Of these and the two bending priests on the Nigg slab he cooly says, in the *Remarkable Ruins:*—"The figures in praying postures on the fragment [at Nigg,] and those [at Shandwick,] seemed to have been similar ones, or angels bending at the cross." He then proceeds to argue that these figures, the cross itself, the two St Andrews on crosses (of which more anon), and the dove placing the consecrated wafer on the patten (on the Nigg slab), bear testimony that these stones were decorated with figures, &c., copied from illuminated missals brought from Rome. He says: —"The missionaries from the Church of *Rome*, bringing their missals and other books along with them, artists would have access to see them. By the taste of the times, these books from the Continent were in general illuminated with various paintings. The piety of the new converts adopted these as the chief embellishments for their monumental stones." How then about our own primitive Christianity? How then about St Ninian and St Columba who preached the simple gospel to Scotland, long before Rome sent us priests to drive the country wild over the peculiar form of the tonsure, or the particular day upon which Easter should be celebrated? How about the Columbian Gospels of Durrow? The nearest approach to Celtic art, as far as missals are concerned, which I ever saw, was a rude representation in an illuminated copy of the Revelation of St John, then in the Royal Library of Madrid, depicting the Great Dragon sweeping the stars out of heaven with his tail. The form of the old serpent reminded me strongly of some of the more uncouth monsters of the standing stones. But the famous *Codex Argenteus*, which I have seen in the library of Upsala in Sweden, and which is the oldest Christian manuscript I have ever seen, though written in letters of silver, and older than the Gospels of Durrow, is not illuminated. A certain connection between the embellishment of some of the Saxo-Northumbrian crosses, and early Roman Missals,

may be traced, for it was a Roman missionary, St Augustine, who converted the Saxons, but to endeavour to prove that Celtic ornament can be found in any purely Roman Missal, of even the ninth, or tenth, or eleventh century, is simply to court ignominious failure. Celtic civilization like Celtic art was indigenous, and what Saxon and Gothic barbarism actually wrought upon the former, the Roman missionary (belauded by Cordiner), endeavoured to wreak upon the latter.

Dr Stuart says:—"Mr Westwood reminds us, that of the copies of the Holy Scriptures sent into England by St Gregory, with the mission of St Augustine, two are still preserved, and that they are different in the character of the writing from the Irish, as well as remarkable for their wanting the ornamentation which is so prominent in these." Owen Jones, in his Grammar of Ornament, under "Celtic Ornament," remarks—"All the most ancient Italian manuscripts are entirely destitute of ornamental elaboration." Does not all this go to prove that the art of illumination took its rise among the Celts, who must at that time have reached a high pitch of civilisation and culture.

Vae Victis. Woe to the conquered. The splendid pageants of the Roman Church were not long in supplanting the simple service of the Culdees. The high mass in the lofty fane blazing with gorgeous vestments, gold, and jewels, and redolent of the reek of incense, as surely appealed to the senses, as the simple service outside the hermit's wattled booth, or rough stone cell, had gone home to the heart. But there is a comforting old proverb, "Threatened men live long." Palestine was conquered long ago, but there are still myriads of Jews. As long as the Celt lives, his art will live with him. Many a Highland dirk and snuff-box boast to-day the patterns which were in vogue a thousand years ago—and who shall say that the Highlanders, who, with resistless bayonets, charged the murderous lines of Tel-el-Kebir, were one whit behind those who died in their blood upon the Muir of Drummossie. Amongst an enlightened and chivalrous race, native art like native courage will never die!

(To be continued.)

MEMOIR OF SIR JAMES MATHESON OF THE LEWS, BART.—The portion of "The History of the Mathesons" containing this Memoir is not for sale *separately*. It was specially printed for Lady Matheson "for private circulation" only.

THE LATE DANIEL MACKINLAY.

ONE of the duties which we laid down for ourselves, when this periodical came into existence, was to commemorate the good deeds of Highlanders who have made for themselves a position in life—in the military, literary, or learned professions, or in the commercial world. In the latter Daniel Mackinlay, who, on the 3rd of October last, died at Portobello, aged 72, deserves special notice. He was born in 1810, of respectable parents, his father being Peter Mackinlay, at one time tenant of the farm of Arnish, in the Island of Lews, and his mother Sybella, daughter of Captain Kennedy of Stornoway. His career adds another instance to the many examples among our countrymen which go to show that success does not always depend on the start which one gets to begin the world with. Mackinlay was eminently a self-made man. His father died while Daniel was a mere boy, leaving his little son utterly penniless, and without even the knowledge of the three R's; but, thanks to our Scottish Parochial School system, then in existence, and the assistance of a good and wise mother, Daniel, naturally a bright intelligent boy, early became a good scholar, and soon obtained a private tutorship in the family of Mr Maciver of Gress. He afterwards occupied a similar position in the family of Mr Stewart, father of the present popular and well-known John Stewart of Ensay, late of Duntulm. Subsequently he secured a situation in the office of Mr Murdo Robertson of the Bill Chamber, Edinburgh; and from there he got into the office of Mr Thomas Mackenzie, younger of Applecross, M.P., and W. S. in Edinburgh. From here he was, in 1844, sent to Calcutta to take the management of the firm of Gillanders, Arbuthnot, & Co., a position which he obtained solely, in consequence of the able and judicious manner in which he carried through some legal business entrusted to his employer, and in which Mr George Arbuthnot, of Morris Bank, was interested. By careful and prudent management he piloted the house, now under his charge, safely over the disastrous failures of 1847-48, when so many others came to grief. He continued his successful commercial career abroad until 1860, when he was able to return home with

a handsome fortune. So much esteemed was he by his brother merchants in Calcutta—who had previously conferred upon him the Presidentship of the Chamber of Commerce—the highest honour at their disposal—that, on his retirement, they had his portrait painted and hung up in their Chamber, while at the same time they presented him with a valuable service of plate, in recognition of his services to his brothers in commerce.

One who knew him intimately informs us that "'though Mackinlay was most successful as a merchant, his memory will be cherished more for his heart qualities than for those of the head. Nothing pleased him so much as doing a good turn for young Highlanders. When any one applied for an appointment for any Highland lad, Mackinlay would, with the utmost pleasure, enter heart and soul into the matter, and do all in his power, which was a great deal, generally ending in securing a good appointment for the applicant. During his stay in Calcutta, from 1844 to 1860, he performed many acts of kindness for his countrymen which can never be published, but which remain engraved on the hearts of the grateful recipients of his liberality and aid. If a Lews man landed at that port, and needed anything, Mackinlay was sure to find him out and assist him. He was the first who recognised the merits of the late Kenneth Macleod, of Greshornish, and placed him in that position, where, by his own natural ability, he quickly amassed a fortune. Mackinlay was, in a word, the brightest ornament and the greatest benefactor to the Lews, among its own sons, that ever left it. He had always a kindly feeling to his native island and its inhabitants—at one time getting up subscriptions for the widows of its brave fishermen, who had perished at sea; at another, interesting himself in the welfare of its poor crofter inhabitants; indeed he was always thinking of them."

Mackinlay has provided several open bursaries of £15 and £10 each, tenable for three years, for competition among the youth of the Lews, to encourage and help on those of them taking up any of the learned professions. Though he never made the slightest effort to make himself so, he was very popular with all those who really knew him; and his friends were not of the class who knew him to-day and forgot him to-morrow. They were all, like himself, genuine and true, and those of them who

assembled at his grave—many of whom came long distances—felt as if, by his death, they had lost a brother.

In 1874 he rented the shootings of Gress in the Lews, where he afterwards resided for a few years during the sporting season, and showed great interest in the position of the poorer inhabitants of the Island. In 1870 some correspondence appeared in the newspapers about the condition of the Lews crofters, and Mr Mackinlay addressed a long letter to Mr Hugh M. Matheson, Commissioner for the Island, under Sir James Matheson, Bart., which he published at the time, with an appendix of 43 pages, and which contains a mass of interesting and valuable information regarding the past history of the Island, its management, and the condition of its inhabitants. Taking him all in all, he was one of those self-made Highlanders of whom not only his own immediate friends, but his countrymen generally, may well feel proud, and whose name well deserves recognition in a periodical like ours.

A. M.

THE GREATNESS OF GOD.

(From the Gaelic of Dugald Buchanan, 1716-1768.)

O, what is God or what the name of God?
The highest angel cannot comprehend;
Nor eye nor thought can reach His dread abode
Concealed in dazzling brightness without end.

Himself the fountain whence His Being flows,
His every attribute is increate;
In His own nature on He ever goes,
His self-perfection bearing up His State.

Youth and old age come not within the sphere
Wherein He moves the same from aye to aye;
Nor sun nor moon shall measure His career,
For these compared with Him soon pass away.

Immortal day proceeds out from His eye,
When He reveals His glory or His grace;
And forthwith all the hosts of heaven high
Attempt, each with his wings, to veil his face.

And if in wrath His countenance He shews,
  Terror shall suddenly the skies o'erspread ;
At His rebuke the ocean backward flows,
  And earth itself is moved with conscious dread.

The works of Nature flourish and decay ;
  From change to change they ever onward go ;
But all His actions unity display ;
  And in His Being there's neither ebb nor flow.

Angels and men to *nothing* both are nigh,
  The womb whence all have sprung which God hath made ;
But, being eternal, His perfections high
  Shall, from their very nature, never fade.

When Nothing heard the voice of His command
  The vast creation rose in Majesty ;
The earth that teems with life by sea and land ;
  The heavens with all the heavenly host on high.

Then He looked down and viewed creation all,
  And blessed each creature in its several place ;
Nor needed change in any, great or small,
  Among His works—so good in every case.

Upon His palm revolves the firmament,
  With every star that twinkles in the skies ;
In hollow of His hand creation's pent,
  And for support on His strong arm relies.

O, God ! who can Thy Being compass round,
  Whose depths all reason tries to sound in vain ?
Angels and men attempting this are found
  Like mussel-shells that try to grasp the main.

Thou art a King from all eternity
  To whom this world's but yesterday begun ;
Oh ! small's the history we've heard of Thee ;
  Nor great of Thine all works beneath the sun.

Although the sun to nothing should decay,
  With all the planets that on Him attend,
As little would Thy works miss them away
  As ocean would a drop on finger-end.

Creation cannot with its glory all
  Reveal to us in full God our strong tower ;
In total of His works both great and small
  We but perceive an earnest of His power.

How vain for us with shallow thought endowed
To search an ocean that is infinite ;
The smallest letter of the Name of God
For our poor reason is too great a weight.

For there is nought that can with Thee compare
'Mongst all the mighty works which Thou hast done
And 'mongst all men no language can declare
Thy Name aright, but Thine Own Word alone.

JOHN SINCLAIR, B.D., Minister of Rannoch.

Manse of Kinloch-Rannoch.

THE HIGHLANDERS AND THEIR TASTES.—It has become a favourite pretence on the part of some that music and the fine arts are the great means of refining and elevating society. Now, music and the fine arts are good in their own place, but experience proves that, apart from other elements, they have no tendency whatever to promote a high-toned morality. It may be said, for example, that no class of men abhor the introduction of instrumental music into worship more, or care less for the fine arts, than the Highlanders ; whilst Italy is the land of ecclesiastical splendour, sculpture, and enchanting music. Yet it is of that land that the poet says—

" In florid beauty groves and fields appear ;
Man is the only growth that dwindles here.
Though grave, yet trifling, zealous, yet untrue,
And even in penance planning sins anew.

. . . . .

My soul, turn from them, turn thee to survey
Where rougher climes a nobler race display."

Ruskin, speaking of the Indian Mutiny, suppressed by the Highlanders, says—" Out of the peat cottage come forth courage, self-sacrifice, purity, and piety, and whatever else is fruitful in the work of heaven ; out of the ivory palaces come treachery, cruelty, cowardice, idolatry, bestiality, or whatever else is fruitful in the work of hell." All our military commanders, including the most recent, turn to the noble Highlanders, wedded to their simple forms of devotion, as men true as steel in the discharge of duty.—*Speech by Dr Begg.*

THE GLENALMOND HIGHLANDERS AT WIMBLEDON.—The representative of Glenalmond has been again successful in winning the Spencer Cup at Wimbledon for the best individual shot in all the Public Schools. The winner this year was Lance-Corporal Scott. On the prize day, in the words of the *Times*, " Lance-Corporal Scott, in the Highland uniform of Glenalmond, was loudly cheered as he went for the Spencer Cup," and the annual reception of the Glenalmond team at Wimbledon shows that " nowhere beats the heart more kindly," not only " than beneath the tartan plaid," but than in Scotch breasts in the South at the sight of it.

LAND NATIONALISATION—ITS NECESSITIES AND ITS AIMS.*

THAT a man like Alfred Russel Wallace, so enthusiastic and successful in the pursuit of natural science in its higher relations, should withdraw his attention from such studies to write a book on the nationalisation of the land is in itself a fact of the utmost significance. Those who imagine that the land tenure of this country is to continue like the earth itself for ever, should ponder, we will not say the conclusions of the work before us, but the fact that such a book, and by such a man, should come to be written at all. Our author is not a man who is unaccustomed to reasoning in the closest possible manner, but not after the manner of the school-men, who build portentuous theories on the narrow basis of a few first principles which have never been tested by experience. On the contrary, it is his habit to compare, analyse, test, and combine facts, revealed in actual life, and from these to draw out the theory which give them unity and intelligibility. This power is so conspicuous in his many charming works on the phenomena of sea and land, as to make him a rival—some would even place him higher—of Darwin himself. But keen as was the pleasure which Mr Wallace found in tracing the methods which nature pursued in the past in order to find an explanation of the present earth and all that it contains, he nevertheless has been for a long time a sympathising observer of the social condition of these islands of ours. One striking peculiarity of the state of this country impressed itself on the mind and heart of Mr Wallace so much that all his power of thinking was set earnestly to work to find its explanation and its remedy—for remedy it needs as much, nay more, than fever or small-pox. The fact referred to is the appalling one that the vast increase of the wealth of this country has not diminished its poverty and wretchedness. Nay, it seems certain that thousands of our people are sunk in a lower hell than they were when millionaires were unknown. The sad truth that misery is the lot of multitudes who help to produce

* By Alfred Russel Wallace, author of "The Malay Archilpelago," "Island Life," etc. London: Trübner & Co.

the splendid fortunes in which they have no share sufficient to cover their nakedness, or warm their blood, or fill their stomachs, finds its explanation, according to our author, in the absolute ownership in land conferred by law on private individuals. Now, according to him, if wealth is not only to shed a lustre over a select portion of society, but if it is to put reasonable animal comfort, and the decencies and refinements of moral and intellectual life, within the reach of those whose lot it is to toil with their hands, then this private individual and absolute ownership in land must cease and determine. This is no hurried and impulsive conclusion on the part of our author under the pressure of feeling called into play by the dark contrast between the extremes of splendour and squalor, of the baronial hall, and the hut at once a byre and a dwelling-house, so frequently seen in our country. For eighteen years our author has been meditating on this momentous subject—a subject which the hard facts of existence will not suffer to go to sleep until some solution of it is accomplished. Mr Wallace may have argued himself into conclusions which are impracticable, a favourite phrase of the indolent, the faithless, and the timid in all ages, but supported, as they are, with so many deplorable facts, and with so much lucid and unimpassioned reasoning—for passion is suppressed in this book as firmly as if it were a study in quaternions—no wise man will dismiss them without earnest study.

It is not easy to present in small space Mr Wallace's theory of the Nationalisation of the Land. We refer the reader to the book itself, which, like the work of every great writer is intensely interesting in virtue of its facts, its illustrations, and general spirit, apart from the particular theory which it upholds. The chapter, for example on landlordism in Scotland will bring a tear to the eye of many whose ancestors were dealt with, as if they were so much scrub on the land—aye, and of many who have themselves been so used ; perhaps too it will prick some consciences impervious to the arrows of our native—and therefore it is supposed prejudiced writers—our Millers, Macleods, and Mackenzies.

But let us try to give the reader a general idea of Mr Wallace's solution of the Land Problem, and first let us quote what he holds to be the necessary requirements of a right solution.

1. It is clear that landlordism must be replaced by occupying

ownership. No less radical reform will get rid of the widespread evils of our present system.

2. Arrangements must be made by which the tenure of the holders of land must be secure and permanent, and nothing must be permitted to interfere with the free use of the land, or his certainty of reaping all the fruits of any labour or outlay he may bestow upon it.

3. Arrangements must be made by which every British subject may secure a portion of land for personal occupation at its fair agricultural value.

4. All suitable tracts of unenclosed and waste lands must, under certain limitations be open to cultivation by occupying owners.

5. The free sale and transfer of every holder's interest in his land must be secured.

6. In order that these conditions be rendered permanent, sub-letting must be absolutely prohibited, and mortgages strictly limited.

But how is it possible to give effect to these conditions, how can a tenant become an occupying owner without being a landlord under another name, and, therefore, a new source of all the evils which flow from our present system of landlordism?

Mr Wallace answers—The State must become the real owner, or ground landlord. The tenant is to be a perpetual holder of the land, not its absolute owner—the absolute owner being the State. This in effect is the feudal theory which makes the land belong to the king and all proprietors to be but holders of the land from him. It must be borne in mind that Mr Wallace would not transfer to the State all that now belongs to the proprietors of lands. We must make a distinction between the estate and what the landlord in his own person or that of his predecessors, has put *upon* or *into* the estate. Nature is responsible for the one, cultivation in some form or other for the latter. Mr Wallace would have the State take possession of the estate as it is, mere land apart from what labour has added to it. Land has a natural and inherent value depending in part on the condition and position of the soil, in part on such circumstances as population and the necessities which, in the shape of towns, ports, railroads, etc., and an abundant population create. This value the

landlord has, as a whole, no power either of creating or destroying. When the land is nationalised it will become, in this respect, and only in this respect, the absolute property of the State. But a cultivated estate has a value which is due to actual improvement, apart from its natural value. This consists in houses, fences, timber, drains, and roads not made at the public expense. In the new scheme the State is not allowed to take possession of this portion of the value of land. The characteristic which distinguishes this element of the value of land from the inherent value, is that as it was created by human energy, so it may be destroyed by neglect and wantonness. It is therefore of vital importance that all that belongs to the land as distinct from the land itself, all that is involved in tenant right should become the property of the tenant, so that he may if he choose dispose of it, in part or whole, in open market, at a profit if he has added to its value, at a loss if he allows it to deteriorate.

But how is he to get possession of it without injury to the landlord or the State? The answer is, that the State will determine the value of the land which it takes into its own hand apart from what is called the tenant right. For the loss of this the State will compensate the landlord by an annuity of equal annual value, only terminable on certain conditions. The landlord cannot bequeath these annuities to an heir further removed in blood than a second cousin, as such can have no *just expectation* of inheriting the property of a relation so far off. In all cases for a similar reason the annuities will terminate with the third generation.

Now, in the first place, tenants, after the passing of the Act, who wish to become occupying owners, must pay the value of this annuity to the State in the form of rent; and, secondly, they must purchase the tenant right from the landlord, who will be obliged to sell. They may arrange the matter privately; but failing that, a land court will decide the value of the tenant right. When the tenant pays his annual rent to the State, and the value of the tenant right to the landlord, he becomes a holder of the land in perpetuity under the State. This holder may buy as much as he can, or sell what he has. He may divide and subdivide his holding, and sell the various parts separately. This freedom, however, is to be limited by two stringent restrictions.

Sub-letting is to be absolutely forbidden; in other words, no man is to occupy more land than he can occupy personally; for sub-letting would be private landlordism under another name. The next restriction is that heavy mortgages on the land must not be allowed.

Such is a general view of the theory which Mr Wallace has elaborated after years of laborious study. In his book he discusses rival solutions of this vast question, and finds them wanting. Besides, he reviews with great clearness those objections founded on ethical and political grounds which have been raised against the position claimed for the State in relation to the land. Further, our author deals, in the frankest way, with the bearing of this scheme on the future position of our aristocracy, on our towns, our commons, our mines, our taxation, etc. Mr Wallace does not hesitate to follow his argument whither it leads him, and it has led him to the conviction that he has found a means of transferring to the State the ownership of the land without doing injury to any existing landlord or *expectant* heir; that he has hit upon a plan of land tenure which shall combine all the advantages of "safe possession and transmissible ownership;" and that shall guard us from the untold evils of the present system, and that shall render the land an inexhaustible source of national income. If all this be true, may the good time coming put swifter feathers in its wing!

We shall not attempt a criticism of Mr Wallace's theory. Gradually society *may* reach his ideal, but that idea is divided from our present circumstances by a gulf so wide that it might be dangerous to try to jump it at a bound. If ever realised it must be in the way that his own favourite evolution attains its end, here a little and there a little in the way of change, though let us hope with less waste, and more economy in the matter of time. Whatever may be our convictions as to the soundness of Mr Wallace's conclusions, most unprejudiced minds will allow that he has conclusively shewn that our present system of land tenure is productive of results, condemned by philosopher, economist, and Christian. The root of the mischief lies in the assumption made by the landlords that the land is theirs in a manner so absolute that they may turn it into a desert. Our fields are ours —who is Lord over us? This power must in some way be as-

sailed, persistently assailed, until it is razed to the ground, until it shall be impossible that facts, brutal facts, like those described by Mr Wallace in his chapter on landlordism in Scotland, can ever again happen to sully a page of our future history. It is not revolutionary now to argue thus, for the law has taken away from the proprietors of 600,000 tenants of this realm the power to increase their rents at pleasure, or to remove them from their holdings. Had such a law been in force eighty years ago, Sellar's name would not be the reproach it now is, and will be for generations—unhappy victim of a vicious system. Had we such a law now in Scotland, Clyth would have been spared those acts of rapacity which are fitted to awaken in the minds of her peaceful sons thoughts and feelings whose fruit, if unchecked, can be nothing but evil. We can understand and appreciate the views of men who say boldly that, in spite of all the misery which the present system of landlordism has let loose on individuals, it is wrong, absolutely wrong, and unjust, for the law to curtail the rights of the landlord over his land, and so over the human beings who dwell upon it. That is a view which can explain itself, and give reasons for the hope that is in it. But we cannot understand the position of those who hold that it was right to give the tenants of Ireland a Land Law which makes them the most independent tenants in the world, and yet hold at the same time that a similar Act for Scotland is not to be thought of. If by right they mean *expedient*, then they in effect say—You, the sons of Erin, because you stalk landlords, as landlords stalk deer, and with success, shall have a Land Act, but you, sons of the Highlands, because you respect the Decalogue, must be left, without one, to the *summum jus—i.e.*, in the vernacular, to the *tender* mercy (often cruel enough) of your Whig and Tory lords!! This is putting a premium on assassination.

The fixed stars and the lairds never change, said the old saw. Astronomy shews that the fixed stars do change, and justice is at work, and will compel the lairds to change in more ways than one. In the meantime those who are interested in the welfare of our Highland peasantry should not waste their energies, as they will not, striving for the realisation of an ideally perfect system like that of Mr Wallace, but should give the legislature no rest until the power to evict our peasantry, and to charge them rent

on the labour of their own weary hands, shall be taken out of the hands of the proprietor, and shall be given to some impartial tribunal appointed by the State. We have nothing to say about our great sheep lords—they are able to look after themselves, they occupy the chief places of the land. Possiby the deer hunting millionaire may do to them as they did to the crofter. "Thy sword has made woman childless, therefore thy mother shall be childless." We hope not however. We believe that the vulgar display of our Winans will make the modern deer himself vulgar, and send our gentlemen back to the old school of sporting—if they will gratify the instinct, to learn the best rules and traditions of their favourite amusement. Meanwhile what remains of our peasantry must be saved—shorn as they now are of the best land, and of the vast moorland pastures so much more valuable to them than their arable land. Our good lairds who do not need any law to keep them from doing harm, though they too need better laws to help them to do good more abundantly, will not be angry at us—and if they do we cannot help it—for striving to get a law whose arm shall restrain the action of grasping, unsympathetic, indolent, pleasure-loving and needy landlords.

To all who take an interest in the land question we recommend a careful study of Mr Wallace's book. Apart from its special theory, it is intensely interesting, suggestive of thought, and instructive in many ways.

A. C. SUTHERLAND.

Genealogical Notes and Queries.

QUERIES.

THE CHIEF OF THE MACRAES.—Could you or any of your readers kindly inform me who is the present chief of the Clan Macrae?

Nellie Cadoo, Amulty, Coorg, India. FEAR-A-MHUINNTIR CINNTAILE.

REV. LACHLAN MACKENZIE OF LOCHCARRON.—Will any one kindly tell me anything of the Rev. Lachlan Mackenzie, a famed Highland preacher, and which branch of the Mackenzie's he belonged to?

Kegworth. M. B.

IS THE NAME FRATER THE SAME AS FRASER?—Can any of your readers tell me whether "Frater" is a corruption of "Fraser?" I have made enquiries through the medium of English papers, but can gather no information on the subject. I shall be glad to know whether the name, if changed from "Fraser," was done on account of some political trouble?

Lorne Street, Chester. GEORGE FRATER.

Correspondence.

GAELIC ETYMOLOGIES, AND INTERESTING ANECDOTES ABOUT GENERAL SIR ALLAN CAMERON OF ERRACHT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

DEAR SIR,—In a little volume of mine on local history and traditions, published not long ago, I appended a page or two of Gaelic etymologies—among others, the etymology of Kenmore—which name occurs in Scotland, as well as in Ireland. Kenmore—an Ceannamhor—is usually understood to be compounded of *ceann*, a head or end, and *mor* big—the big end of Loch-Tay. But as the east end of Loch-Tay, where Kenmore stands, does not seem to be much, if at all, the bigger end of the loch, I bethought me of an etymology more descriptive of the locality, and found it, as it seems to me, in ceann, and *mŭir*—simply the end of the lake ; and the same as *Ceann*-loch. The common objection to this is, that mŭir means salt water exclusively ; and cannot apply to a fresh water lake. But the fact is that *muir* and *fairge* do not signify salt water exclusively. They are—if I may so call them—generic words, and may signify, as the case may be, either salt or fresh water. For example, the translators of the Scriptures into Gaelic, render "Sea of Galilee"—a fresh water lake—"*Mŭir Ghalile.*" So they also render Sea of Chinnereth, another name for "Sea of Galilee"—not *loch Chineret*, but *fairge Chineret*—Num. xxxiv. 11. So also in 1 Kings vii. 23, the laver which contained fresh water for priestly ablutions, they translate *mŭir leaghta;* and the sea of glass, in Rev. xv. 2, they render *fairge* ghloine—and the Dead Sea, being a salt water lake, an *fhairge* shalainn, or salt sea.* So did the Hebrews use the word *yam*, sea, as our Gaelic translators of Scripture use *mŭir* and *fairge*, in a generic sense, to signify fresh or salt water ; and, as in Isaiah xviii. 2, to signify a river. When, however, the ocean is meant, *yam* has usually the article before it, as in Gen. xxxii. 12. So also the Greeks use the word *thalassa*, a sea. In Matt. iv. 18, it refers to fresh water, and in Acts x. 6, to salt water. The Gaelic word loch may also signify either fresh or salt water. Loch-Tay, Loch-Ness, Loch-Lomond are fresh water lochs; and Loch-Long, Loch-Etive, and Loch-Duich are salt water lochs.

While on etymological subjects, I may mention what I observed this autumn when sojourning for a few days at Strathpeffer, inhaling its fresh, sweet, salubrious air, and enjoying its bright scenery—namely, the many names of places that seem to contain the word *faire*—watching—as Fairadie or Fodderty, the place of watching; Cnocfaireil, the hill of watching ; Fairburn, Fairabruin, or Fairebeinn, the mountain of watching ; and Fyrish, from *faire* and innis, the place of watching. Probably Forres or Farrais is from the same root ; as also Farr, of which there are several in our Scotch topography. These, and many more that might be mentioned, may have been the Mispehs, or watch towers, of former times ; and before the days of modern

* Probably *fairge*—water is the root of Fairigag—the name of a river ; and also, of *fairigeadh*, bathing—a word, by the way, which several of our Gaelic lexicographers seem to have overlooked. Mŭir, short, means water ; and mūir, long, a stronghold. Hence Dochafuir, Trinafuir, Pitfuir, Beinafuir, and Glenfuir.

telegraphy they must have served important defensive purposes. From the top of Knockfarrel, the watchman had a far-reaching view eastwards, along the Firth of Cromarty; and no hostile fleet could approach without timely warning. Also, from its summit, as well as from the heights of Fyrish, and the Fairburn Hills, there could be seen by night the beacon fire, lighted on the heights of Ruidhe-soluis—a most suitable, as well as necessary, defensive device against sudden invasions and surprises in lawless and unsettled times.

I have just been re-reading the interesting biography of Sir Allan Cameron—Ailean nan Earrachd—in the first volume of the *Celtic Magazine*. Let me give one or two additional anecdotes of him, as I had them from my friend the late Rev. Alex. Macinnes, of Tummel-Bridge and Rannoch—himself a Lochaber man, and full of entertaining reminiscences of his native district. After his fatal and unhappy duel with Cameron of Morshiarlich, as his biographer tells us, Sir Allan fled southwards in haste to avoid serious consequences. Whether it so happened that he was insufficiently shod, or that in the hurry of his flight he marred his foot gear, I do not recollect. Anyhow, seeing a shoemaker's shop by the way, he entered, and asked him if he thought he had a pair of shoes ready to fit him? The shoemaker replied he thought he had; and, looking round the walls of his workshop, he spied a pair, which he took down, and asked the stranger to try them on. They fitted admirably, and the stranger asked the price of them. But finding that, in the hurry of flight that morning, he had forgotten his purse, he said to his friend, the shoemaker, that he must meantime give him credit for the amount. This the disciple of St Crispin positively declined, alleging that they were strangers to each other, and that he must have payment on delivery. Whereupon—for at times necessity has no law—Sir Allan ran for it, with the shoes in his possession, and the shoemaker hard in pursuit after him, but to no purpose, for the fugitive speedily out-distanced him, and was soon beyond his reach. Many years thereafter, a tall handsome man, in full military costume, entered the very same shoe-shop, and saluted the shoemaker—

"Cia mar tha thu 'n diugh a Dhòmhail?"

How are you to-day, Donald?

Donald looked up somewhat bewildered at the sudden appearance of this handsome apparition in military uniform, and timorously exclaimed—

"Ma tà le bhur cead, cha 'n eil mise ga 'r n-aithneachadh."

With your leave, sir, I do not recognise you.

"Nach eil cuimhn' agad a Dhomhail, air an fhear a thainig le cabhaig 'o chionn a leithid so do bhliadhnaichean—a dh' fhiach air, paidhir de do chuid brog; agus a thug a chasan as leò, gun do phaigheadh. Nach eil cuimhn' agad air sin, agus cho astarach 'sa chaidh thu air a thòir?"

Do you not remember, Donald, the man that many years ago came in haste to this very shop, tried on a pair of your shoes, ran off without paying you for them? Do you not remember that, and how vigorously you pursued him?

"Ma ta gu dearbh," arsa Dòmhal, "'s maith sin 'tha cuimhn' agam air; agus 's mi a dh'fhaodadh, oir thug mi builg air buinn mo chasan an latha sin, nach do leighis gu ceann mios as a dheighe."

Indeed I do very well, replied Donald; and well I may, for that day I so blistered the soles of my feet that they did not recover it for a month after.

It appears Sir Allan was at the time this visit took place in that district recruiting for his regiment. Aware of this, it began to dawn upon the poor shoemaker who his frank and friendly visitor might possibly be, and looking up at him enquiringly, but

respectfully, he said—"An e sibhse Ailean nan Earrachd?" "Are you Allan of Earrachd?"—the name by which he was familiarly known among the common people.

To which Sir Allan replied—"Ma ta tha mi 'n duil, gu 'r e sin is trice their iad rium ann an Lochaber co dhiu."

I rather think that is the name by which I am best known in Lochaber, anyhow.

The price of the shoes was paid down with interest, which Sir Allan insisted, on pain of displeasure, the reluctant shoemaker should accept; and more than this, the shoemaker himself was enlisted into his regiment—eventually became regimental shoemaker, and as such, we believe, lived to realise a handsome competency.

As his biographer narrates, Sir Allan fell deeply in love with Miss Philip—his future wife—and hopeless of getting her father's consent to their marriage, eloped with her. It appears his first acquaintance with her began in the house of a mutual friend; and Mr Philip, having from the first discountenanced the proposed union, saw but little of Sir Allan in those earlier years; and after the lapse of time he seems to have lost all recollection of what his appearance was. It is only on this supposition that we can explain the incident we are about to narrate. So it was that he and his father-in-law sat side by side on this occasion at the same festive board—Mr Philip quite unconscious that the handsome officer next him was his own son-in-law. The conversation naturally enough took a military turn, and Sir Allan was as entertaining and charming socially as he was brave on the battlefield. Mr Philip was quite taken with him, and dinner over, he took occasion to ask the name of the entertaining officer who sat on his left—complimenting him on his fine physique, his gentlemanly manners, and powers of conversation. It so happened the question was addressed to a Highland officer who knew them both—as well as the past estrangement between Philip and his friend of Earracht. "Yes!" he replied jocularly, in allusion thereto, "you see, Mr Philip, there are gentlemen as well as soldiers among us Scotch Highlanders, although you don't seem to think so; and I opine, that of such a Highlander as you had by you this evening, you have no cause to be ashamed were he your son-in-law." "Nor would I," was the reply, "had I such a son-in-law." "Well," responded the other, "that is your son-in-law you have been now conversing with—one of the most distinguished officers in the British army." The effect of this reply our readers may fancy. Suffice it to say, that in due time Sir Allan was received into favour, and ever after the two were knit together as father and son.

Can you inform me whether Mrs Grant of Carron's song of "Roy's wife" was originally composed in English or Gaelic? There is a Perthshire local tradition that the Roy of this song was village innkeeper at Aldevalloch, near Kenmore; and that his wife having disappointed a northern lover—a drover by profession—this drover composed in Gaelic the song which suggested Mrs Grant's English lyric. I am aware that Chambers, in his "Songs of Scotland before Burns," says the incident which occasioned it happened in the Highlands of Aberdeenshire. But a Perthshire correspondent, with whom I communicated, says—"I distinctly remember, when a boy, my father and grandmother talk of the old song of 'Roy's wife,' as referring to a John Roy about Taymouth, whose very handsome wife had jilted the author of the song." The following are some verses of the Gaelic version of this song, and I leave you to judge whether they bear any resemblance to Mrs Grant's performance:—

Bha mi latha tighin' mu thuath,
N deigh buair a reic 'sa Cheannach,
Sud an latha 'rinn mu leòn—
N uair thearuinn mi an còir Bhraigh-Bhealaich.

Bean Iain Ruaidh bha 'n Alt-a-bhealaich,
Bean Iain Ruaidh bha 'n Alt-a-bhealaich,
'N cualadh sibh mar mheall i mi—
'N uair thearuinn mi mu thìr Bhraigh-Bhealaich.

Thug i geallaidhean gu leòr,
Gu'r mise m' ònar bh'aic mar leannan.
Ach dar thionndaidh mi mo chùl,
'S ann thug i sùil air Iain a Bhealaich.

Bha 'gruaidh mar ròs 'sa mhaduinn Mhaigh,
'Sa slios cho gheal ri clòimh a chanaich.
Gnuis bhanail, mhàlda, bhoidheach, réidh,
O sud an té a rinn mo mhealladh.

Bidh' mi muladach ri m' bheò,
'S mi air mo leònadh leis an ainnir.
Ach mo bheannachd tha gu bràth
Do 'n nighean bhàn a bha 'm Braigh-Bhealaich.
" Bean Iain Ruaidh, &c., &c.

October 1882. ALLAN SINCLAIR.

THE CELTIC MEDICAL COLLEGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

SIR,—It is a well-known fact that in the palmy days of the Lord of the Isles, the art of medicine was highly cultivated in the College of the Ollamhs of Skye, and practised on scientific principles, when at the other seats of learning and capitals of Europe it was left to superstitious charlatans and barbers. It is to be regretted that their learned treatises are now, it is to be feared, irrecoverably lost. My object in writing is to bring under your notice a Gaelic MS., belonging to the Skye College of Physicians, at one time belonging to the Macleods of Skye, now in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh. It is a Gaelic translation of six books of the classic Latin writings of one of the ancient Fathers of Medicine, Celsus Celsus de Medicina. I am aware that Gaelic medical terms are lost to the philologist. Neither in any of the Gaelic dictionaries, nor in any other printed work, are they to be found. It is strange that the Gaelic names and anatomy of the body is better known among women than to men. Now that there is in Edinburgh a Celtic Chair, and Doctors of medicine in Edinburgh anxious to show their knowledge of the tongue used—

" When Adam delved and Eve span."

Could they do better than give the world these books, with a treatise in Gaelic bringing the subjects treated of up to the present state of knowledge?—Yours, &c.,

SGEULAICHE.

THE BRAES CROFTERS AND LORD MACDONALD.
A MUNIFICENT OFFER.

THE following correspondence needs no comment, but we think it worthy of preservation in these pages. On the 28th of October the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine* received the subjoined telegram:—

"*To Alexander Mackenzie, Esq., Dean of Guild of Inverness, from Malcolm Mackenzie, Vue du Lac, Guernsey.*

"Tender by telegraph to Lord Macdonald's agent all arrears of rent due by Braes crofters, and to stay proceedings. I write by post and send securities for one thousand pounds on Monday."

These instructions were carried out, and the following reply was received in due course:—

"5 Thistle Street, Edinburgh, 30th Oct. 1882.

"Sir,—We have received your telegram of to-day stating that you are authorised by a Mr Malcolm Mackenzie, Guernsey, to tender payment of the last two years' arrears of rent due to Lord Macdonald by the Braes crofters, on condition that all proceedings against them are stopped, and that you will be prepared to deposit securities for one thousand pounds to-morrow.

"Although we know nothing of the gentleman you mention, we will communicate your telegram to Lord Macdonald. At the same time, we must observe, that you seem to be labouring under a misapprehension as to the matter at issue between his lordship and the crofters, the proceedings against whom were raised for the purpose of preventing trespass, and not for recovering arrears of rent.—We are, &c.,

(Signed) "JOHN C. BRODIE & SONS.

"To Dean of Guild Mackenzie, *Celtic Magazine* Office, Inverness."

To the above letter the Editor replied as follows:—

"*Celtic Magazine* Office, Inverness, November 1, 1882.

"Sirs,—I am in receipt of your favour of Monday acknowledging my telegram on behalf of Malcolm Mackenzie, Esq., Guernsey, offering to pay arrears of Braes crofters on terms stated therein.

"I was fully aware of the *nature* of the proceedings against the crofters, though possibly Mr Mackenzie was not, and I simply carried out my instructions. I, however, think if Lord Macdonald desires to settle amicably with the people that this proposal, if it does nothing else, will give him an opportunity of doing so without any sacrifice of his position beyond showing a willingness to discuss the matter with the view to settle it in a way that will extricate all parties from a difficult position.

"Mr Mackenzie has now, through me, deposited securities amounting to over £1000 in the bank here, and I shall be glad to hear from you when you shall have heard from his lordship.—I am, Sirs, your obedient servant,

"A. MACKENZIE.

"Messrs John C. Brodie & Sons, W.S."

The Editor, on seeing Messrs Brodie's letter to him in the *Inverness Courier* of 2nd November, wrote another letter to the Messrs Brodie, in the course of which he said:—"Referring to the second paragraph of my letter of yesterday, permit me to express my opinion that a favourable opportunity has now arrived to compromise the question in dispute advantageously to both parties, and if I can in any way aid in that object, nothing will give me greater satisfaction. I have had no communication either direct or indirect with the Braes people since the recent trial, except the telegram which has appeared in the papers; but if a desire is expressed for an amicable arrangement, I shall be glad to visit them and do what I can to bring such about. I believe if a proposal were made to appoint an independent valuator connected with the West, and one in whom the people might fairly place confidence as to his knowledge of the country and the climate, the question might be settled in a few days. This valuator should value the crofts and Ben-Lee together, and name one sum for the whole. Though I have no authority for making this proposal, I believe it could be carried out to the satisfaction of all concerned, and it would extricate the authorities and Lord Macdonald from a most unenviable position."

To these letters no reply has been received.

Mr Malcolm Mackenzie followed up his telegram of 28th October with the following letter, addressed to the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*. It was at once published in almost every newspaper in Scotland:—

"A. Mackenzie, Esq., Dean of Guild, Inverness.

"Dear Sir,—On reading in the *Inverness Courier* an account of the proceedings of Tuesday last against the Braes crofters, I thought that something might be done to take everybody out of a difficulty, and wired you the following message:—'Tender by telegraph to Lord Macdonald's agent all arrears of rent due by Braes crofters, and to stay proceedings. I write by post, and send securities for one thousand pounds on Monday.'

"It appears to me to have now become the duty of every loyal Highlander to contribute towards the preservation of order. A fund *for that purpose* should be opened, and you will please put me down for ten pounds. As you may not be in funds, I send the thousand pounds on the security of being indemnified by Highlanders, trusting entirely to their own sense of duty.

"I trust that Lord Macdonald will be advised to accept payment of arrears, and to leave the people of the Braes in peace until the Government of the country can overtake measures to judge between him and them. It will be a heavy responsibility and a disgrace to call soldiers to Skye at the present time. Her Majesty has more important work to do with her soldiers than to place them at the service of the Court of Session in vindication of an unconstitutional law which is not based on principles of justice, and which has, by the progress of events and the evolution of time, become inoperative.

"The Court of Session looks for precedents. Where are there precedents for the reign of Queen Victoria? You can telegraph for a cargo of refrigerated meat to the Antipodes, and obtain it by steam.

"The prairies of America are brought into competition with Ben-Lee. The Courts, and even the human mind, have been under the domination of the dismal theories of Malthus and Ricardo. Why did they not give heed to the sound teachings of Dr Smith and Dr Chalmers, the great apostles of freedom?

"Our dual system is no longer possible. Lord Macdonald does not know what

to do. Nobody knows what to do. There is an absence of law and justice. Lord Macdonald may be a just and benevolent man—at least I hope he is; his factor may be a just and benevolent man; and from the conduct of the ground-officer, he appears to be a judicious man.

"In Scotland the administrator of justice is the robber who deprives the people of their natural and indefeasible right to the soil and of the labour which they have incorporated with it. Is that not a terrible contingency for any country to be in? It is peculiarly disgraceful that it should be so in respect of the Highland race, who successfully defended their country, their lands, and liberties, against Romans and Normans. What have we come to? Are they going to send for the Highland Brigade from Egypt to slaughter the people of Skye?

"We call for Mr Gladstone. What can poor Mr Gladstone do, with time against him, society in a state of revolt, a demoralised House of Commons, a recalcitrant House of Lords, and the Court of Session at its wit's ends? Let us pray that he may be able to act as a *governor* on this rickety steam-engine of society which, under high pressure, and by reason of great friction, is in danger of tearing itself to pieces. In the meantime, and until the machine is put in some sort of order, by Rules of Procedure and alteration of the law, it is every man's duty to keep her Majesty's peace and prevent bloodshed; and as you appear to me, sir, to be doing yours, like a good Seaforth Highlander, or Ross-shire Buff, allow me to subscribe myself, very faithfully and loyally yours,

(Signed) "MAL. MACKENZIE.

"Guernsey, 24th October 1882."

The following letters explain themselves:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INVERNESS COURIER.

Celtic Magazine Office, 2 Ness Bank, Inverness, 8th Nov. 1882.

Sir,—I have just received the enclosed letter from Mr Malcolm Mackenzie, Guernsey. Please publish it in the *Courier*, as you have already published the reply to my telegram from Lord Macdonald's agents.

Permit me, at the same time, to state that the sum of £1000, in actual cash, has now been placed by Mr Mackenzie at my disposal in the Caledonian Bank, and, in the event of his offer being entertained by Lord Macdonald, that I shall be ready at any moment to implement Mr Mackenzie's offer.—I am, &c.,

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.

"Guernsey, 4th November, 1882.

"Alexander Mackenzie, Esq., Dean of Guild, Inverness.

"Dear Sir,—I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st, enclosing the reply of Lord Macdonald's solicitors to your telegram tendering them payment of two years' rent due by the Braes crofters.

"From Lord Macdonald's dignified position, he might be thought entitled to ask me for an introduction before accepting any assistance on behalf of his tenants; but acting as I was, on the spur of the moment, to prevent bloodshed, and possibly to avert an act of civil war, I did not think that in these hard-money days his solicitors would raise any objections on the ground of my being unknown to them, especially as I made the Dean of Guild of Inverness the medium of my communication.

"As the days of chivalry are gone, and as clan ties and feelings of patriotism and

humanity are no longer of binding obligation, I could not imagine that a firm of solicitors would stand on so much ceremony.

"Whatever misapprehension Lord Macdonald's advisers are labouring under, I can assure them that I am labouring under none as to the real issues between him and his crofters. It would, doubtless, suit them to have the case tried on a false issue of trespass before a Court which must be bound by former decisions and prevailing canons as to the rights of Highland landlords. The plea of the poor people is that Lord Macdonald is the trespasser, in depriving them of their mountain grazings, without consent or compensation, and thereby reducing them to abject poverty. What can they do? It would raise the whole question of constitutional right, and, as I have said, the Court is bound by former decisions that the landlord has the right to resume possession, and to evict and *banish* the peasantry after having first reduced them to the last nettle of subsistence. A sentence of banishment used to be regarded as a punishment only next to death, but in the phraseology of landlords it is now an 'improvement.'

"In the days of 'bloody' George of our own ilk, the Court of Session knew better how to apply the 'boot' and the thumb screw than constitutional law. Even later, such ruffians as old Braxfield recognised no right in the people, and according to their dog Latin they found that the landlord was the only person who had a *persona standi*. It might, indeed, be an interesting question for more enlightened and better men to discuss whether the Crown of Scotland conferred on the chieftains by their charters the right of wholesale clearances and forcible banishment of the people from their native country; and when their military service was commuted into rent charges if it extended to the landlord the right to make it so oppressive that they could not live without appealing to the public bounty for charity. But I fear it is now too late to expect the High Court of Scotland to remedy the evil, and that we must look to some other Court for redress.

"It is in the hope that such a Court of equity may be established for Scotland as regards land and the well-being of the people that I ventured to offer my assistance, and I thought that Lord Macdonald and his advisers would be glad to make it the means of getting out of a difficulty, and quashing a case that has become a public scandal, instead of standing on ceremony.—I am, sir, faithfully yours,

(Signed) "MAL. MACKENZIE."

MEMORIAL TO THE LATE REV. ALEXANDER MACGREGOR, M.A.—We are glad that a movement has been set on foot to erect a memorial to the Rev. Alex. Macgregor, so well known to the readers of this magazine; and we trust that the proposal will prove as successful as it deserves. No better Highlander ever existed than Mr Macgregor, and we feel sure that our readers will not forget what all Highlanders owe to his memory. The Committee state that "the memorial is to take, in the first instance, the form of a mural tablet to be erected in the West Church, and the surplus funds, if any, will be devoted to some permanent public object to be determined upon by the Committee and the subscribers." Subscriptions may be intimated to Colonel Stuart, Millburn, Inverness, or to us.

ACHALUACHRACH'S BRIDAL.

It was the betrothal night of the tacksman of Achaluachrach ; the ceremony was over, the party dispersed, he and his young bride were taking a moonlight stroll, talking of the happy future which lay before them. Achaluachrach was in high spirits, but his gentle companion was quiet, subdued, almost sad. Her lover rallied her on the depression she evidently laboured under, and laughingly asked if she already repented of her bargain.

"No," replied the young girl, as she raised her tearful eyes to her lover's face, and clung closer to his side, "No, I do not repent ; but I fear much our marriage will never take place. I have had fearful dreams lately, ; this evening when we were contracted, I seemed to see a white cloud coming between us, and as I looked, it took the shape of a shroud, and since we came out, twice have I heard the croak of the raven. Ah ! listen, there it is again !" she cried, trembling violently, as the ill omened bird flew past them.

Achaluachrach did his best to drive these gloomy fancies from the mind of his beloved, laughed at her fears, calling her a silly, nervous lassie, and continued, "you must cheer up, and get rid of these foolish fancies, for I shall not be able to see you for the next day or two, as I start at daybreak to-morrow with a few chosen lads, to make a raid on old Rose of Kilravock, in Nairnshire, whose fine fat cattle will furnish a grand marriage feast for us."

"Oh ! Duncan," ejaculated the young girl earnestly, "don't go. There will be plenty for our marriage without you running this risk. My mind sadly misgives me; you will either be killed or wounded. For my sake give up this scheme, and stay at home."

But all her entreaties were in vain; her lover was not to be lightly turned from his purpose. He told her not to fear, for there was no danger. Kilravock was old, frail, and lame, and would not be likely to follow them.

The lovers took an affectionate farewell of each other,

as they were in sight of the bride's home, which lay on the other side of a burn, spanned by a simple rude bridge, formed of felled trees thrown across. She had just reached the middle of this rustic structure when Achaluachrach turned back, and sprang lightly on the bridge to catch another embrace, and whisper a last loving word. He was gone again before his bride had time to speak ; but when she recollected where she was standing, she wrung her hands, and cried aloud, "Alas ! alas ! ! my fears will be too true, for 'those who part on a brig will never meet again,' oh why did he turn back," said the sobbing girl as she hurried home in deep distress.

The next day Achaluachrach and his friends made the promised raid on Kilravock, secured a rich *creach*, and started homeward in triumph. They reached Strathdearn without molestation, and rested for the night at a place called Bro'-clach, where there was good pasturage for the tired cattle. The reivers, feeling quite secure, determined to enjoy themselves, so, taking possession of a bothy, they killed one of the primest bullocks, and made a grand feast. So confident were they, that they neglected to take the usual precautions against a surprise, and merely placed a young lad to watch outside, and to keep the cattle from straying, while all the rest ate, drank, and sang inside the bothy. They, however, "reckoned without their host," for Kilravock, although both old and lame, was too high-spirited to be thus harried with impunity, so, hastily gathering his men, he followed in pursuit. On his way he was joined by men from the districts through which he passed, so that by the time he caught sight of his stolen property, he found himself at the head of a numerous and determined band, among whom was a noted character, John Macandrew of Dalnahaitnich, celebrated for his skill with the bow and arrow. He was a very small man, not more than five feet high, and, as he had no beard, looked more like a boy than a man of mature years. He was, however, very strong, courageous, and quick-witted, and much liked by his neighbours, who called him *Ian Beag Macanndra*.

The lad who had to watch the cattle was tired with his long day's travelling, and was soon sound asleep. Thus, Kilravock and his party were able, favoured by the darkness, to creep up and surround the bothy, a shower of arrows being the first inti-

mation the reivers had of their being pursued. Their first impulse was to rush to the door; but as soon as one showed himself he was struck down. Seeing they could not get out, they made the best stand they could by shooting their arrows at the besiegers; but here again they were at a disadvantage, for the night being so dark they could not distinguish their opponents enough to take aim, while the light inside the bothy allowed Kilravock's men to see the reivers plainly.

Ian Beag soon picked out Achaluachrach as the leader, from the superior style of his dress, and, taking aim, he let fly an arrow with such precision that it passed through the tacksman's body and pinned him against the wall, killing him instantaneously. On seeing this fresh proof of the little man's skill, a comrade called out triumphantly, "Dia is buaidh leat Ian Mhic Anndra, 'tha thamh an Dalnahaitnich"—God and victory be with you, John Macandrew, that dwells in Dalnahaitnich. Annoyed at thus having his name and place of abode made known to the enemy, who, he knew well, would try to be revenged upon him, Macandrew retaliated by screaming out in his shrill voice—"Mile mollachd air do theang', Ian Chaim Choilachi"—A thousand curses on your tongue, Gleyed John of Kyllachy.

While the death of Achaluachrach disheartened his followers, it roused Kilravock's men to renewed exertions, so that not a single man in the bothy escaped. When they were all dead, the besiegers set fire to the frail building, which in a few minutes formed a funeral pile over the slain. The only one that escaped was the young lad who proved such a faithless sentinel. Favoured by the darkness of the night, he hid himself, witnessed the sad affray, heard all that was said, and then made his escape to carry the ill news to the sorrowing bride and her friends.

We cannot say whether "Gleyed John of Kyllachy" was visited with any retaliation for the share he had taken in this night's work; but we will tell what befel our diminutive hero, Ian Beag Macanndra. He was sharp enough to suspect that, through the ill-advised praise of his indiscreet companion, his name would get known to the friends of the slain enemy, and that he would be exposed to the full measure of their revenge; he accordingly took measures for his safety.

Outside his house, near the door, stood a very large and full fir

tree, amid the top branches of which he constructed a hiding place for himself, and carried up a good store of arrows. To this refuge he used to repair every night to prevent his being taken by surprise. During the day he trusted to his vigilance and sharp wits to keep out of danger. One day when Ian Beag was at some distance from the house, he was overtaken by a party of men whom he at once knew to be strangers, and guessed what their errand was. This was fully confirmed when they asked him if he knew one John Macandrew of Dalnahaitnich. On his answering in the affirmative, and saying that he was Macandrew's herd, they asked him to guide them to the house, and they would pay him for his trouble. To this Ian agreed without hesitation, pocketed the coin, and led the way to his own house. On reaching the door he called out to his wife, telling her that some strangers were wanting the master, and asking if he were within. The guidwife took her cue at once, and without exhibiting any signs of alarm, said her husband was not in the house just then, but would probably soon be, and she asked the strangers to come in and rest. Then to gain time, and enable her husband to carry out some scheme of escape, she bustled about to set provisions before the strangers, to which they did good justice. While this was going on, Ian Beag stood thoughtfully by the fire holding his trusty bow in his hand; and while turning over in his mind what course to pursue, he kept unconsciously bending the large bow, nearly as big as himself, and apparently far beyond his physical powers. His wife glanced anxiously at him, and fearing the fact of his bending the bow might be observed by the strangers and excite their suspicions, she stepped quickly up to him and gave him a sounding box on the ear, telling him in an angry tone not to idle there, but to go and look for his master. Ian, thus rudely roused from his reverie, sneaked out of the house with a crestfallen air, still carrying the bow in his hand. No sooner had he got outside than he climbed into his hiding place in the tree, fitted an arrow to his bow, and called out that his master was coming. Hearing this, the strangers hurried to the door, and, as they emerged one by one, Ian shot them down with his unfailing arrows. Thus poor Achaluachrach's avengers shared the same fate as himself. His fair, unwedded bride was overwhelmed with grief at thus finding her worst fears so fatally realised. She

relieved her overburdened spirit by composing a long pathetic Gaelic ballad, in which she related all the dreadful incidents of the fray, and bewailed her own blasted prospects.

M. A. ROSE.

DEATH OF LEWIS ROSS, A NATIVE OF TAIN, IN CANADA.

On the 20th of September last, this gentleman died at Port Hope, Upper Canada, where he was resident for the last thirty years. Though in poor circumstances on his arrival, he, as the *Port Hope Times* informs us, "by dint of indomitable perseverance and honest dealing built up a business that surpassed all competitors, and he amassed quite a competence. He has occupied nearly every elective position that it was in the hands of the people to bestow."

Previous to 1872, he had been President of the East Durham Reform Association, and was the chosen candidate to contest the Riding in the Reform, or Liberal, interest at the general election of that year. He proved the successful candidate over the Conservative nominee by a large majority, and took his seat in Parliament at Ottawa. On the resignation of the Government of Sir John A. Macdonald, shortly after that contest, he again contested the Riding, and once more secured his election by an increased majority. He was an unflinching supporter of the Hon. Alex. Mackenzie's Government. In 1878, he was for the third time the Reform nominee, but was defeated. He also contested at the General Election in June last.

Mr Ross has been a member of the Public School Board and Board of Harbour Commissioners for a great number of years, and at the time of his death held the position of Chairman of both these bodies. He manifested great interest in the affairs of the town, especially in its educational institutions. He was for many years a member of the Board of Directors of the Midland Railway, and has also filled the position of Acting President during the absence of Mr Cox, the President. Mr Ross was an uncompromising advocate of the Midland Railway, and lent every effort in upholding the management of that road. In the years of adversity of that Railway, he has more than once come forward and given his name for thousands of dollars to enable the Company to pay their employés' wages and keep the road working. During his Parliamentary career, from 1872 to 1878, he rendered acknowledged services to the town, and his presence in municipal affairs will be greatly missed. Mr Ross was for many years a communicant and a steadfast member of the Presbyterian Church. For his personal worth, he was held in the highest esteem, and no one in the county was better known. He was friendly with all, whether rich or poor, and there is none in the section, no matter how much he may have been opposed to the deceased politically, but will say a kind word of him, and deeply lament his sudden demise. He was a native of the parish of Fearn, in Ross-shire, where he was born in 1825. In 1852, he married a daughter of John S. Clute, Esq., Collector of Customs at Picton, Ont., by whom he leaves eight children—three girls and five boys.

These few particulars are extracted from a newspaper that opposed Mr Ross in his whole political career, as Canadian papers only can oppose.

THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

II.

IX.—ALLAN CAMERON, commonly known among his countrymen as "Allan MacOchtery," which some of our historians have rendered "Allan MacUchtred." This does not, however, appear to have any meaning, for no such name as Uchtred turns up before or after, so far as we can find, in the whole genealogy of the clan. A much more likely origin of the name may be found in the ingenious suggestion that it means Allan "MacOchdamh Triath," or Allan son of the Eighth Chief. If we adopt the family genealogy, as given in the "Memoirs," where two Johns are given in succession immediately before this Allan, such a designation of him would be strictly accurate. Its value and probability will at once become apparent to those who understand the Gaelic language, and it certainly does support the genealogy which gives two chiefs of the name John; though without sufficient consideration, perhaps, we have dropped one of them in our last.* Allan's reign was of a most turbulent character. In his time began the feuds between the clan and the Mackintoshes, which have continued more or less inveterate for many generations after, and were only finally determined towards the end of the seventeenth century.

There are various versions current, all traditional, of the origin of the long-continued and bitter feuds between these two powerful families, and one of them has already appeared in the *Celtic Magazine*, vol. v. pp. 284-86, contributed by the late Patrick Macgregor, M.A., Toronto, a native of Badenoch, well acquainted with the folk-lore of the district. Many other versions are more or less known, but the following is the most recent, and probably the most accurate. By the marriage of Eva, only child of Dougal Dall MacGilleCattan, chief of the ancient Clan Chattan, to Angus,

* John, Allan's father, was erroneously called "John *Mac* Ochtery" in the November issue. In the "Memoirs" he is styled "John Ochtery," or, according to the suggestion in the text, John Ochdamh Triath.

sixth chief of Mackintosh, in 1291, when he obtained with her, if not the headship of the clan (a question still hotly disputed), at least the lands of her father, comprising those of Glenlui and Loch Arkaig, in Lochaber. The Mackintoshes, however, do not appear to have possessed these lands at this period for any length of time, for Angus, who is said to have lived in Glenlui with his wife for a few years after his marriage, is soon an exile from his home, he having had to flee, from the Lord of Isla, to Badenoch. The lands thus becoming vacant were occupied by the Camerons (or the clan afterwards known as the Camerons), who continued in them for some years without disturbance. William Mackintosh, the son of Angus and Eva, on attaining his majority, demanded the lands in question, and, according to one of the Mackintosh MSS., obtained, in 1337, from John of Isla, a right to the lands of Glenlui and Loch Arkaig. This right being disputed by the Camerons, Mackintosh appealed to the sword, and a great battle was fought at Drumlui, in which the Mackintoshes defeated the Camerons under Donald Alin Mhic Evin Mhic Evin. This engagement was followed by others, each clan alternately carrying the war into his opponent's country, harrying each other's lands and lifting cattle, until we finally arrive at the famous battle of Invernahavon, referred to by Mr Mackintosh-Shaw as follows:—In 1370, according to the Mackintosh MSS.—or, as others have it, sixteen years later—the Camerons, to the number of about four hundred, made a raid into Badenoch, and were returning home with the booty they had acquired when they were overtaken at Invernahavon by a body of the Clan Chattan led by Mackintosh in person. Although outnumbering their opponents, the Clan Chattan well nigh experienced a signal defeat in the engagement which took place, owing to a dispute such as that which in after years contributed largely to the disaster at Culloden—a dispute as to precedence. Mackintosh was accompanied by Macpherson, head of the Clan Mhuirich and MacDhaibhidh or Davidson of Invernahavon, with their respective septs; and between these two chieftains a difference arose as to which of them should have the command of the right wing, the post of honour. It is said that Macpherson claimed it as being the male representative of the old chiefs of the clan, while Davidson contended that, by the custom of the clans,

the honour should be his, as being the oldest cadet, the representative of the oldest surviving *branch.* Taking the literal application of the custom, Davidson's claim was perhaps justifiable; but the case was peculiar, inasmuch as Macpherson, his senior in the clan, did not hold the actual position of chief. As neither party would give way, the dispute was referred to Mackintosh, who decided in favour of Davidson, thus unfortunately offending the Clan Mhuirich, who withdrew in disgust. By awarding the command to either chieftain, Mackintosh would doubtless have given offence to the other; but his decision against the claims of Macpherson, besides being somewhat unjust, was highly imprudent, as the Macphersons were more numerous than the Mackintoshes and the Davidsons together, and without them Mackintosh's force was inferior to that of the Camerons. The battle resulted in the total defeat of the Mackintoshes and Davidsons, the latter being almost entirely cut off. But the honour of Clan Chattan was redeemed by the Macphersons, who, generously forgetting for the time the slight that had been put upon them, and, remembering only that those who had offended them were their brother-clansmen and in distress, attacked the Camerons with such vigour that they soon changed their victory into defeat and put them to flight. The fugitives are said to have taken their flight towards Drumouchter, skirting the end of Loch-Ericht, and then turning westwards in the direction of the River Treig. According to the Rev. L. Shaw, the leader of the Camerons was Charles MacGilony, who was killed; but this is contrary to the tradition of the locality, which states that "MacDhomhnuil Duibh," the chief, commanded in person.* Charles MacGilony however, figures prominently in this tradition as an important man among the Camerons, and a famous archer. †

The author of "The Memoirs of Locheill" gives the Mackintosh version of the battle. He, however, questions their title to the disputed lands in Lochaber, but says that the Camerons considered their title so good that they fought for it "from generation to generation almost to the utter ruine of both familys."

* Domhnull Dubh, and necessarily his son, was not born for years after the date of this battle.

†History of Clan Chattan.

He then proceeds :—"If the Camerons had any other right to the estate in question but simple possession, I know not. All I can say of the matter is, that very few, especially in these parts, could allege a better at that time. The Mackintoshes, however, pretend that, besides the story of the marriage, they had a charter or patent to those lands from the Lord of the Isles in Anno 1337, and that it was confirmed by King David II. in February 1359. But the Camerons, it would seem, had little regard to these rights; for, in 1370, they invaded the Mackintoshes, and having carried away a great booty of cattle, and such other goods as fell in their way, they were pursued and overtaken at a place called Invernahavon, by Lachlan, then Laird of Macintosh, who was routed, and who had a whole branch of his clan called the Clan Day cutt off to a man. That unhappy tribe payed dear for the honour they had in being preferred that day to the van of the battle, in opposition to the Macphersons, that claimed it, and so far resented the injury which they thought was done them, that they would not ingadge att all. But Macintosh, having something of a poetical geneius, composed certain ridiculous rhymes, which he gave out were made in derision of their [the Macpherson's]. cowardice by the Camerons, and thereby irrited them to such a degree of furry against them, that they returned next morning, attacked and defeated them, while they were burryed in sleep and security after their late victory."*

* This version of the cause that roused the Macphersons to action is given in *extenso* in *Cuairtear nan Gleann*, vol. III., p. 331. Donald Mackintosh, in his "Collection of Gaelic Proverbs," published in 1785, explaining one of the well-known proverbs to which the combat on the Inch of Perth gave rise, says:—

Mackintosh, being irritated and disappointed by this behaviour of the Macphersons, on the night following, sent his own bard to the camp of the Macphersons, as if he had come from the Camerons to provoke them to fight, which he accomplished by repeating the following satirical lines :—

Tha luchd na foille air an tom,
Is am Balg-Shuileach donn na dhraip ;
Cha b' e bhur cairdeas ruinn a bh'ann
Ach bhur lamh a bhi tais.

i.e.—The false party are on the field, beholding the chief in danger ; it was not your love to us that made you abstain from fighting, but merely your own cowardice.

This reproach so stung Macpherson that, calling up his men, he attacked the Camerons that same night in their camp, and made a dreadful slaughter of them, pursued them to the foot of Binn-imhais, and killed their chief, Charles Macgilony, at a place called Coire Thearlaich, *i.e.*, Charles's Valley.

This sanguinary conflict must have made a deep impression on those engaged in it, and it may fairly be assumed, when the state of society at that remote period is taken into account, that the old enmity and the feuds between the Camerons and the Mackintoshes would be largely intensified, and become the cause of great slaughter, plunder, and annoyance throughout a considerable portion of the Central and Western Highlands. This state of things naturally led up to the famous combat on the Inch at Perth, where we have little difficulty now in concluding that the Camerons and the Mackintoshes were the contending parties.*

Allan married a daughter of Drummond of Stobhall, ancestor of the Earls of Perth and Melfort, and by her had two sons—

1. Ewen, who succeeded his father.

2. Donald, who succeeded his brother Ewen, and was afterwards known as the famous Donald Dubh.

Allan is said to have died in the reign of Robert III. (1390-1406), when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

X.—EWEN CAMERON, in whose time was fought the famous combat on the Inch of Perth, between thirty picked warriors of his own clan and thirty of the Clan Mackintosh. The author of the "Memoirs" distinctly states, in a footnote to his sketch of Allan MacOchtery, referring to the combat, that "this duel happened in the time of Ewen his (Allan's) son, though misplaced by mistake" by himself. All that could be written of this sanguinary engagement is already so well known that little need be said here regarding it, but we may give the Cameron version of it as it appears in the family Memoirs. Referring to the conflict at Invernahavon, which had in the end proved so disastrous to his clansmen, the author says:—The Camerons did not long delay to avenge themselves on their enemies, and, in a word, their conflicts were so frequent, and at the same time so fierce and bloody, that they made no small noise at Court. For the parties, besides their own strength, had many friends and allies that joined; so that they often brought considerable armies to the field.

Robert the Third then sat upon the Throne. He was a prince of a mild and peaceable temper, and so valetudinary that

* For an exhaustive and, we think, conclusive discussion of this knotty point, see *The Clan Battle at Perth*, in 1396: by Alexander Mackintosh-Shaw, printed for private circulation, 1874.

he was obliged to manage all his affairs by his Ministers. His brother, the Duke of Albany, an active and intelligent prince, governed at Court; and two of his nobility, Thomas Dunbar, Earl of March, and James Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, commanded his troops. These two generals were sent to the Highlands to settle these commotions, but finding that they could not execute their orders by force, without risking the loss of their army, they endeavoured to bring the rival chiefs to some reasonable terms of agreement; and after many overtures they fell upon a proposal that was very agreeable to both. It was in a word this: That thirty of each side should fight before the King and Court without any other arms but their swords, and that the party that should happen to be defeated should have an indemnity for all past offences; and that the conquerors, besides the estate in dispute, should be honoured with the royal favour. By this method, continued they, the plea will be determined in a manner that will testify submission and loyalty to the Crown, and give the world a lasting proof of the courage and bravery of both parties.

Pursuant to this treaty, both the chiefs appeared at Court, and all preliminaries being adjusted, the King ordered a part of the North Inch, or plain upon the banks of the river, near the City of Perth, to be enclosed with a deep ditch, in the form of an amphitheatre, with seats or benches for the spectators, his Majesty himself sitting as judge of the field.

The fame of the extraordinary combat soon spreading over the kingdom drew infinite crowds from all parts to witness so memorable an event. The combatants appeared resolute and fearless, but, when they were just ready to engage, one of the Mackintoshes, who had withdrawn himself from fear, was amissing; whereupon the King demanded that one of the Camerons should be removed, but all of them expressing a great unwillingness to be exempted, one of the spectators, named Henry Wynd, a saddler and citizen of Perth, presented himself before the King, and offered to supply the place of the absent coward on condition that, if his party came off victorious, that he should have a French crown of gold for his reward.*

* Donald Mackintosh, already quoted, and who asserts that the combat was between the Macphersons and the Davidsons, gives the following version:—

The day appointed being come, both parties appeared, but upon mustering the

The parties being now equal, to it they fell, and fought with all the rage and fury that hatred, revenge, and an insatiable thirst of glory could inspire into the breasts of the fiercest of mankind. Like lions and tigers they tore and butchered one another, without any regard to their own safety, and the reader will find it easier to imagine than to express the various passions that agitated the breasts of the spectators in the different scenes of so bloody a tragedy. The king, a good natured prince, was seized with an inexpressible horror; nor was there any present who was not shocked at the cruel spectacle. But it was observed that Henry Wynd distinguished himself above all others during this furious conflict; as he was not spirited and disordered by the same passions as the rest of the party, so he employed his strength

combatants, the Macphersons wanted one of their number, he having fallen sick; it was proposed to balance the difference by withdrawing one of the Davidsons, but so resolved were they upon conquering their opponents, that not one would be prevailed upon to quit the danger. In this emergency, one Henry Wynd, a foundling, brought up in an hospital at Perth, commonly called an Gobh Crom, *i.e.*, the Crooked Smith, offered to supply the sick man's place for a French crown of gold, about three half-crowns sterling money, a great sum in those days. Everything being now settled, the combatants began with incredible fury, and the Crooked Smith being an able swordsman contributed much to the honour of the day, victory declaring for the Macphersons, of whom only ten, besides the Gobh Crom, were left alive, and all dangerously wounded. The Davidsons were all cut off, except one man, who, remaining unhurt, threw himself into the Tay, and escaped. Henry Wynd set out from Perth, after the battle, with a horse load of his effects, and swore he would not take up his habitation till his load fell, which happened in Strathdon, in Aberdeenshire, where he took up his residence. The place is still called, Leac 'ic a Ghobhain, *i.e.*, The Smith's Dwelling. The Smiths or Gows, and Macglashans, are commonly called Sliochd a Ghobh Chruim, *i.e.*, the descendants of the Crooked Smith; but all agree that he had no posterity, though he had many followers of the first rank, to the number of twelve, who were proud of being reputed the children of so valiant a man; and the more to ingratiate themselves in his favour, they generally learned to make swords as well as to use them, which occasioned their being called Gow, *i.e.*, Smith. His twelve apprentices spread themselves all over the kingdom. Most of them took the name of Mackintosh; those who write otherwise, own their descent from them, though many of them are Macphersons, &c.

Smith of Ballvarry's motto, "Caraid an am feum," *i.e.*, "A friend in need," seems to allude to the Gobh Crom's assisting the Macphersons on the above occasion. As soon as the Gobh Crom had killed a man he sat down to rest, and being perceived by the captain, he demanded the reason. The other answered that he had performed his engagement, and done enough for his wages. The captain replied that no wages would be counted to him; he should have an equivalent for his valour; upon which he immediately got up to fight, and repeated the saying:—"*Am fear nach cunntadh rium cha chunntainn ris.*"

and directed his courage with more discretion and play; and to his conduct it was principally ascribed that they at last had the advantage of their antagonists. Four of the Mackintoshes (all mortally wounded) survived, and only one of the Camerons escaped, he having the good fortune to remain unhurt, had the address to save himself by swimming across the River Tay; nor were the miserable victors in a condition to prevent him. The brave mercenary, Henry Wynd, likewise survived, without so much as a scratch on his body. His valour is still famous among his countrymen, and gave rise to a proverb, which is commonly repeated when any third person unnecessarily engages himself in the quarrels of others—"He comes in, like Henry Wynd, for his own hand."*

Such was the issue of this memorable combat, which though it did not put an end to the difference betwixt the rival clans, yet the most fierce and turbulent among them having been destroyed, it suspended the effects of their differences for years after.†

Ewen Cameron was continually engaged in local feuds and skirmishes. He on one occasion fought a duel in vindication of the honour of an injured lady, who, in return, celebrated his gallantry and valour in a beautiful Gaelic song, "still sung," says our author, "with pleasure by his posterity." Is it known to the clan now?

He was succeeded by his distinguished son, the famous "Domh'ull Dubh Mac Eoghainn," from whom the patronymic of the clan, and of whom in our next.

(To be continued.)

* Mr Mackintosh Shaw informs us that the Mackintosh MS. History says that the absentee on their side was seized with sickness shortly before the fight—a not unlikely occurrence, considering the temptations which a capital would offer to a semi-barbarous Gael. This is a natural suggestion for a Mackintosh to make, but both Bowar and Lesly agree with the Cameron chronicler that the absentee Mackintosh "became faint-hearted," and was amissing "for fear." In reference to the after history of Henry Wynd, Mr Shaw says that "tradition has a pleasing record that this man accompanied the remnant of the Clan Chattan champions to their country, was adopted into their clan, and became the progenitor of a family, afterwards known as *Sliochd a Ghobha Chruim* (the race of the Crooked Smith.) This record is far from incredible, more especially as Bowar represents the Smith of Perth as stipulating for his subsequent maintenance if he should leave the field alive. Strathavon is said to have been the place where he took up his abode, and here, as well as in the neighbouring localities, his reputed descendants have long flourished, and are still to be found. The Smiths or Gows generally appear among the septs, of which the Clan Chattan of more modern times was composed, and which acknowledged the Chief of Mackintosh as their chief and captain. Some families of the name of Smith have the motto, *Marte et engenio*, which is peculiarly appropriate, if any of those bearing it are descendants of the renowned Smith of Perth."—*The Clan Battle at Perth, pp. 16-17.*

† *Memoirs of Locheill*, Author's Introduction, pp. 10-12.

A RUN THROUGH CANADA AND THE STATES.

By Kenneth Macdonald, F.S.A., Scot.

II.—Montreal.

On the night of my arrival in Montreal I did not move far away from my hotel—the St Lawrence Hall—but for a city which in comparison with Glasgow, for instance, is a small one—for the population of Montreal is less than one-third that of Glasgow—the spectacle presented by St James' Street at night was sufficiently striking. To begin with, the St Lawrence Hall itself was brilliantly lighted, both inside and out, by the electric light, which rendered the street in the neighbourhood as bright as day. On either side were other buildings similarly lighted, and the effect was to give the city an appearance of bustle and life, which, with less brilliant lights, it would not present. The effect of the spectacle upon me was somewhat modified by the recollection of the roughness of the streets. The drive from the railway station to the hotel gave me my first experience of driving in America, and it was by no means a pleasant one. The vehicle was dignified with the name of omnibus, and so far as shape and general appearance were concerned it closely resembled the carriage bearing the same name at home. A drive of what seemed to be rather more than a mile along what I afterwards found to be one of the main thoroughfares of Montreal, convinced me for the time that whatever general resemblance a Canadian omnibus might have to a Scottish one there was an essential difference in the matter of springs. As we went bumping along the road, now butting our heads against the low roof and next into the waistband of a fellow-passenger opposite, I was forcibly reminded of Horace Greeley's famous ride, which reached its climax when, after being pounded into a sort of jelly inside the carriage sent for him, a sudden bound of the wheels over the rough road sent his head, hat and all—the only hard bits remaining—through the roof. Greeley's driver had some excuse, for he had promised to have his famous charge "there by seving." Our Jehu had no

such excuse, as there was no anxious crowd awaiting us, and a-half hour one way or other would not have mattered. When, with aching bones and ruffled temper, I reached the hall, I concluded in my haste that the Canadians had not yet learned the use of springs. In my leisure, I found that Canadians not only knew the use of springs, but could teach us a good deal in the matter of wheels. Their carriage springs are at least as good as ours, and their wheels are a marvel of lightness and strength. As a people, however, they seem to have been too busy about other things to devote much attention to the making of good roads and streets. The Montreal streets I soon found were neither better nor worse than the streets in other transatlantic cities, always excepting Winnipeg. They are rough, very rough, but yet they are driven over, as a rule, more rapidly than our better roads at home usually are. A stranger driving over them for the first time will not enjoy it, but one soon gets accustomed to it. Comparative comfort can, however, be had in the street cars, and to one who wishes to see a great deal of a large city in a short time these are to be recommended.

In Montreal, as in the rest of Lower Canada, a British visitor is at first surprised at the extent to which French is spoken. But when it is remembered that Montreal was originally settled by French Catholics in pursuance of an attempt to found in America a veritable Kingdom of God as understood by devout Roman Catholics, and that more than one-half of the whole population of the city now is of French origin, it ought to form no matter for surprise that French is generally spoken. Moreover French law is administered in the courts, French deeds are as frequently the subject of litigation as English ones, Parliamentary candidates deliver speeches in French, and all parliamentary proceedings are officially published in French as well as in English. It is no wonder, therefore, that in Montreal every person who has received an ordinary education is able to read, speak, and write the French language as fluently as he does English.

One of the first acquaintances I made in Montreal was Mr Andrew Burns of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, an elder brother of our respected townsman, Councillor Burns of Inverness. From Mr Burns I received an amount of kindness for which I was unable at the time, and am unable yet to thank him ade-

quately, but I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to him for the many kindnesses I received at his hands during my several visits to Montreal. Mr Burns has been in Canada for over twenty-five years, and has filled various important positions in connection with the Grand Trunk—by far the largest railway system in Canada—and the position he now holds is one of the most important in the system. His success proves that he performs his duties with ability, and his popularity with the people of Montreal is evidenced by the fact that, when a recent promotion removed him to a post where he came less frequently into contact with them, they were almost inclined to regret his good luck. Mr Burns is still a comparatively young man, and I hope he has yet a long career of usefulness before him. Through Mr Burns I made the acquaintance of Mr Phippen, of the Central Vermont Railway, a Yankee, as he himself said, from Boston, but so like a veritable John Bull in figure and speech that I had some difficulty in believing him when he told me he was an American.

During this my first visit to the city I divided my time pretty equally between persons and places. One interesting historical spot to which I paid a visit was the Custom-House, a handsome building on the river front, covering a triangular piece of ground, which, in the old days, was formed by a little stream falling there into the main river. Upon this spot on 18th May 1642 were laid the foundations of Ville-Marie de Montréal. The ceremony was a curious one, as will be seen by the following extract from Parkman:—"Maisonneuve sprang ashore, and fell on his knees. His followers imitated his example, and all joined their voices in enthusiastic songs of thanksgiving. Tents, baggage, arms, and stores were landed. An altar was raised on a pleasant spot near at hand, and Mademoiselle Mance, with Madame de la Peltrie, aided by her servant, Charlotte Barré, decorated it with a taste which was the admiration of the beholders. Now all the company gathered before the shrine. Here stood Vimont in the rich vestments of his office. Here were the two ladies with their servant, Montinagny, no very willing spectator; and Maisonneuve, a warlike figure, erect and tall, his men clustering around him. They kneeled in reverent silence as the Host was raised aloft; and when the rite was over the priest turned and addressed them—'You are a grain of mustard seed, that shall

rise and grow till its branches overshadow the earth. You are few, but your work is the work of God. His smile is on you, and your children shall fill the land.'" Verily, the grain of mustard seed has grown into a tree whose branches overshadow the land, as the enthusiastic Vimont predicted. Montreal has now a population of over 140,000, and of these over 100,000 are Roman Catholics. I do not know that every one of them is as pious as the enthusiasts of the seventeenth century, or that even Catholic Montreal is a Kingdom of God on earth; but their churches, which are found in every part of the city, are among the most magnificent in the world, and their priests jostle the lay passenger into the gutter at every street corner.

Leaving the river-side I first walked and then drove through a considerable part of the city, and I soon found why it was that when Scotland ran short of ministers she so frequently drew upon Montreal, and why when a renegade monk comes to enlighten Scotch Presbyterians he has always a good deal to say of Montreal. Montreal is a city of churches. It had, as has been seen, a religious origin, and it has been trying hard to preserve its early reputation ever since. The result is that it is, to put it mildly, well supplied with religious edifices. Mark Twain recently said, speaking in Montreal, "that he never was in a city before where one could not throw a brick-bat without breaking a church window." A recent writer on the subject says—"The action and reaction constantly going on in a community containing an unusual number of earnest men of all conceivable shades of ecclesiastical opinion naturally excites a corresponding amount of zeal which has crystalised into stone and mortar." This *may* be the explanation, and the writer, who lives in Montreal, ought to know. I have, however, seen people, by no means eminent for piety, go through a performance which looked uncommonly like trying to cheat the devil by building a church.

While crossing the Atlantic I heard a good deal about the Rev. Gavin Lang, recently translated to Inverness, who is well-known throughout Canada, and especially in Montreal. Of course opinion is divided as to the attitude taken up by Mr Lang in connection with the application of the Church temporalities on the union of the various Presbyterian Churches in Canada some years ago; but, in Montreal at least, his large-hearted toleration,

and the heartiness with which he always co-operated with his Catholic and Episcopalian fellow Christians, were only spoken of to be praised. Toleration is one of the traditions of religious life in Montreal. Immediately after the conquest of Canada the Protestants used one of the Roman Catholic Churches for worship after the morning mass. In 1766, and for twenty years afterwards, the Church of England people occupied the church of the Recollets every Sunday afternoon. Before 1792 the Presbyterians used the same church, and when they moved to their own first church they presented to the priests of the Recollet Church a gift of candles for the High Altar, and of wine for the Mass, as a token of goodwill and thanks for the gratuitous use of the church. When Mr Lang, after living for some years in the religious atmosphere of Montreal, returned to Scotland his first public utterance was an offer to co-operate with Christian fellow-workers of all denominations. All praise to him, and may his example soon be widely followed.

I went inside only one of the Montreal churches, that commonly called the Cathedral, but the true designation of which is the Parish Church of Notre Dame. The church stands upon the Place d'Armes, and is so striking an object that it at once attracts the attention of a stranger. It is built of limestone, and, looked at from the outside, appears a plain and substantial but stately building. It is surmounted by two towers, which are over two hundred feet high. The inside of the church contrasts strangely with the outside. The inside is all paint, gilt, and beautifully carved woodwork. It is very brilliant, perhaps too brilliant, according to Scotch taste, for a church. Looking back from the front of the altar upon the tiers of pews, with the richly decorated galleries rising one over the other, one can well believe that the church will comfortably hold the 10,000 people which it is said to accommodate. My visit was made on a Thursday about midday. Seated here and there in the pews were worshippers engaged in their devotions, and near the altar a delicate-looking young woman was kneeling with her pale face turned upwards from the time I entered the building until I left, and probably for some time before and after. The majority of the people in the building were, however, like myself, strangers, who respectfully walked on tiptoe through the church, hat in hand, examining the

pictures and decorations. For a small sum access can be had during the summer months to the top of one of the towers. In ascending, the Great Bell, said to be the largest in America, is seen. It weighs 29,400 lbs. From the top a magnificent view of the city and surrounding country is obtained, and the visitor to Montreal should not miss the sight. An American writer (Mr Howells) thus describes the sight—"So far as the eye reaches it dwells only upon what is magnificent. All the features of that landscape are grand. Below you spreads the city, which has less than is merely mean in it than any other city of our continent, and which is everywhere ennobled by stately civic edifices, adorned by tasteful churches and skirted by full-foliaged avenues of mansions and villas. Behind it rises the beautiful mountain, green with woods and gardens to its crest, and flanked on the east by an endless fertile plain, and on the west by another expanse through which the Ottawa rushes, turbid and dark, to its confluence with the St Lawrence. Then these two mighty streams commingled flow past the city, lighting up the vast champaign country to the south, while upon the utmost southern verge, as on the northern, rise the cloudy summits of far off mountains."

After leaving the Church of Notre Dame I continued my walk through the city, not knowing in the least where I was, or where I was going to, and caring very little so long as my watch showed me the time had not arrived when I must jump into the handiest conveyance to get back to my hotel to meet my friend Mr Burns. Walking onwards I came upon an open space from which I could see the river. Overlooking the river I saw a column, and on the column a statue, and near them two large guns. The statue was one of Lord Nelson, and the guns two of those taken at Sebastopol, and presented to the city by the Home Government. The column and statue were placed in their present position (the place is, I believe, called Jacques Cartier Square) soon after Nelson's death at Trafalgar, and they look as if the only attentions they had received since were the reverse of kindly. The gun-carriages are old and dilapidated, and the guns were falling out of them. The whole place has an appearance of neglect which seems to indicate that Montreal has forgotten to revere the hero in whose honour it erected a statue in

1808. As to the guns, if they are left alone for a year or two longer they will part with what is left of their carriages, and either roll into the river, or bury themselves in the mud in which the trucks of their carriages are already nearly out of sight. For the credit of Montreal I hope some energetic alderman will call attention to the condition of the Nelson Statue, and either have it buried out of sight or put into a state worthy of the hero it was meant to commemorate, and of the beautiful city in which it stands.

The appearance presented by Montreal when looked at from the river is one of its most pleasing aspects. A long line of quays faced with grey limestone runs along the river side, and there, nearly 1000 miles from the Atlantic and 250 miles above salt water, the largest ocean-going vessels lie afloat at their moorings loading and discharging their cargoes. During the season the navigation of the St Lawrence is open, three large ocean steamships sail weekly from Montreal to Liverpool, and two to Glasgow, while five other lines have fortnightly sailings to Britain or the Continent of Europe. These represent only the regular lines, and do not include the numerous steamers trading to the port, which do not have fixed days for sailing. In 1880 the value of the exports from Montreal exceeded £6,000,000 sterling, while the imports exceeded £7,000,000. This large trade did not come into existence without effort on the part of Montreal. Quebec is 160 miles nearer the Atlantic, and would appear to be the natural seaport of Canada, and, but for the enterprise of Montreal, it would be the actual seaport.

About midway between Montreal and Quebec the St Lawrence opens out into the Lake St Peter, the greater part of the channel through which was comparatively shallow. Upwards of thirty years ago, however, the Harbour Commissioners of Montreal commenced operations, having for their object the deepening of the shallow parts of the channel, and these operations have continued ever since. The result is that now the channel is so deepened that there is a minimum depth of twenty-five feet at low water, and the deepened channel is 300 feet wide at its narrowest part. But for these extensive operations it would be impossible for the large ocean-going vessels which now frequent the harbour of Montreal to come near that port. They would be compelled to load and discharge at Quebec. As it is, it is so rare

an occurrence for a large vessel to stop short at Quebec without going up the river to Montreal, that in a Quebec paper, published on the day I left Canada, a special article in prominent type chronicled and commented on the fact that a large vessel, the name of which was given, had discharged her cargo, and was to load a return cargo of timber at Quebec without going up the river. There does not appear to be any good reason why Quebec should not have an independent and flourishing trade of her own without in any way interfering with Montreal. Near Quebec there is a large extent of heavily timbered country, and this, if energetically and judiciously worked, would form a nucleus, round which the trade of the port might once more be developed.

K. M'D.

(To be continued.)

LACHLAN MACDONALD OF SKEABOST.

PROFESSOR BLACKIE, in a sketch of this really good and truly patriotic Highlander contributed to the *Scotsman*, wrote the following lines "in praise of the good laird of Skeabost, and in illustration of that most orthodox doctrine that we are here, not for the purpose of plashing in shallow pools, of what foolish young gentlemen and idle lordlings call pleasure, but for creating good out of evil, and beauty out of ugliness, by well-directed energy" :—

Skeabost, albeit no breadth of glowing skies
Flings floods of light on this mist-mantled isle,
Thou, like a god, hast shaped with plastic toil
The waste into a blooming Paradise.
On lazy loons let Heaven drop fatness; they,
In their own fat drone out their languid lives;
But in harsh fate's despite the brave man thrives,
And gains in strength from sweatful day to day.
There are who dream of gods that nothing do,
But round Jove's festal board they sit and sip
Deep bowls of nectar with luxurious lip;
But our God works; and we His work pursue,
Most like to Him when we subdue the crude
Chaotic mass, rejoicing in the GOOD.

THE

CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

No. LXXXVII. JANUARY 1883. VOL. VIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

III.

XI.—DONALD CAMERON, known among the Highlanders as *Domhnull Dubh*, or Black Donald, and from whom the chief of the clan takes his patronymic of "MacDhomh'uill Duibh," succeeded his brother Ewen, at a turbulent period in the history of the Highlands. He was with Donald, second Lord of the Isles, at the battle of Harlaw, in 1411, where many of his followers were slain. He also joined Alexander, third Lord of the Isles, in 1429, when the Island lord, at the head of a large force, burnt and pillaged the town of Inverness, and then retired, with his followers, to Lochaber, where he was met by King James in person, commanding a powerful body of royalists, who, taking the Lord of the Isles unexpectedly, routed his followers. On the appearance of the king the Camerons and the Mackintoshes deserted the Lord of the Isles and joined the royalists. Alexander sued for peace, and shortly after came to terms with the king. His friends, however, did not forgive the Camerons for deserting him and going over to the king at Lochaber, and Donald Balloch ultimately took full revenge upon the clan, compelling themselves

to escape to their mountain fastnesses, and their chief to flee for safety to Ireland, where he remained for several years; while in his absence, his lands of Lochaber, of which the Lord of the Isles was superior, were bestowed upon John Garve Maclean, progenitor and founder of the Macleans of Coll.* Domhnull Dubh, however, after a time, returned and drove the Macleans out of the district, killing their young chief, John "Abrach" (so called from his residence in Lochaber), who disputed possession with him.†

Gregory, after referring to these proceedings, states that John, Earl of Ross, granted the same lands at a later period to John Maclean of Lochbuy, and again to Celestine, Lord of Lochalsh. "It is natural," he says, "to suppose that the Clan-chameron, the actual occupants of Lochiel, would resist these various claims; and we know that John Maclean, second Laird of Coll, having held the estate for a time by force, was at length killed by the Camerons, in Lochaber, which checked for a time the pretensions of the Clan Gillean. But as the whole of that powerful tribe were now involved in the feud—some from a desire to revenge the death of Coll, others from their obligations to support the claims of Lochbuy—the chief of the Camerons was forced to strengthen himself by acknowledging the claim of the Lord of Lochalsh [to whom the Earl of Ross granted the Cameron lands after he granted them to Maclean.] The latter [Lochalsh] immediately received Cameron as his vassal in Lochiel, and thus became bound to maintain him in possession against all who pretended to dispute his right to the estate."‡ The Macgillonies, curiously enough, supported the Macleans against the rest of the Camerons on this occasion. For this they suffered very severely afterwards, but ultimately became reconciled to their immediate friends, and they nearly all adopted the name of Cameron.

* For a full account of the proceedings at Harlaw, Inverness, and Lochaber, see *The History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, by the same author, pp. 60 to 87.

† Seannachie's *History of the Macleans*, p. 306. Skene calls Maclean "Ewen."

‡ *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 76. In a charter, dated 1492, Alexander of Lochalsh styles himself "Lord of Lochiel."

The lands of Lochiel were, according to the best authorities, "probably included in those of Louchabre in the grant of the Earldom of Moray by King Robert Bruce to Thomas Ranulph between 1307 and 1314. In the year 1372, or 1373, King Robert II. confirmed a grant by John of Yle to Reginald of Yle his son of 60 marklands in Lochabre, including Loche and Kylmald (apparently Lochiel and Kilmalie). In 1461 John of Yle, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, granted to his kinsman John the son of Murdac M'Gilleoin of Lochboyg the following lands in Locheale in his lordship of Lochaber, namely, the lands of Banvy, Mykannich, Fyelyn and Creglwing, Corpych, Innerat, Achydo, Kilmailze, Achymoleag, Drumfarmolloch, Faneworwill, Fasfarna, Stonsonleak, Correbeg, Achitolledoun, Keanloch, Drumnasalze, Culenap, Nahohacha, Clerechaik, Mischerolach, Crew, Salachan, and the half of Lyndaly." The same authority says that the lands of Locharkaig were included in the Earldom of Moray, granted as above to Thomas Randulph, between 1307 and 1314, and that "in 1336 John of Isla, afterwards Lord of the Isles, granted the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig to William Macintosh, chief of Clanchattan. From that period the lands are said to have been the subject of a deadly feud between the Clanchattan and the Clanchameron for upwards of three hundred years. In 1372, or 1373, King Robert II. confirmed a grant of the lands of Locharkage, made by John Yle to Reginald of Yle his son. Between the years 1443 and 1447, Alexander, Lord of the Isles, is said to have confirmed to Malcolm Macintosh, chief of the Clanchattan, his lands in Lochaber (including Glenluy and Locharkaig), and to have granted him the office of Bailie of the district. For several years after 1497, the same lands, belonging to the Clanchattan, were forcibly held by the Clanchameron." * We shall have occasion to notice the consequent feuds and sanguinary fights between the two clans as we proceed. Meanwhile it may be well to give the family chronicler's version of the incidents, to which we have just referred.

Having described the part Donald Dubh and his followers took at Harlaw and at Inverlochy, and their desertion, with the Mackintoshes, at the latter, from the Earl of Ross to the King, he says that, "though the Camerons and Mackintoshes agreed in their

* *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, Part I. Vol. II. 181-183.

principles of loyalty, yet their formal quarrell about the estate divided them as much as ever, and brought them to an engadgement on Palm Sunday, which was fought with that obstinacy and furry that most of the Mackintoshes, and almost the whole tribe of the Camerons, were cutt to peices." He then gives an account of Donald Balloch's victory, shortly after, over the Royal forces, under the Earls of Mar and Caithness, when the latter was killed, and the former wounded, making a narrow escape with his life; and then proceeds to say that "Donald Balloch, having now no enemy to oppose him, he turned his fury against the Camerons, and wasted all Lochaber with fire and sword. Donald [Dubh], their chief, drew all this mischief upon him and his clan for doeing their duty," and he further informs us that, in addition to his chief having deserted the Earl of Ross and joined the king on the previous occasion, he now, when Donald Balloch himself commanded the Islanders, added a fresh cause of resentment; for he not only positively refused to assist in the present rebellion, but he openly declared for the king, and was drawing his men together in order to join his generals when they were unhappily defeated by Donald and his followers from the Isles. "This double defection enraged the victorious Balloch to such a degree of fury that he came to a resolution of extirpating the whole clan, but they wisely gave way, and retreated to the mountains, till the storm blew over. Donald, their chief, was obliged to take shelter in Ireland, though some say that he went not thither till some time thereafter that he was condemned to banishment, by an unjust decree of the Earl of Ross, and the Counceil of Parliament, as some people affect to call it. . . . Donald, chief of the Camerons, was soon recalled from Ireland by the groans of his people, who were crewelly oppressed and plundered by a robber from the north, called Hector Bui M'Coan, who, with a party of ruffians tooke the opportunity of his absence to infest the countrey. Being joyned by a sufficient party of his clan, he pursued the robbers, who fled upon the news of his arival, and overtook them at the head of Lochness. But Hector, with his prisoners, for he had taken many, and among them Samuel Cameron of Gleneviss, head of an antient tribe of that clan, escaped him by takeing sanctuary in a strong house called Castle Spiriten, where he barbarously murdered them. In revenge of their death,

Donald caused two of Hector's sons, with others of their gang who had falen into his hands, to be hanged in view of the father, a wretch so excessively savage that he refused to deliver them by way of exchainge, though earnestly pressed to it." The author then gives an account of the contentions between the Camerons and the Macleans already referred to, in which the latter were defeated, and their leader killed, at Corpach. When Donald Dubh became "Master of the charters he [Maclean] had from the Earl of Ross, he destroyed them," and chased Maclean's surviving followers out of Lochaber. "Donald's next business," he continues, "was with the Mackintoshes. Alexander, then chief of that clan, had not only reconciled himself with the Earl, but so far insinuated himself into his favours, that he obtained from him a charter to the disputed lands of Glenlui and Locharkicke, and some time thereafter procured a grant of the stewartry and Bailliarey of all Lochaber. In a word, he tooke possession of the estate, which occasioned many feirce skirmishes, and the issue was that the Mackintoshes were in the end obliged to retire into their own countrey. The rest of his estate, which had been likewaise given away, he soone recovered, and possessed in peace during his life." *

The Lord of the Isles, shortly after his liberation, was made Justiciar of the Kingdom of Scotland north of the Forth, and, soon after, a perfect understanding seems to have been arrived at between him and Mackintosh; while his enmity to the Camerons seems, if possible, to have become more intense than ever. The reconciliation with Mackintosh, according to a recent writer, "is the more strange, as he appears never to have forgiven the Camerons for the part they had taken against him in 1429. The unvaried loyalty exhibited by the chiefs of Mackintosh to his family previously to 1429, and the good service done his father at Harlaw by Malcolm Mackintosh himself, no doubt went a great way in inclining him to show favour to the Clan Chattan; yet so far as former loyalty was concerned, the Camerons were equally entitled to consideration. There must, therefore, have been some reason for the difference of conduct which Alexander pursued towards the two clans, for the munifi-

* *Memoirs of Locheill*, Author's Introduction, pp. 16-19.

cence with which he treated the one, and for the rigour with which he persecuted the other. This reason may possibly lie in the fact that while Mackintosh had been openly on the side of the king for some time before Alexander's defeat in Lochaber, the chief of the Camerons had contributed, in no small degree, to that defeat, by his desertion on the eve or after the commencement of the campaign. Another reason may be that Alexander hoped, by making the Clan Chattan his instruments in hunting down the Camerons, to obtain revenge on both clans at the same time, by giving them a pretext for slaughtering each other. However this may be, one of his first proceedings on being made Justiciar of the North, was to take measures against the Camerons. He had an excuse for pursuing them, ready to his hand, in their resistance to Mackintosh's claims on the lands of Glenlui and Locharkaig; and it was with his connivance, if not with his authority, that the Clan Chattan began, in 1441, to invade and harry the Cameron lands. In this year a sanguinary conflict took place at Craig Cailloch between the two clans, in which Mackintosh's second son, Lachlan 'Badenoch,' was wounded, and Gillichallum, his brother, killed. This was followed by a raid under Duncan, Malcolm's eldest son, in which the Cameron lands were harried. In the end, Donald Dubh, then chief of the Camerons, was forced by the inveterate animosity of the Justiciar to flee to Ireland." *

Donald Dubh is admitted on all hands to have been a man of extraordinary parts, combining great prudence with bravery and other fighting qualities of the very highest order, and no better evidence is required of his great popularity among his own people than the fact that the chiefs of the clan continue to be styled after him in the vernacular to this day as "MacDhomh'uill Duibh." He is said to have married the heiress of Macmartin of Letterfinlay, to have succeeded to her property, and, at the same time, to have united by this marriage the Camerons and Macmartins, not only under one chief, but so completely that most of the Macmartins adopted the name of Cameron. He is said, in the "Memoirs," to have had two sons, Ewen and Donald, both of whom are stated to have succeeded him, one

* *History of the Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan*, by Alexander Mackintosh-Shaw.

after the other. This can scarcely be correct. Indeed, the author himself describes them in a manner which proves that even if two chiefs of the names mentioned had succeeded they could not have been brothers; for while he calls the first "Ewen M'Coilduy," or Ewen the son of *Donald*, he calls the latter Donald Dow M'Ewen, or Donald Dubh son of *Ewen*. Neither of these appear on record, while Skene, Gregory, and all the best authorities agree that Donald Dubh was succeeded by his son,

XII.—ALLAN CAMERON, so well known in the history and traditionary lore of his country as "Ailean MacDhomh'uill Duibh." He became a vassal of Celestine, Lord of Lochalsh, and keeper of his Castle of Strone, in Lochcarron.* In 1472 Celestine "granted lands in Ross to Allan *the son* of Donald Duff, Captain of the Clancamroun."† These lands comprised the twelve merk lands of Kishorn, and, in the charter, Celestine calls him his "beloved kinsman, Allan, the son of Donald Duff, or Dow, Captain of the Clan Cameron," to whom the lands are given, and to the heirs-male lawfully begotten, or to be begotten, between him and Mariot, lawful daughter to Angus, *Dominus de Isles*, and, in default, to his other heirs-male by any subsequent marriage, and, these failing, to the heirs-male of Ewen, his brother german, and, failing these, to return to the granter and his heirs. The document is dated the last day of November 1472. Allan is also described in several charters to his successors as *the son* of Donald Dubh; but it is quite clear, from the charter just quoted, that he must have had a brother Ewen, though it is equally clear from Allan's designation, as Captain of the clan, during Ewen's life, that Ewen was a younger brother.

Allan MacDhomh'uill Duibh is acknowledged to have been one of the bravest warriors of his time. He is said "to have made thirty-two expeditions into his enemy's country for the thirty-two years that he lived, and three more for the three-fourths of a year that he was in his mother's womb. Whatever truth may be in this, it is certain that his good fortune failed him in the end; for being too much elated with his former successes he again made preparations for another invasion, of which his next neighbour, Keppoch (who, for I know not what reason, had

* Gregory's *Highlands and Isles;* and Reg. of Great Seal XII. 203.

† *Origines Parochiales Scotiae;* and Reg. Great Seal Lib. XIII., No. 203.

conceived an enmity against Allan), having information, he advised Mackintosh of the design, and promising to follow him in the rear with all the men he could raise, he formed a plot for cutting his party to pieces. Allan had no notice of the contrivance, and, despising an enemy which he had so often insulted, proceeded in his intended invasion. Mackintosh was prepared to oppose him, but artfully delayed engaging till Keppoch came up, and attacked him in the rear. In short, the Camerons were obliged, after an obstinate fight, and the death of their chief, who was killed during the heat of the action, to give way, in their turn, to the superior numbers of the confederates." *

The family manuscript says that Allan married Marion, daughter of Angus, Lord of the Isles, and grandchild of the Earl of Ross. This cannot be correct. Angus Og of the Isles, who is referred to, had no daughters that we know of, nor was he ever in reality Lord of the Isles; for he died several years before his father. He was an illegitimate son, and the only issue of his of whom anything is known, is the famous Donald Dubh, afterwards styled Lord of the Isles, whose legitimacy of birth has also been stoutly contested. Allan, in point of fact, married Mariot, daughter of Angus Macdonald, known among the Highlanders as "Aonghas na Feairte," second of Keppoch, who is styled "Angus de Insulis," in a charter of confirmation granted to "Alano Donaldi capitanei de Clan-Cameron et heredibus inter ipsum Alanum et Mariotam Angussii de Insulis." The lady's paternal grandfather was thus, Alastair Carrach Macdonald, third son of John, first Lord of the Isles, by his second wife, Lady Margaret, daughter of King Robert II. of Scotland. Alastair Carrach himself is referred to in a complaint by William, Bishop of Moray, in 1398, as "Magnificus vir et potens, Alexander de Insulis, Dominus de Louchabre."† This is at least as good and illustrious an ancestry as the tainted one claimed by the family genealogist from Angus Og, the bastard son of John, fourth and last Earl of Ross, and Lord of the Isles.

Allan was succeeded by his son, Ewen MacAllan.

* *Memoirs of Locheill*, Author's Introduction, p. 24.

† *The History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, by the same author, pp. 479-480.

(To be continued.)

Correspondence.

ORIGIN OF THE MACGILLONY CAMERONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

SIR,—In the *Celtic Magazine* for November you have commenced the interesting history of the Clan Cameron, and whatever be the origin of the clan, whether Danish or Celtic, the origin of the name is unquestionably pure Gaelic—Cam-a-shroin or Sroin-cham. At page 5 you interpret the word Macgillony or Macgillanaigh to mean the Son of the Prophet. Our tradition concerning that name is different in Argyllshire, and somewhat as follows:—

At an early period in history, possibly the period referred to at page 6 of the magazine, when Cambro, the Dane, is said to have married an heiress, a daughter of the chief of the Cameron Clan had occasion to be on a stormy day on the rocky sea-board of Corpach, where the waves were lashed into foam by the fury of the tempest. There, in a sheltered cove, protected from the blast by rocky cliffs, on either side, she found, partly covered by the foam, a basket, in which there was carefully put up a male child of heal and healthy appearance. The child was taken home, and brought up in the family of the chief, and, on coming of age, he assumed the name of Cameron, but he was never acknowledged by the clan to be a Cameron, he having not a *crooked* but a *straight* nose.

This Gill-onfhaidh, or Son of the Tempest, married an heiress of a sept of the Clan Cameron, whose descendants became very numerous in Lochaber and so recent as to be in my own recollection. The difference between the two branches was carefully noted by old men of my native parish. The Camerons of the crooked nose resided in Cowal from my earliest recollection, but on one of the other branches coming to the district, I can well remember an old man saying—*Cha Chamshronach idir e, 's ann a tha e do Chloinn-'ic-Onaidh-nan-Toitean a thainig air tir aig a Chorpaich.*

There is much meaning in a name, as instituted by our ancestors, and historians, like Dr Skene, however highly-gifted and educated they may be, should not be allowed to transmogrify those names to square with modern notions.

The *Sroin-cham* branch of the clan has been noted from time immemorial for the keen relish they have for flesh. In the village of Cladaich, on Lochawe side, there once met a happy wedding party. The best man was a gentleman—a Campbell—and an officer in the army. When seated at the supper-table there sat right opposite him a gentleman of the Clan Cameron. On finishing meals at wedding parties, modest jesting became a frequent pastime. With a design to produce a jest, Campbell fixed his fork into a well polished bone on his plate, and handed it across the table to Cameron, which was the signal to him to favour the company with a jest, or a verse of poetry. Taking the bone in his hand, Cameron replied as follows:—

An *Sergant* Caimbeul so shuas,
Duine uasal o bhun nan cnoc,
Shin e 'n *droll* dhomh thar a bhord,
Ach b'ait leis gu leor a bhi na chorp,

'S ged thug sinne speis do 'n fheoil,
'S car a bhi n 'ar sroin na deigh,
Tha *pairt eile* 's caime beoil,
Cho deigheal air an fheoil ruinn fèin.

To show what a keen relish for flesh was peculiar to this branch of the clan, whether in Cladaich or in other parts of the Highlands, the following story will illustrate :— About fifty-five years ago, there was situated in the district of Arisaig, in Inverness-shire, a John Weir, an officer of excise. His chief duties were to prevent the smuggling of whisky. Mr Weir had occasion to be on business in the town of Inverness, and when passing the jail, whether on the Castlehill or elsewhere in the town, I know not, he saw a man's hand between the iron bars, as if waving him to come upstairs. He was not aware that any one inside knew him, and was passing without paying any attention to the prisoner, on seeing which a voice from within was heard to say, *Ian, a ghaolaich, thig a nios;* on hearing which he ascended the stair; was admitted to the prisoner's cell; and, to his astonishment, there he found a neighbour of his own, a farmer in comfortable circumstances. Mr Weir, in astonishment, exclaimed—

"*Ciod air an t'saoghal Aonghuis, a chuir an so thu!*"

"*Och! Ian a ghaolaich, nach eil fhios agad!*"

"*Fios, cha 'n eil aon fhios agamsa.*"

"*Nach robh Biorach a bha 'n sid; Biorach air an do rinn mi greim.*"

"*Ciod am buaireadh a thug dhuitse greim a dheanadh air Biorach duine eile, 's gu leor do Bhioraich agad fein?*"

"*Och! Ian, a ghaolaich, nach eil fhios agad? Na Cama-shronaich so! na Cam a-shronich da m bheil mise; saoil thu'm faigh iad blas air feoil, ach an fheoil bhradach!*"

When meeting with one of the Cameron Clan, Mr Weir often related the story of Angus and the Biorach, he being greatly amused by the concluding sentence of the apology Angus made for being a prisoner in the jail of Inverness.

Mr Weir afterwards removed to Kirkintilloch, where he died. He and his widow are buried in the kirkyard of Kilmun.

At page 213 of the *Teachdaire Gaelach* there is an account of a meeting of Lochiel and the Duke of Athol, the conclusion of which agrees with the foregoing regarding the Cameron clan, and their relish for *Feoil.*

A chlanna nan con thigibh 'n so,
A chlanna nan con thigibh 'n so,
A chlanna nan con thigibh 'n so,
S gheobh sibh feoil.

COIRRE-AN-T' SITH.

[We are much obliged to our good and valued friend for his interesting letter; and further communications from him, or from any others, for private use or for publication, in connection with the history and traditions of the Camerons, will be much esteemed by THE EDITOR.]

ORAN CHLANN DOMHNUILL NAN EILEAN.

LE ALASTAIR BUIDHE MAC IAMHAIR (ALEXANDER CAMPBELL).

[Lord Macdonald, on one occasion, invited *Alastair Buidhe* to visit him at Armadale Castle. The bard went, and was so well received and so respectfully treated that he composed the following song, since printed in the "Mountain Songster" without the author's name. It is the only one of the bard's poems which has ever secured the dignity of type, until we began to give them in the *Celtic Magazine*]:—

Air Fonn—"*Cabarfeidh.*"

Beir soraidh uam gum eolas,
Gu Troterneis, 'se b' aite leam,
An talamh maiseach, boidheach,
An tir ro ordail mhearcaiteach,
Far 'm bheil na daoine coire,
Dh' fhas fialaidh, mòr, neo-acaineach;
Mnai uaisl' is suairce comhradh,
Gun ghruaim, gun phrois an taice dhoibh.
An tir ro-fhairmeil, chliuiteach, ainmeal,
Mhuirneach, mheamnach, mhacanta;
Bu lionmhor, sealbhach, iasg na fairge,
Tric ga mharbhadh 'n taice riu;
Thig bradan tarra-gheal, inneach, mealgach,
Iteach, earra-ghlan, breac-lannach:
Am fonn 'an dearbhte 'n cinn an t-arbhar
Diasach, ceanna-mhor, pailt-ghraineach.

B'i sud an dùthaich fhialaidh
Air an éireadh grian gu moch-thrathach—
Tir lùbach, sthrathach, iosal,
Gu monach, sliabhach, gucagach;
Tir chruachach, sguabach, liontach—
Tir mheasail, mhiaghail, thrusganach—
Tir mhòr 'tha coir gu biatachd,
Tir bhòidheach, lianach, lusanach.
Tir bhuadhach, bhlàth, gun chruas, gun chàs,
A' tigh'nn fo bhlàth gu ruiteagach;
An grunnd a b'fhearr o shliabh gu tràigh,
Gu fàsach, lànach, sultmhorra:
Crodh-laoigh 's gach àit', a' sior bhreth àil,
Gu bliochdach, dàrach, sruth-bhainneach;
Is grinn a' ghàir aig fuaim nam bà
'Dol suas ri àird nan uchdanan.

Bi'dh mnathan donna, duallach,
'N an dàil gu cuachach, cuinneagach,
'S iad modhail, banail, stuama,
Neo-ghruamach, uasal, iriosal;
Le'n àlach glan mu'n cuairt doibh
'G an togail suas gu h-innealta,
'S iad féin gu laghach, suairce,
Gu caoimhneil, cuanda cinneadail.
Bi'dh òighean mìne, boidheach, fìnealt',
Stòilte, rioghail, ion-ghràdhach—
Gun fhuachd, gun ghris, gun ghruaim, gun sgìos,
Ro shnuagh'or, finealt, binneagach:
A's pàirt diubh 'sìor chur àird air ni,
Gun chàs, gun strith, gun iomadàn;
A's pàirt, mar chi, le lànachd ni,
'Cur faigh'm air sìod' 's air ghrinneasan.

Bidh daoine tlachdmhor, còir ann
Ag òl mu bhòrd gu h-oileineach,
Nach mall, 's nach gann mu'm pòca,
'S nach di d'an stòras teir'eachdain;
B' i sud an Fhine mhòrail,
Clann-Dòmhnuill Mhòr nan Eileanan,
Nach inndrinn ann an dò-bheairt,
'S nach tòisich air ni 'cheileadh iad.
Na laoich 'bha treun ri àm an fheuma,
Cròdha, gleusda, fearachail;
'Bha ullamh, réidh, gu siubhal slèibh,
Gu ruitheach, leumach, deannalach;
Gur math an t-éideadh-crios am féil',
Am breacan eutrom, ainneamh, orr'
An uair a dh'éighte 'cheud ratreut
Gu dol 's an streup gu ceannasach.

'N uair thogte 'bhratach bhalla-bhreac
Gu meamnach os ceann churaidhean,
'Ur laochraidh thlachdmhor, dhealbhach,
Gur garg an taobh a chuireas iad,
Nan éireadh fraoch no fearg orr',
Gu'm b' anmanta, garbh, guineach iad;
Cha phillear sibh le armailt
Ged dheanadh Alba cruinneachadh.
Bi'dh loingeas bhréid-gheal, cuan 'g a reubadh,
Seòlach, reultach, iullagach,
Lamh-dhearg 'ga h-éigheach, cinn 'g am beum,
Aig seòid nach géill do chunnartan;
An taobh a dh'éight' iad, b' ullamh, réidh iad,
'S mairg d' am b' éiginn fuireach riu;
Bi'dh feòil gu féisd aig eòin an t-slèibh'
'S gach seòrsa béisd a chruinnicheas!

A RUN THROUGH CANADA AND THE STATES.

By Kenneth Macdonald, F.S.A., Scot.

III.—Montreal and Glengarry.

Running along the river front for a mile and a-half is a solid wall protected by a rail, and in front, about ten feet lower than the street, are the wharves, so that the visitor standing on the street above, or leaning on the protecting rail, can look down upon the traffic of the busy harbour without feeling himself in the way, or running the risk of being run over by any of the many vehicles continually passing to and fro carrying goods to and from the harbour. If the visitor chooses to walk along the river front he will be pleasantly surprised to find that instead of having—as he might expect, if he is accustomed to walk in the neighbourhood of harbours—to pick his way carefully along a filthy unsavoury thoroughfare, he has before him a street as clean and free from impediments as he needs wish to walk on.

To return to the City. The occasion of my visit to the harbour was to engage my berth for the return voyage. The office of the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company (the Allan Line) is on the river street facing the harbour, and there I was treated with that scant courtesy which appears characteristic of the employés of this firm in all their principal offices, the one honourable exception whom I came across being Mr Macdermott, of the Glasgow office.

I spent so much time in making myself familiar with Montreal that the time I had fixed for going westward arrived without my having made the acquaintance of several gentlemen to whom I had been favoured with letters of introduction. Most of these I subsequently met. One I have not yet seen. This is Mr John Macdonald, a native of Tain, and now an accountant in extensive practice in Montreal. After my return home I learned that Mr Macdonald, seeing from one of the morning newspapers that I had registered at the St Lawrence Hall, had called there

for me only to find that I had left for Quebec. I regret not having met Mr Macdonald, of whom I had heard much, and I thank him for his intended kindness to a stranger in a strange land.

One of the gentlemen, the pleasure of making whose acquaintance I had to postpone on the occasion of my first visit to Montreal, was the Hon. D. Macmaster, Q.C., M.P., a successful lawyer and a rising politician. I had employed some of my time on the voyage across the Atlantic in reading one of Mr Macmaster's political speeches while contesting the county of Glengarry, Ontario, at the recent general election in Canada. A great part of the speech read very like a personal attack on his opponent and to me its tone was so distasteful that I was by no means prepossessed in favour of its author. It was, perhaps, therefore as well that I did not see Mr Macmaster while I was new to Canada. When I came to know a little more of Canadian politics and the amenities of political life in that great Dominion, my views were considerably modified. In Canada political discussion seems to include not only abuse of your opponent's works, but of himself. That being so, a young man fighting a great political battle would hardly be expected to commence with a crusade against the prevailing tone of political controversy. To do so would have been unwise, and Mr Macmaster, who is one of the most successful of the younger members of the Canadian Bar, and who, although still a young man, has been a prominent politician for several years, was not the sort of person to imperil his success by an appearance of quixotry. He was successful, and that, too, although his opponent was the late Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, and probably the strongest candidate who could have been run by his party.

GLENGARRY.

In the evening I left Montreal for Lancaster, a town between fifty and sixty miles further west on the line of the Grand Trunk Railway. The line runs along the left bank of the St Lawrence. On we sped through a beautiful country in the cool evening air, past Lachine, where the early French navigator, coming to a place where the St Lawrence widened into a small lake, thought he had at last found the true road to China, and gave

the place the name which it bears to this day; past Saint Anne Bout de L'Isle where the mighty Ottawa, after a course of over 600 miles, pours its muddy waters into the St Lawrence; past numerous little villages and towns frequently named by the devout French settlers after some obscure saint, and sometimes after obscurer sinners, until, just as evening was wearing into night, we steamed into Lancaster Station. A telegram I had sent in the early part of the day to Mr Macrae, the proprietor of one of the hotels in the place and the son of an emigrant from Kintail in the bad days of old, had the effect of placing a team at my disposal on the arrival of the train to carry me to my destination, the village of Williamstown, some five miles from Lancaster. Before proceeding up the country, however, I went into the town of Lancaster, first to ascertain whether I was really on the track of the friends I purposed visiting, and in the second place to make the acquaintance of Mr Macrae, of whom I had read in the *Celtic Magazine* of February 1880. Mr Macrae as a host is all he was in 1879, but since that time he has lost his eldest son, him to whom he looked to be the stay of his old age, and the light of the father's life seems to have gone out when his son was taken from him.

My enquiries proving satisfactory, I was, after a short stay in Lancaster, driving at a brisk pace through the dull but bracing night air towards Williamstown, Glengarry.

And this was Glengarry—the *other* Glengarry across the Atlantic. This name was the record left by the banished Highlander of his loyalty to his native country, notwithstanding its indifference to his fate, of his love of his native glen, notwithstanding that his last glimpse of it had been caught through blinding tears wrung from him by the relentless cruelty with which he and his children were hunted out of home and country by those who ought to have been their natural protectors. But who has fared better in the years that have gone bye since the Glengarry and Knoydart evictions—the evictor or the evicted? Go to Glengarry, go to Knoydart, and find how many acres remain in the family of the evictors. Not one. How, on the other hand, has it fared with the evicted? When they were hounded out of the lands which were by right their own, they made themselves new homes in a new country, and, to make their

homes as homelike as possible, they fell upon the strange conceit of calling their new country by the old name, and Glengarry it is to this day. And this Glengarry now belongs to their sons, while in the home glen the name of their oppressors is forgotten.

Glenelg, Morar, and Kintail also contributed their quota of evicted Highlanders to people the Canadian Glengarry, and now the descendants of people who left Scotland, homeless and penniless, within the memory of men yet alive, are landed proprietors, cultivating, in most cases, their own land, and living in circumstances always of comfort, and frequently of affluence.

If the road could have been left out of account, the surroundings were favourable for musing. But in Canadian travelling, the road cannot be left out of account. Fortunately, here it was soft and dry, and when the wheels suddenly sank down into a two-feet deep rut, the sensation was not altogether unlike being tossed in a blanket or thrown into a feather bed. I was curious to know how the road looked after a spell of wet weather, and began to ply my driver with questions, but he was not very communicative. What he said, however, seemed to amount to this, that it is never wet here for any length of time—in summer the roads are dry, and, although soft, easily driven over—in winter everything is frost-bound and hard, and it really does not matter much whether you have a road to drive your buggy or sleigh on or not —a field serves as well; for a short time in spring things are wet and disagreeable, but the period is so short, and the roads are so little used during it, that their state causes little inconvenience. Three weeks afterwards it was my misfortune to drive over that same road, and a mile or two more between the town of Lancaster and the River St Lawrence, and when, looking like an animated sample of Canadian soil, I arrived at my destination, I thought that that young man had deliberately imposed on a simple stranger.

All this while, however, I am driving towards Williamstown, where, about 10 P.M., I was landed at the door of the friends I had come to see. Nearly thirty years had elapsed since they had seen any one from home, and now there was naturally a great deal to ask and tell. When, after hours spent in talking of home, of the still living, and of the loved ones who were dead, I laid my head on my pillow, I felt that I realised for the first time

that an emigrant has often to suffer more than mere physical hardships. Home-sickness is sometimes a sad reality, involving physical consequences which no amount of material comfort away from home can cure. How many, I wonder, of the Highlanders lying in the little church-yard opposite my window that night in Williamstown, a church-yard containing the dust of many of the original settlers of Glengarry, could tell of hearts broken by the severance of home ties, by a life-sentence of banishment? Was their cry heard? Surely it was. We ought not, perhaps, to call the misfortunes of our fellow-men judgments, and yet standing among the graves of the Highland emigrants of Glengarry, and looking back upon the history of their oppressors, one almost instinctively remembers that it was the God whom both oppressed and oppressor worshipped, who said "The cry of the children of Israel is come unto me," and again, "If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I shall surely hear their cry, and my wrath shall wax hot."

Early in the morning I was astir, and out seeing Williamstown. It is not much to look at. The houses are mostly of wood, covered with shingles, and the business premises—shops and inns—are the same. It would be putting it too strongly to say there was an air of decay about the place, but there is certainly a want of life. But it is only a village, for a new country a pretty old village, and in many things like a similar place at home. The fact is, I suppose, that the place is too far from either of the lines of railway running through the County of Glengarry, and too near the town of Lancaster to have much chance of becoming anything more than a mere village. Many of the inhabitants are old settlers who took up their abode in Williamstown before their was a railway in the county, and now when they find themselves situated between two lines of railway communication—one the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, and the other the Eastern Division of the Canadian Pacific system—both too far away to do them any good, and one of them near enough to do them perhaps a little harm, they are too old to care about making another change, and so they sit down contentedly where they are. But it would be a mistake to suppose, because Williamstown is not a growing place, that its people are not comfortable, and, as a rule, well to do. Everybody seems comfortable, and

although Glengarry does not move fast enough to please the people of Toronto, its people as a whole are well to do. There are of course exceptions. In one or two cases farms were pointed out to me which had, until a year or two ago, been owned by Scotch settlers, who, it was said, being unable to work the land to profit, sold out to French Canadians from the Lower Province, who are now making money where the Scotsmen failed. As a rule the French Canadian is not noted for energy, especially as a farmer, and the fact that a few Scotsmen have been supplanted in Glengarry by a corresponding number of Frenchmen, or rather Canadians of French descent, was several times quoted to me as if the whole of the Scotch Colony in Glengarry were tainted with the vice of the two or three men who are said to have failed where success was possible. It need hardly be said, however, that what has occurred does not by any means prove that the whole of the Scotch Canadians in Glengarry are inferior in energy and business capacity to their neighbours, and yet it was subsequently put to me in this way by men who could not be suspected of a desire to discredit our countrymen, and their own, in Canada. They put it so, however, to justify a practice which I took the liberty of condemning, that of separating Scottish settlers, a subject to which I shall presently refer.

There have been, however, removals from farms in Glengarry during the past few years, brought about by causes which have operated in other parts of the Dominion as well as throughout all the older States of America. The owner of a good farm in Ontario can sell it at from forty to one hundred dollars per acre, while by moving westward to Manitoba or the North West Territory he can purchase a farm of virgin soil of unsurpassed fertility for from one to ten dollars per acre. Indeed, it need never cost him anything like the latter sum unless he is very difficult to please, or desires to acquire a particular section for speculative purposes. He can have the choice of the best wheat producing lands in the world, situated within easy distance of the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway for two and a-half dollars per acre, one half of which will be repaid to him for every acre brought under cultivation within four years. As the original price of the land is payable one-sixth in cash, and the balance in five annual instalments, beginning a year after entry, it will be

seen that for a man with limited means and a large family to provide for, the inducement to go westward is strong. Take the case of a farmer in Ontario who owns a farm of 200 acres and has six sons. If he remains in Ontario he cannot do much for the lads. The farm is too small to divide among them, and the father's whole means are tied up in it and the stock upon it. He cannot even provide his sons with capital to make a fair start for themselves either at home or in the West if he is to stick to his Ontario home. In these circumstances his farm, which is worth probably sixty dollars per acre, is put into the market, and fetches twelve thousand dollars (£2400). With this sum, and the proceeds of the stock, the whole family go to the West, and in a few weeks the father and each of his six sons are settled in farms each as large as the one they left, and probably more fertile. The payment of the first instalments of the purchase price takes less than six hundred dollars (£120), so that, leaving out of account the proceeds of the stock of the old farm, the family have still a capital of 11,400 dollars, or about £2280, to work upon. At the end of five years, if they are industrious, their farms are their own, at a total cost for the whole seven of 1750 dollars, a little over £350, or about one-seventh of the price fetched by the one farm in Ontario. This, it need scarcely be said, is a result which could not have been brought about had the family remained at home. But even this is by no means the best that a family such as I have instanced can do for themselves in the West, for, by the manner in which the prairie lands of the North-West are surveyed for settlement, each member of the family might take up a free homestead grant of 160 acres in one section, and purchase an adjoining quarter section of 160 acres of railway lands. In this way each of them would acquire a farm of 320 acres at a cost less by one-fifth than I have given for a 200 acre farm. Moreover, the family would not be separated, for by the admirable arrangements of the Canadian Government in having free homestead land, and land which can be acquired only by purchase, laid out in alternate sections (640 acres), the members of a family who wish to settle near each other can have all their farms adjoining without losing any of the benefits of separate settlement.

There have been cases of unsuccessful farming, I have no

doubt, in Glengarry as elsewhere, and among Scotch settlers as among settlers of other nationalities, but that every case where a Scotch settler sells his farm is to be accounted for by want of success where success was possible, I do not believe. In Toronto, when I questioned the wisdom of the policy pursued in the Government of separating Scotch settlers from each other, while settlers from other countries were afforded facilities for living together, I was told that my countrymen never did well as farmers when they were left to themselves and formed a purely Scotch settlement, and Glengarry was quoted as an instance; while, on the other hand, it was stated that when mixed with settlers of other nationalities the emulative spirit of the Scotsman was roused, and he became the best farmer, the most successful merchant, and the most prominent man in his district. I could not see then, and I cannot yet see, that Glengarry exhibits anything to warrant so sweeping a charge against purely Scottish settlements. The farmers of Morayshire, of Easter Ross, and of East Lothian are mainly, if not entirely Scotsmen, and if there is land in Canada better farmed than the land in these districts of Scotland, I did not see it. What Scotsmen can do here they can do in Canada. It does not require any admixture of a foreign element to make Scotsmen prosperous in Scotland, and it is difficult to understand why such an admixture should be necessary in Canada. I do not say that Glengarry is all it might be, all that I would like it to be, a model for the rest of Ontario, but I do say, after paying it a second visit, and going through a great part of two of the four townships into which the country is divided—Charlottenburgh and Lancaster—that the farming of Glengarry, so far as I was able to judge of it, is at least equal to the average of Canada.

It is time now, however, to be moving westwards. On a dull heavy morning my friend Jack Sullivan, having carefully packed me into his buggy as if he feared I might be broken in transit, drove me into Lancaster in good time for the westward train. Time enough fortunately to see and make the acquaintance of a few more Highlanders—two of them Macdonalds—uncle and nephew, both genuine Celts, who would persist in addressing me in Gaelic, and could not be got to understand how it was that a native of Inverness, and a friend of the Editor of the

Celtic Magazine, did not know his native language. I deplored the shortsightedness of those responsible for my upbringing in neglecting so important a branch of my education; reminded them that in my youth Gaelic was not so fashionable an acquirement, as, thanks very much to my friend Professor Blackie, it has since become; and then, having drowned all discord in a drop of old rye, I left my new-found friends with a qualified promise to take the earliest opportunity of remedying the defect in my education.

K. M'D.

(To be continued.)

MEMENTOS OF MY FATHER'S GRAVE.*

Soft, silky leaves of freshest green,
Which grew upon my father's grave;
Mementos hallowed of a man
Whose heart was warm, sincere, and brave.

Of humble sphere, but noble aims,
He calmly stemmed life's stormy sea;
Upright and manly, frank and pure,
A trusty friend, and true was he.

A loving husband, faithful, kind,
A tender father, wise, discreet;
Our weal his chief concern, delight,
His happy home made labour sweet.

His words were few, for well he weighed
Each thought and subject ere he spoke;
In humour rich; and oft essayed
A simple, pleasant, harmless joke.

My father! thy blest memory
I dearly cherish day by day;
And for its sake I'll prize these leaves
Which grew above thy sacred clay.

And when life's course with me is run,
When soon or late I must resign
This earthly frame, oh, may it rest
Beneath a turf as green as thine!

New York. DUNCAN MACGREGOR CRERAR.

* Written on receiving a few beautifully fresh green leaves, which grew on our father's grave, from my brother Alexander, to whom the above verses are most affectionately inscribed.

THE HONOURS OF SCOTLAND.

By M. A. Rose.

I.

Of the hundreds who yearly visit Edinburgh, and among other sights, go to gaze on the Regalia, how few know the history of these national relics; the many dangers and vicissitudes they have passed through; the narrow escape they once had of falling into the hands of Oliver Cromwell, and thus being most probably lost to Scotland for ever. Hence, we think, that a glance at their history may not prove altogether uninteresting.

The ancient Regalia, or, to use the old name, the Honours of Scotland, fell into the hands of the victorious Edward I., who, having gained his purpose by using the weak and facile John Baliol as his tool, as soon as that purpose was accomplished, felt no compunction in despoiling the newly made king, not only of all real power, but even of the insignia of authority. In 1296 Baliol was summoned to appear before Edward at the Castle of Montrose, and there, to use the words of the old writer, Wyntown, was "dyspoyled."

"Of all hys robys of royalte:
The pelure thai tuk off his tabart,
(Twme Tabart he was callyt efteyrwart.)
And all othire insyngnys,
That fel to kyngis on ony wys,
Bathe scepter, swerd, crowne, and ryng,
Frae this Jhon that he made kyng,
Halyly fra hym tuk thai thare,
And made hym of the kynryk bare:
Than this Jhon tuk a qwhyt wand,
And gave up in-til Edwardis hand,
Of this kynryk all the rycht,
That he than had, or have mycht,
Fra hym and all his ayris thare,
Tharept to claime it nevyr mare."

What Edward did with the Honours, thus ruthlessly obtained, is not known; most probably the gold and jewels were sold to help to defray the expenses of his army; certain it is that they were

never seen in Scotland again. This is borne out by the fact that, when Bruce first succeeded in asserting his right to the Scottish Throne, and was crowned at Scone, the ancient Regalia were not in existence ; or, at least, if they were, they were not within his reach, for a temporary circle or *coronal* of gold was made for the purpose, and even this poor substitute for the ancient crown fell into the hands of the English after the defeat of Bruce at the disastrous battle of Methven.

It is supposed that the present Crown was made by order of Robert Bruce after he had again succeeded in gaining the throne, as it was said to be the one used at the coronation of his son, David II., in 1329. At all events the learned in such matters declare the workmanship of the older portion of the Crown to be as early as the fourteenth century. The precious stones in it are in a rough state ; whereas in all workmanship of a later date the stones are cut into facets. Again, previous to the time of Bruce, all the representations of the Scottish Crown, on coins and seals, show a diadem ornamented with *fleurs de lis* only ; but after his time, the *fleurs de lis* are interchanged with crosses, as appears on the present crown. Next in point of antiquity comes the Sword of State, which is a beautiful specimen of early art, not only interesting to the antiquary, but also to the lover of art as an example of the great perfection attained by the artificers of the sixteenth century. This sword was presented to King James IV. by Pope Julius II. in the year 1507. The handle is richly chased, and the sheath covered with filigree work, executed with great delicacy and skill. Representations of the Papal Tiara and the keys of St Peter are intermingled with the foliage of oak leaves and acorns, the personal device of Pope Julius. His Holiness also presented to the king at the same time a consecrated hat, both of which presents were delivered with great ceremony and solemnity in the Church of Holyrood by the Papal Legate and the Abbot of Dunfermline.

The Sceptre is of a somewhat later date. When James V. was preparing for his alliance with one of the princesses of France he would naturally wish that his Regalia should be as splendid as possible, and it is said that he took advantage of his visit to Paris, in 1536, to employ some of the noted artists of that city to make a Sceptre for him, as well as to very materially alter and improve

the Crown, by adding two concentric circles, surmounted at the point of intersection by a mound of gold, enamelled, and a large cross patee, upon which is engraved J.R.V. It is evident that these circles or arches did not form part of the original crown; for the workmanship is of a different and inferior description, the metal is not of the same quality, the gold being less pure than that used in the diadem, to which the added arches are attached by gold tacks. In the Advocates' Library there is a MS. diary of Lord Fountainhall, in which there is a memorandum to the effect that "the Crown of Scotland is not the ancient one, but was casten of new by James V." We expect this statement must be taken in the limited sense of King James having added to and altered the original crown, and not that he made an entirely new one.

The Sceptre bears the same initials as the Crown, viz., J.R.V., and is surmounted by a large mass of rock crystal with peculiar setting, which, from the rudeness of its style, appears out of character with the rest of the workmanship, and seems to point to a much earlier period of art. It has been suggested that this stone, "which in the wardrobe inventories is dignified with the name of a 'great beryll,' was an amulet which had made part of the more ancient Sceptre of the Scottish kings.

The Honours were always used at the coronation of the Monarch, and when Parliament assembled they used to be borne in solemn procession to the Hall of Assembly, and worn by the Sovereign. In his absence they were laid on the table in front of the throne as emblems of the royal authority, and the king's consent to Acts of Parliament was signified by touching them with the Sceptre.

The different articles of the Regalia were entrusted to the care of the Earl Marshall of Scotland, which high office was hereditary in the family of Keith; but during the time when Parliament was not sitting the Regalia were kept with the rest of the royal treasure in the Jewel House, under the care of the Treasurer. This arrangement was made in consequence of the Earl Marshall's estates and castles being so far north, and at such a distance from the seat of Government.

In an inventory of the royal treasure, taken in 1539, the Regalia are thus described :—

"JOWELLIS.

"Item, ane crowne of gold, sett with perle and precious stanis.

"Item, in primis diamentis, tuenty.

"Item, of fyne orient perle thre scoir and aucht, wantand ane floure delice of gold.

"Item, ane septour, with ane grete bereal and ane perle in the heid of it.

"Item, twa swerdis of honour, with twa beltis, the auld belt wantand foure stuthis.

"Item, the hatt that come fra the Paip, of grey velvett, with the Haly Gaist set all with orient perle."

In another inventory, taken in 1542, they are thus described—

"Item, in the first his grace's croun, full of precius stanes and orient perle, with ane septur set with ane greit barrell.

"Item, twa swerdis of honour, with twa beltis wantand four stuthis.

"Item, ane rob royall of purpour velvatt lynitt with armin, and ane kirtill of the samyne velvatt, lynitt in the foir breistis with armyn and heid siclyk.

"Item, the Queen's Grace's croun, set haill with the perle and precious stanis, with ane sceptour with ane quhyte hand."

Again, in 1621, a more accurate description is given in the inventory, in which all the blemishes are mentioned; for instance, it says that ten of the small *challoms*, or spaces, were filled with blue enamel instead of stones; two *challoms* quite empty, and two other filled in with white stones, also, that the top of the Sceptre was broken, and that the handle and scabbard of the Sword of State had been damaged, all of which injuries, we believe, to be still observable.

One of the swords mentioned in the inventories, as well as "the queen's graces croun, the hatt that come frae the Paip, and the rob royall of purpour velvatt," have long since disappeared, leaving only the three articles, the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword of State.

When James VI. succeeded to the Crown of England he took south with him most of the royal treasure; but the Honours were considered to belong exclusively to the Scottish Nation, and

were left as before in charge of the Treasurer when Parliament was not sitting.

It is stated that when Charles I. was crowned he wished to have the Honours of Scotland sent to London for that purpose; but the Scottish Privy Council would not allow them to be taken out of the kingdom. So highly did Charles value the ancient Regalia of his ancestors, coupled it may be with a desire to please the national pride of his Northern subjects, that, after his coronation in London, he made a journey to Edinburgh, and was there again crowned with the Honours of Scotland.

This incident closes what we might term the first and most glorious part of the history of the Regalia. Within a very few years of the time when they figured at the coronation of Charles I., amid the applause of a whole nation, the political sky became darkened with the worst of all tempests—a civil war.

On the 6th of June 1651, the Scottish Parliament sat amid the confusion and turmoil caused by the advance of Cromwell and his victorious Ironsides. Edinburgh was no longer a safe place for the Honours, and one of the last acts of the Parliament was to order the Earl Marshall to remove the Regalia for better safety to his "strong Castle of Dunottor, within the shyre of Mearns, as a place of greatest security and distance from the Enemie." Soon after this was done, the Earl Marshall was himself called to the field in the service of his king. In this dilemma he chose Captain George Ogilvie of Barras, a prudent, brave, and loyal soldier, who had served with distinction in the German Wars, as his lieutenant, and granted a commission to him, dated 8th July 1651, in which he gives him the entire charge of Dunnottar Castle, the Regalia, and many valuable documents, which had been placed in his hands for safety.

Sir John Keith (the Earl Marshall) went to England, engaged in the battle of Worcester, was afterwards captured, and sent a prisoner to London, where he was confined in the Tower. In the meantime Captain Ogilvie began to fear for the safety of his valuable charge, as he had neither men, ammunition, nor provisions sufficient to stand a long siege, with which he was now threatened. In this strait he applied for instructions and advice to John Campbell, Earl of Loudon, the Chancellor. His lordship replied that as neither the Parliament nor the Committee

of Estates had met, he could give no positive advice nor order on his own responsibility; and he goes on to say, "if you want provisions, soldiers, and ammunition, and cannot hold out against all the assaults of the enemy, which is feared you cannot do, if hard put to it, I know of no better expedient than that the Honours be speedily and safely transported to some remote and strong castle in the Highlands; and I wish you had delivered them to the Lord Balcarres, as was desired by the Committee of Estates; nor do I know any better way for the preservation of these things and your exoneration. And it will be an irreparable loss and shame if these things shall be taken by the enemy, and very dishonourable for yourself."

Thus Captain Ogilvie was placed in a very unenviable position, with the great responsibility on his shoulders of the safe keeping of the Honours of the nation, without adequate means to defend them from assault. True, he might have relieved himself by delivering them to the Earl of Balcarres, as desired by the Committee of Estates, but he did not consider their order a sufficient warrant; for he says in a letter to Balcarres, "haveing reseaved the charge of that hous (the Castle of Dunotter) and what was intrustett therein, from the Earll Marshell, and then by a particular warrand under his Majestie's own hand," . . . "I conceave that ther is no place in this kingdom quhair they cane be more secure nor quhair they ar, and with less charges, if the Comitie of Estaits be pleased to tak order tymeouslie for furnishing of me with such things as is necessar for defence of this hous."

Ogilvie soon found, however, that Dunnottar was not a sufficiently secure place, for it was closely besieged by the Parliamentary army, and was summoned to surrender three several times, first by General Overton, on the 8th November 1651, again, on the 22nd of the same month, by General Dutton, and lastly, by General Lambert, on the 3rd January 1652, who offered him most honourable terms, which Ogilvie refused in the following spirited letter:—"Honored Sir,—I have receaved yours for surrendering the Castle of Dunnotter, the lyk whereoff I have receaved from sundrie of your officiars befor, and have given answers therto: that being intrusted be his Majestie I wold not surrender the same upon any hazard whatsomever, but intends, by the help of the Lord, to maintaine the same till I shall have orders from

his Majestie in the contrair. I shall be as loath as any to occasione the effusione of blood, whereoff too much hath bene alreadie, but shall be far more loath to betray the trust imposed upon me. I cannot but thank you for your offers, and remaine, Sir, your servant, GEORGE OGILVY."

January 7, 1652.

And this brave soldier did actually hold his own against the might of Cromwell, until the month of May, the same year, when he received a letter from the Earl Marshall saying that he had resolved to put himself, his fortune, and prosperity, freely into the hands of the Lord General, and make the best terms he could for his future liberty, and, consequently, ordered Ogilvie to surrender his Castle of Dunnottar to Major-General Deane, on the most favourable conditions he could make.

One can well imagine that Ogilvie was not sorry to be thus relieved of his arduous and dangerous post; he immediately set about making arrangements for vacating Dunnottar Castle, and corresponded with General Deane as to the terms for "the randitione of the Castle." He succeeded in getting very handsome terms, as such a gallant soldier deserved; and, on the 24th of May 1652, he and his small garrison marched out with drums beating and colours flying.

One of the conditions of the surrender of Dunnottar was that the Honours of Scotland should be given up to the English General; but Captain Ogilvie, though quite willing to give up the castle at the command of its owner, was too good a patriot to tamely submit to be the instrument of disgracing his nation by allowing its Regalia to fall into the hands of the enemy. He had accordingly taken precautions for the safety of these national relics, the particulars of which must be left for another paper.

THE ETHICS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.—We are glad to intimate a series of papers on the Ethics of Political Economy, by Mr Malcolm Mackenzie, Guernsey. The first will appear in our next issue. Among other errors and confusion of thought prevalent on this subject, Mr Mackenzie will point out what he considers unsound in the recently published works of Mr Alfred Russell Wallace, and Mr Henry George, on the Nationalisation of the Land. The *Celtic Magazine* being entirely non-political, from a party point of view, we shall be glad to hear all sides, from whatever *social* standpoint, on this important subject.

AN ANCIENT BRITISH HILL-FORT.

NEAR the south angle of Renfrewshire, in the parish of Mearns, a rugged and abrupt looking hill called Dun-Carnock—Dun-Carnach in Gaelic, or Din-Cyrniog in British—stands towering about 400 feet above the subjacent fields. This hill is a remarkable feature in the landscape, and wears a hoary antiquated aspect. Like its venerable relation, Dumbarton Rock, it has two summits, the eastern top being the higher and more narrow one, while the western end of the hill is flatter and broader, with a perennial fountain of water in its centre. The huge rocks and boulders that stand out from the green fallow turf are overgrown with moss and grey lichens, the accumulation of ages. The ascent to this lower summit is almost perpendicular, and round the more accessible portion of its brow are still to be seen the formidable remains of an ancient wall, curving round what appears to have been once a strongly fortified area. This wall, as well as the other relics of art about the hill, points back to a very remote period, probably to a time anterior to the Norman invasion. It may be as old as the time of the Roman occupation, and may have been built by our Caledonian forefathers to defend themselves against the hosts of Cæsar, and occupied as a convenient place of rendezvous from which to rush with better effect upon the daring invaders and drive them out of the country. We may imagine this to have been a citadel of warriors for many centuries, perhaps at one time a garrison and sallying point of Fingal, the son of Morni, and his host of heroes, when they defended Albion of the sounding streams and hoary rocks against the well-armed forces of the King of the World.

Whatever may have been its particular history, Dun-Carnock must have been a notorious place of strength and importance to the early Caledonians that sleep beneath the green sod of this ancient fort, and under the many cairns and tumuli of the far spreading strath. And as little or no mention of this place is made in the history of our country, we may safely presume that it, in common with Din-Glas and Dun-Briton, was late in yield-

ing, if ever it did, to the persistent and aggressive Saxons, who sought to make themselves the dominant people over the whole island.

As a garrison and place of defence, it is well situated, so as to command a view of all the ample Vale of Clyde, from the roof-shaped hill of Tintock that stands on the South-eastern horizon, and from the sloping ranges of Campsie Fells and Kilpatrick Braes, to the Rock of Dumbarton and the Highland mountains, that blend with the clouds of the North. Between those extreme points there are many interesting and remarkable features, and many of their names are evidently of early British origin, such as Cathkin, Carnmunnock, Dychmont, Camslang, Glasford, Strathaven, Carnwath, Campsie, Glasgow, etc.; and as these British names occur more frequently in this than in any other district of Southern Scotland, we may presume that ancient British was spoken in this region long after it had blended into the Gaelic, or given place to the Saxon in other parts of South Britain. Yet so closely has the early British nomenclature clung to the rocks and streams, hollows and hills of *Strath Clwyd*, that we may look upon them as undying echoes from the past of the rude and hardy race that dwelt in the woods of Caledonia, when first mentioned in history by Tacitus; and so characteristic of Wales, are the names of places, that a Welshman on a tour through the country might easily fancy himself on a visit to some part of his own Principality.

N. M'NEIL BRODIE.

Halifax, N.S.

ALI-NA-PAIRC.—Having read the anecdote regarding this local character, which appeared in a recent number, "Mac Iain" sends us one which is almost equally good. It is as follows:—Ali went one day into the kitchen at Holme Rose, where he had often been before and since, and having received a large bone to pick, he walked outside with it; for he was too much of a gentleman to sit in any kitchen to dinner. He went to the side of a hedge close by, and began to pick his bone, when, shortly afterwards, Mr Rose happened to pass by, and, on seeing Ali, said, "Hollo, Ali, are you here?" "Aye, aye," answered Ali, "you will speak to me, Mr Rose, when you see that I have something."

MR WILLIAM JOLLY, HER MAJESTY'S INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS.

SUSPICIOUSNESS of strangers, especially if they speak only the language of the Saxon, was, at times, we fear, characteristic of the Highland race. It was this trait of our character which Sir Walter Scott put, perhaps in its most forbidding aspect, in the mouth of the heroic Amazon, who guarded the Pass at Aberfoyle, when she demanded of the sycophantic Glasgow Bailie—"What fellow are you that dare to claim kindred with the Macregor, and neither wear his dress nor speak his language? What are you that have the tongue and the habit of the hound, and yet seek to lie down with the deer?" On the other hand, it was, and is no less true of us, as a people, that we very warmly recognise, and no less cordially reciprocate, kindness and appreciative sympathy, when these are extended toward us by those at whose hands we might have expected different treatment. We yield to none in the sincerity with which the deepest feelings of our nature express, when circumstances require it, the sentiment that moved the Jews of old to plead for blessings on the household of a friendly and generous alien—"He loveth our nation." We are not sure that we have always done full justice to our Southern friends in our doubts, for, after all, we must confess that, while not a few of the great and the powerful of our own race have proved recreant to the trust imposed upon them—of providing for the comfort and happiness of the Highland people—we have had among us many large-hearted strangers capable of appreciating what is good in the race, and willing to devote themselves to the task of educating our people in the exercise and development of the latest powers and possibilities of their nature. Pre-eminent among these stands out the name of Professor Blackie, and, perhaps, second to his, in a quieter though less conspicuous way, is that of Mr William Jolly, Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, whose departure from Inverness suggest these reflections.

About fourteen years ago Mr Jolly came among us a complete stranger, familiar with neither our people, our language, nor

our country. He had not been long in our midst, however, when he showed that his position here was not to be the cold and perfunctory one of a mere official. With that ardent and enthusiastic temperament which is so conspicuous a feature of his character, he assiduously and sympathetically devoted himself to the study of our social condition and capabilities as a people, and the best methods for rendering effective whatever would tend to the elevation and social advancement of the Highlanders. Education with Mr Jolly meant no mere cramming of the mind with the dry details of the three R's. It has always been his desire rather by creating an internal interest in and thirst for knowledge to promote to its highest purpose the faculty of self-education; and, while he did not discourage the most minute and careful attention to the ordinary scholastic methods of instruction, he was ever ready to avail himself of the rich and ready accessories which surrounding nature afforded. He found "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything."

Those against the use of the Gaelic language, for the purpose of conveying instruction in Highland schools, found in Mr Jolly a most uncompromising opponent, and on more than one occasion, during his sojourn in the North, he gave unmistakeable utterance to his sentiments on that question. Specially was this the case at the annual supper of the Gaelic Society of Inverness in January 1880, when he expressed his strong dissent from views antagonistic to the use of the Gaelic language, urged by several of his brother inspectors in the Highlands. Further, in his official report to the Education Department, in 1878, he made special reference to the subject, stating fully his opinion that, while English ought to receive the first attention as the "language of trade, commerce, current literature, and general intercourse necessary for success in life, and desired by Highlanders themselves," Gaelic should be used in the oral teaching of English, this being the method which reason and wisdom would suggest, and that it should also be afterwards taught on account of the importance of Gaelic literature as an instrument of education and culture to the Gaelic people."

It was not, however, merely in connection with what concerned their specific education that Mr Jolly's large-hearted and

kindly solicitude went forth toward the Highland people. Any movement that tended to their moral and social good found in him a staunch and active friend. This interest in our country and people was warmly expressed when, last month, he was presented with a silver tea service and a purse of sovereigns, as a token of the respect and esteem in which he was held by all who came into contact with him, while he went out and in among us. The presentation was made by Sheriff Blair in choice, appropriate, and complimentary language, which found an approving response in the heart of every one present.

Referring to his appointment fourteen years ago, Mr Jolly said that he came full of the idea which possessed the minds of so many Saxons, that he was coming to a "barren country and wild rocks of culture," but he had to confess heartily and honestly that his experience had led him to adopt entirely different views; and well do his life and work in the North testify to the fact. He then proceeded:—

"No one knows Scotland that does not know the Celtic portion of it, with all its special problems and special circumstances; and I am glad to have had opportunities of being on the spot, and of studying these northern portions of our country, and forming my own conclusions respecting the different problems it presents, and the progress effected. The people, the Celtic people, are themselves a most remarkable and most interesting part of the community. Although they are wanting in certain elements of, perhaps, the moral stamina and sturdy independence of the Saxon, they have other elements in their character which are wanting in the Saxon, and which put them on the highest pinnacle of culture. They are, in spite of recent exhibitions, a law-loving and a law-abiding people, honest, silent, and careful in their work, devoted to the domestic circle, willing to live independent lives, satisfied with little, and, indeed, happy with that little. And they have certain elements of emotional and other parts of culture which go to make the true gentleman and the true lady. These elements, when combined with Saxon sturdiness and Saxon independence, have largely contributed to make our population what it is, and have given our culture and our poetry those distinguishing characteristics for which it is justly admired. I have had, as Inspector of Schools, opportunities of moving amongst the

people and of observing them, and the opinion which I have now expressed is a deliberate conviction upon my part. What I have seen will enable me, in going South, to correct certain prevalent impressions that are erroneous regarding the people of the Highlands—impressions formed on special presentations of character which one now and again comes across, but which do not in any degree give an accurate idea of the people Highlanders are. I am proud of having an opportunity of correcting these impressions, and of bearing testimony to the worth of the Highland people. Questions regarding their social position have now acquired an importance which they never had before, and I have no doubt the issue will be a much greater and a better contentment when there is an adjustment of certain questions that have now arisen between landlord and tenant. I think the country is rising to the importance of improving the condition of the Highlanders in a way it has never done before; and I think we shall only be wise, as a people, when we understand that we ought to have a contented peasantry in our Highland glens, instead of making these glens other men's playgrounds, such as some of them are at present."

Our statement would be incomplete did we not make some reference to Mr Jolly's important labours in the walks of science and literature. In the work of the local Scientific Society and Field Club he always manifested the most lively interest, acting frequently as leader in some department, on occasion of their summer excursions, and giving the benefit of his varied knowledge and experience.

Mr Jolly's contributions to literature, though not numerous, are of considerable importance. His largest work, that on Education, based on the labours of Combe, is a valuable addition to the already extensive literature of the subject. From his pen have also come a most interesting little work on "Burns at Mossgiel;" a life of John Duncan, the Alford botanical weaver, now in the press; and various articles on the serial literature of the country, among them being several papers chiefly on Highland education, social life and literature, with which the pages of the *Celtic Magazine* have on repeated occasions been enriched.

DEPOPULATION OF THE COUNTY OF ARGYLL.

SOME very extraordinary public utterances were recently made by two gentlemen closely connected with the County of Argyll, questioning or attempting to explain away statements made in the House of Commons by Mr D. H. Macfarlane, M.P., to the effect that the rural population was, from various causes, fast disappearing from the Highlands. These utterances were, one, by a no less distinguished person than the Duke of Argyll, who published his remarkable propositions in the *Times;* the other by Mr John Ramsay, M.P., the Islay distiller, who imposed his baseless assertions on his brother members in the House of Commons. These oracles should have known better. They must clearly have taken no trouble whatever to ascertain the facts for themselves, or, having ascertained them, kept them back that the public might be misled on a question with which, it is obvious to all, the personal interests of both are largely mixed up.

Let us see how the assertions of these authorities agree with the actual facts. In 1831 the population of the County of Argyll was 100,973 ; in 1841 it was 97,371 ; in 1851 it was reduced to 88,567 ; and in 1881 it was down to 76,468. Of the latter number the Registrar-General classifies 30,387 as urban, or the population of "towns and villages," leaving us only 46,081 as the total rural population of the county of Argyll at the date of the last census, in 1881.

It will be necessary to keep in mind that in 1831 the county could not be said to have had many "town and village" inhabitants — not more than from 12,000 to 15,000 at most. These resided chiefly in Campbelton, Inveraray, and Oban ; and if we deduct from the total population for that year, numbering 100,973, even the larger estimate, 15,000, of an urban or town population, we have still left, in 1831, an actual rural population of 85,973, or within a fraction of double the whole rural population of the county in 1881. In other words, the rural population of Argyllshire is reduced in fifty years from 85,973 to 46,081, or nearly one-half!

The increase of the urban or town population is going on at a fairly rapid rate—Campbelton, Dunoon, Oban, Ballachulish,

Blairmore and Strone, Innellan, Lochgilphead, Tarbet, and Tighnabruaich, combined, having added no less than some 5500 to the population of the county in the ten years from 1871 to 1881. These populous places will be found respectively in the parishes of Campbelton, Lismore and Appin, Dunoon and Kilmun, Glassary, Kilcalmonell and Kilberry, and in Kilfinan; and this will at once account for the comparatively good figure which these parishes make in the subjoined tabulated statement. The table given below will show exactly in which parishes and at what rate depopulation progressed during the last fifty years. In many instances the population was larger before 1831 than at that date, but the years given will generally give us the best idea of how the matter stood throughout that whole period. The state of the population given in 1831 was before the famine which occurred in 1836; while 1841 comes in between that of 1836 and 1846-47, during which period large numbers were sent away, or left for the Colonies. There was no famine between 1851 and 1881, a time during which the population was reduced from 88,567 to 76,468, notwithstanding the great increase which took place simultaneously in the "town and village" section of the people in the county, as well as throughout the country generally.

Though the subjoined table is not quite so complete as we shall yet make it, still it will be found of considerable interest and value, in the face of such absurd and groundless statements as those to which we have referred, coming from such high authorities! The table, when completed, will afterwards form one of a series, applicable to the whole northern counties, in course of preparation, and similarly arranged, and which is to appear in the Editor's *History of the Highland Clearances*, to be issued this month by the publishers of the *Celtic Magazine*. We venture to think that they will not only prove interesting, but really useful, at a time like this, in helping to remove the dust thrown for so many years past in the eyes of the public on this question of Highland depopulation by individuals personally interested in concealing the actual facts from those who have it in their power to put an effective check on the few unpatriotic proprietors in the North who are mainly responsible for clearing the country, by one means or another, for their own selfish ends.

Statement showing Population in 1831, 1841, 1851, and 1881, of all the Parishes in whole or in part in the County of Argyll:—

	1831	1841	1851	1881
Ardchattan and Muckairn	2420	2264	2313	2005
Ardnamurchan	...	5581	5446	4105
Campbelton	9472	9539	9381	9755
Craignish	892	970	873	451
Dunoon and Kilmun	...	2853	4518	8002
Gigha and Cara	534	550	547	382
Glassary	4054	5369	4711	4348
Glenorchy and Inishail	1806	831	1450	1705
Inveraray	2233	2277	2229	946
Inverchaolain	596	699	474	407
Jura and Colonsay	2205	2291	1901	1343
Kilbrandon and Kilchattan	2833	2602	2375	1767
Kilcalmonell and Kilberry	...	2460	2859	2304
Kilchoman	4822	4505	4142	2547
Kilchrenan and Dalavich	1096	894	776	504
Kildalton	3065	3315	3310	2271
Kilfinan	2004	1816	1695	2153
Kilfinichen and Kilviceuen	3819	4102	3054	1982
Killarrow and Kilmeny	7105	7341	4882	2756
Killean and Kilchenzie	2866	2401	2219	1368
Kilmalie	4210	5397	5235	4157
Kilmartin	1475	1213	1144	811
Kilmodan	648	578	500	323
Kilmore and Kilbride	2836	4327	3131	5142
Kilninian and Kilmore	...	4322	3954	2540
Kilninver and Kilmelford	1072	970	714	405
Knapdale, North	2583	2170	1666	927
Knapdale, South	2137	1537	2178	2536
Lismore and Appin	4365	4193	4097	3433
Lochgoilhead and Kilmorich	1196	1100	834	870
Morvern	2036	1781	1547	828
Saddell and Skipness	2152	1798	1504	1163
Small Isles	1015	993	916	550
Southend	2120	1598	1406	955
Strachur and Stralachan	1083	1086	915	932
Tiree and Coll	5769	6096	4818	3376
Torosay	...	1616	1361	1102

GENERAL SIR HERBERT MACPHERSON, V.C., K.C.B., K.S.I.

In Sir Herbert Macpherson we are glad to recognise a true born Highlander, and we feel sure that a few pages of the *Celtic Magazine* cannot be occupied more fittingly, or in a way more gratifying to our readers, than by some short account of his family connections and career.

Sir Herbert's grandfather was James Macpherson, for many years factor on the Cawdor estates, and tenant of the farm of Ardersier—a gentleman who, in the early years of the century, was widely known and highly respected in this district of country. Mr Macpherson had eight sons, all of whom lived to manhood, and served their country in the army or the navy, and in those stirring times saw much service. When the 78th Highlanders was raised and embodied at Fort-George, two of these sons raised parties of men for it, and entered it, one afterwards killed in Java, as captain, and the other, then a mere lad, as ensign. The latter, Duncan Macpherson, was the father of Sir Herbert. He served in the 78th until he rose to the command of the regiment, which he held for some years, and then, on the death of his mother, retired from the army, and settled at Ardersier, where he and his family lived for a considerable time. Colonel Macpherson married Miss Campbell, daughter of Mr Campbell of Fornighty and of his wife, a daughter of Mr Mackintosh of Kyllachy, and sister of the famous Sir James Mackintosh. Of this marriage there was a numerous family of sons and daughters. The eldest was the late Sir James Macpherson, K.C.B.; the youngest the subject of the present notice.

Sir Herbert was born at Ardersier, and passed a great part of his early life there and in the neighbourhood. He received part of his education at the Nairn Academy, residing, while attending that school, with an aunt, who was widow of Dr Smith, the assistant-surgeon of the "Victory" at the Battle of Trafalgar, and one of the attendants on Lord Nelson at his death. Family

history, early association, and personal predilection, all combined to point to the army as the proper career for Herbert Macpherson, but devoid of money and of influence, and with nothing to point to in support of his application for a Commission but the services of his father and his uncles, it seemed for a long time very unlikely that the application would be successful. In 1844, having almost despaired of obtaining a Commission, he went into an office in London, but at that time the 78th, which was stationed in Scinde, was attacked by an epidemic of cholera so violent that there were fears that the regiment would be annihilated. On the intelligence reaching this country young Macpherson waited himself on Lord Fitzroy Somerset, then Adjutant-General, and specially asked for a Commission in the 78th. Lord Fitzroy was so pleased with the pluck of the young man in asking for a Commission in what then seemed to be a doomed regiment that he promised the granting of his request. He was gazetted an Ensign on the 26th of February 1845, and soon after joined the regiment. He obtained his Lieutenancy in January 1848; soon after became Adjutant of his regiment, and soon obtained the reputation of being one of the smartest Adjutants in India. He had also the reputation of being one of the best riders and keenest sportsmen. In 1855 he was stationed with his regiment at Aden, and going on a hunting expedition into the interior with two friends the party were attacked at night by assassins in the hut in which they were sleeping. Macpherson was awakened by the groans of one of his companions, who was mortally wounded, and springing up he rushed at a man whom he could only see dimly in the imperfect light. On trying to grapple with his antagonist, he found that he was naked, and that his body was smeared with oil, so that it was impossible to hold him, and after a fearful struggle the ruffian made his escape, leaving Macpherson senseless, and with eight fearful wounds on his body. Thanks to a good constitution, however, he soon recovered.

The first military service in which Sir Herbert was employed was with his regiment in the Persian War of 1856-7, under Sir James Outram, the regiment being in the brigade commanded by Sir Henry Havelock. He was engaged in all the fighting in this campaign, and for it he has a medal and clasp. By the time the regiment returned to India the Mutiny had broken out, and on

arrival at Calcutta the regiment was at once sent on under Sir Henry Havelock on his glorious march, or rather progress of battles, to the relief of Lucknow. In Havelock's final fight, when he entered the Residency, Macpherson won the proudest and most coveted destinction of a soldier, the Victoria Cross. When with his regiment he was making his way through the city, fire was opened on them from some guns in a cross street; for an instant the regiment hesitated, but the gallant Adjutant, collecting one or two men, charged the guns, cut down the gunners, and silenced them, and for this deed of daring he bears the Victoria Cross. He was one of the first to reach the defences of the Residency, and might have been the first man to enter it, but as his regiment was then under a hot fire he preferred to remain with, and encourage, his men. As it was he crossed the ditch alongside of the gallant General Niel, who there fell by his side. After the first relief of the Residency the 78th was quartered at the Alumbaugh, and in the final relief Macpherson acted as Brigade-Major in the force under the command of Sir Colin Campbell. In 1857 he became a Captain, in 1858 a Brevet-Major, and when his regiment was ordered home he accepted the option which was then offered him of exchanging into the Bengal Staff Corps, and was appointed by Lord Clyde to the command of a Ghoorka regiment. In command of this regiment he saw much service in Hugara, in the Looshai expedition, in Iowaki, and in some of the cold weather manœuvres he earned the reputation of an able tactician and strategist. When Lord Beaconsfield formed his famous resolution to astonish the world by calling an army from the East to correct the balance of power in the West, Macpherson was one of the distinguished batch of Victoria Cross men who were chosen for Divisional and Brigade commands, and who, much to their disappointment, found that they had been brought not to fight but to take part in a theatrical spectacle. He returned to the command of his regiment, but was soon called into the field in command of a brigade under Sir Samuel Brown in the first advance into Afghanistan. The first duty assigned to him and his brigade was a march by mountain tracks, so as to get in rear of Ali Musjid, and cut off the retreat of the garrison if they should attempt to escape when the fort was attacked by Sir S. Brown. Macpherson remonstrated against the orders,

pointing out that the time allowed him to accomplish the march was insufficient, but without effect, and like a good soldier he set himself to do his best. The difficulties of the march were incredible, great part of it being accomplished by night over tracks where men could only march in single file, and the light mountain guns had to be taken to pieces and lowered over precipices by ropes. He accomplished his task, however, within the time allotted to him, but only to find that a demonstration having been made against the fort a day sooner than had been arranged, it was evacuated fully twelve hours before he was informed the attack would take place, and he arrived in the Valley of the Kyber only in time to catch sight of the rear guard of the retreating garrison as his weary brigade were threading their way down the hills. It is said that in sheer vexation he rode after the enemy himself, and fired his pistols at them as a challenge. In the whole operations of this campaign he bore a prominent part, and for his services was created a C.B., and when, after the murder of Cavignari, a force was again sent to Cabul under General Roberts, he was again chosen to command a Brigade. When the rising of the Afghans took place, which ultimately forced General Roberts to take shelter in the Cantonments of Sherpore, Macpherson with his brigade, consisting of Ghoorkas and the 92nd Highlanders, supported by a body of cavalry, was sent out some miles to intercept and defeat in detail two bodies of Afghans who were advancing in different directions with the purpose of forming a junction. He advanced to the junction of the roads by which the enemy were supposed to be advancing, leaving, according to orders, the cavalry some miles in his rear. He encountered and completely defeated one body of the enemy, when hearing firing some miles from him, where he had no reason to believe that any of our troops were, with the instinct of a soldier he guessed that something was wrong, and marched rapidly in the direction of the sound, firing salvos with his artillery to show that he was coming. He arrived at the scene of action only to find that his cavalry, which, without his knowledge, had been withdrawn by the orders of General Roberts, had attacked and been defeated by a body of the enemy, and had retreated, and he could just see the enemy in full march on Cabul. He at once pursued, and managed to throw himself between the enemy

and the city and cantonments, and thereby in all probability saved the army from disaster. He remained for several days outside the cantonments constantly engaged with the enemy, and his brigade was the last to be withdrawn into the cantonments. When at last he received the order to bring in his brigade, he found that he had to accomplish a march of several miles over open ground with his flank exposed to an enemy in overwhelming numbers and flushed with success, but this difficult operation he accomplished with brilliant success, bringing in all his baggage and wounded men under incessant attack, some of his men being killed within a few yards of the entrenchment.

In all the subsequent operations he bore a prominent part. He was with General Roberts in the famous march to Candahar, and in the final battle he and his Ghoorkas and Highlanders bore the principal part. Succeeding in his first attack, and taking advantage of the emulous enthusiasm of the two races of Highlanders, he pushed on without waiting for supports, and was able to signal the capture of the enemy's camp to General Roberts long before that General expected that it would take place. For his services in this campaign he was created a K.C.B., and on his visiting Inverness two years ago, the Capital of the Highlands and of his native county, recognised his merit, and manifested the satisfaction of the community in his success as a Highland soldier by conferring on him the Freedom of the Burgh.

On his return to India he was appointed to the Divisional command at Allahabad, and when it was resolved to send a contingent from India to co-operate with the army in Egypt, he was, with the loudly expressed approval of the Indian Army, chosen for the command. What occurred in Egypt is so recent that it is unnecessary to dwell on it in detail. The Indian Contingent was composed of native infantry and cavalry regiments, of the 72nd Regiment—the First Battalion of Seaforth Highlanders—and, no doubt, to the great satisfaction of General Macpherson, of two companies of the Second Battalion—the old 78th—to which his own son, a boy who only entered the army a few months before, was attached. Considering the delay which was caused by the deficiency of transport for the troops which went from this country, it is well worthy of record that the Indian troops left India so perfectly equipped that they could have landed anywhere, and

marched anywhere, without any transport but what they brought with them, and that the first railway engine available on the line from Ismailia to Tel-el-Kebir was one which the Indian Contingent had brought from Bombay. Three days after the last of the Indian troops reached Ismailia, Sir Herbert's brigade marched for Kassassin, which it reached on the following day. After a rest, it crossed the Canal, and on the following morning it took its part in the famous Battle of Tel-el-Kebir. It is to be noticed that the part assigned to the contingent was the attack of the Egyptians on the south side of the Canal, that they were ordered not to advance till some time after the troops on the north side, and that in consequence they were discovered by the enemy when they were still 1500 yards from them. Over this distance, led by the Highlanders, they advanced under fire of artillery strongly posted, and, at last, receiving the order from the General to "Rush" the guns, they charged with the bayonet into the battery, and bayoneted the gunners who did not take flight. Advancing along the south side of the Canal, driving the enemy before him, Sir Herbert met General Wolseley at the bridge beyond the enemy's camp. Sir Garnet enquired whether his brigade was able to march to Zagazig, as none of the other troops were. He was at once answered in the affirmative, and without rest or refreshment, save the biscuits which they carried in their haversacks, they started on their march of thirty miles through the desert in the blazing heat of an Egyptian sun. About three o'clock Sir Herbert and his staff, accompanied by only 30 Indian troopers, rode into Zagazig and, riding at once to the Railway Station, succeeded in capturing five trains filled with armed men, who were about to start for Cairo, the soldiers either throwing down their arms and running away, or surrendering. The infantry arrived an hour or two later, not a man having fallen out. Immediately on his arrival at Zagazig, Sir Herbert telegraphed to the Governor of Cairo that he was there with his whole Brigade, and would be in Cairo next day; and it is believed that the intelligence of his extraordinary march did more to paralyse the enemy, and render complete the victory of Tel-el-Kebir, than any other event in the campaign. On the following morning a party of Highlanders were in a train ready and eager to start for Cairo, which they would have been the first to reach, when orders were telegraphed

from Sir Garnet that they were not to proceed, the reason being, it is understood, that it was thought necessary the Guards should do something, and the Highlanders, who had got the start of them, were kept back, that they might be the first troops to enter Cairo. For his services in Egypt, Sir Herbert has been created a Knight of the Star of India.

Such is a short sketch of the services of the gallant soldier, who, as we go to press, is again among us and about to be honoured by his fellow-burgesses, by the presentation to him by the Town Council, in name of the community, of a Highland claymore, with appropriate inscription, and by entertaining him to a public banquet under the patronage of the Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council. His career is not by any means without precedent, but it is one of which all of his race may well be proud. Without fortune or influence, by steady adherence to duty, by doing bravely and well whatever it came in his way to do, he has literally fought his way into the front rank of soldiers—shown himself to be fit for any command, and to be, as Sir Garnet Wolseley has described him, "a pillar of strength to any army with which he may be connected." He shows once more that

"The path of duty is the way to glory."

M.A.R.S.

FIRST HIGHLAND EMIGRATION TO NOVA SCOTIA: ARRIVAL OF THE SHIP "HECTOR."

ON Friday evening, the 8th December last, Mr Alexander Mackenzie, Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, delivered, in Buckie, one of a serious of lectures arranged every winter under the auspices of the Buckie Literary Institution, a thriving Association, for the success of which a West Coast Highlander, Mr John Macdonald, banker, deserves a large portion of credit. The lecture was entitled "A Tour in Canada, from Cape Breton to Niagara." The portion of it which refers to the arrival of the ship "Hector" with the first cargo of Highlanders, numbering about two hundred souls, and a few incidents in their after experience may prove interesting to the reader. There were only sixteen families in the settle-

ment on the arrival of these pioneers, and these were soon afterwards reduced to five. The Lecturer proceeded :—

The arrival of the ship *Hector*, in 1773, was the first, as well as the most important, event in the history of Highland emigration, or indeed of any emigration to the Lower Provinces of British North America. The *Hector* was engaged in this traffic for several years, and brought out, in 1770, a band of Scottish emigrants. She belonged to Mr Pagan, a Greenock merchant, and landed a band of Scots in Boston, in that year. This Pagan and a Dr Witherspoon bought three shares of land in Pictou, and they engaged a Mr John Ross as their agent to accompany the *Hector* to Scotland, to bring out as many colonists as possible. To these they offered a free passage, a farm, and a year's free provisions. Ross arrived in Scotland with the vessel, and drew a glowing picture of the land and of the other manifold advantages to be found in the new country. The Highlanders knew nothing of the difficulties awaiting them in a land covered over with a dense unbroken forest, and, tempted by the prospect of owning splendid farms of their own, they were imposed upon, and many of them agreed to accompany him across the Atlantic. Calling first at Greenock, three families and five single young men joined the vessel at that port. She then sailed to Lochbroom, in Ross-shire, where she received 33 families and 25 single men, the whole of her passengers numbering about 200 souls. This band, in the beginning of July 1773, bade a final farewell to their native land, not a soul on board having ever crossed the Atlantic, except a single sailor and John Ross, the agent. As they were leaving, a piper came on board who had not paid his passage; the captain ordered him ashore, but the strains of the national instrument affected those on board so much that they pleaded to have him allowed to accompany them, and offered to share their own rations with him, in exchange for his music, during the passage. Their request was granted, and his performance aided in no small degree to cheer the noble band of pioneers in their long voyage of eleven weeks, in a miserable hulk, across the Atlantic. The pilgrim band kept up their spirits, as best they could, by song, pipe music, dancing, wrestling, and other amusements, through the long and painful voyage. The ship was so rotten that the passengers could pick the wood out of her sides with their fingers. They met with a severe gale off the Newfoundland coast, and were driven back so far that it took them about fourteen days to get again to the point where the gale first met them. The accommodation was wretched. Smallpox and dysentery broke out among the passengers. Eighteen of the children died, and were committed to the deep, amidst such anguish and heart-rending agony as only a Highlander can fully appreciate. Their stock of provisions became exhausted, the water became scarce and bad, the remnant of provisions left consisted mainly of salt meat, which, from the scarcity of water, added greatly to their sufferings. The oatcake, carried by them, became mouldy, so that much of it was thrown away before they dreamt of having such a long passage; but, fortunately for them, one of the passengers, Hugh Macleod, more prudent than the others, gathered up the despised scraps into a bag, and during the last few days of the voyage his fellows were glad to join him in devouring this refuse to keep soul and body together. At last, however, on the 15th of September, the *Hector* dropped anchor in the harbour, opposite where the town of Pictou now stands. Though the Highland dress was then proscribed at home, this emigrant band carried theirs along with them, and, in celebration of their arrival, many of the younger men donned their national dress—to which a few of them were able to add the *Sgian Dubh* and the claymore—while the

piper blew up his pipes with might and main, its thrilling tones, for the first time, startling the denizens of the endless forest, and its echoes resounding through the wild solitude. The stream of Scottish emigration which flowed in after years, not only over Pictou, but over the greater portion of the Eastern Province of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, portions of New Brunswick, and even the Upper Provinces of Canada, began with the arrival of the *Hector;* for those who came in her, in after years, communicated with their friends and induced them to join; and the stream continued to deepen and widen ever since. The Scottish immigrants are admitted upon all hands to have given its backbone of moral and religious strength to the Province, and to those brought over from the Highlands in this vessel is due the honour of being in the forefront—the pioneers and vanguard.

But how different was the reality to the expectations of these poor creatures, led by the plausibility of the emigration agent, to expect free estates on their arrival. The whole scene, as far as the eye could see, was a dense forest. They crowded on the deck to take stock of their future home, and their hearts sank within them. They were landed without the provisions promised them, and without shelter of any kind, and were only able by the aid of those few who were there before them, to erect camps of the rudest and most primitive description, to shelter their wives and their children from the elements. Their feelings of disappointment were most bitter, when they compared the actual facts with the free farms and the comfort promised them by the lying emigration agent. Many of them sat down in the forest and wept bitterly; hardly any provisions were possessed by the few who were before them, and what there was among them was soon devoured, making all—old and new comers—almost destitute. It was now too late to raise any crops that year. To make matters worse, they were sent some three miles into the forest, so that they could not even take advantage, with the same ease, of any fish that might be caught in the harbour. The whole thing appeared an utter mockery. To unskilled men the work of clearing seemed hopeless; they were naturally afraid of the Red Indian and of the wild beasts of the forest; without roads or paths, they were frightened to move for fear of getting lost in the unbroken forest. Can we wonder that, in such circumstances, they refused to settle on the company's lands? though, in consequence, when provisions arrived, the agents refused to give them any. Ross and the company quarrelled, and he ultimately left the new-comers to their fate. The few of them who had a little money bought what provisions they could from the agents, while others, less fortunate, exchanged their clothes for food; but the greater number had neither money nor clothes to spend or exchange, and they were all left quite destitute. Thus driven to extremity, they determined to have the provisions retained by the agents, right or wrong, and two of them went to claim them. They were positively refused, but they determined to take what they could by force. They seized the agents, tied them, took their guns from them, which they hid at a distance; told them that they must have the food for their families, but that they were quite willing and determined to pay for them, if ever they were able to do so. They then carefully weighed, or measured, the various articles, took account of what each man received and left, except one, a powerful and determined fellow, who was left behind to release the two agents. This he did, after allowing sufficient time for his friends to get to a safe distance, and he informed the prisoners where they could find their guns. Intelligence was sent to Halifax that the Highlanders were in rebellion, from whence orders were sent to a Captain Archibald in Truro, to march his company of militia to suppress and pacify the rebels; but to his honour be it said, he, point blank, refused, and sent word that

he would 'do no such thing. I know the Highlanders,' he said, 'and if they are fairly treated there will be no trouble with them.' Finally, orders were given to supply them with provisions, and Mr Paterson, one of the agents, it is said, used afterwards to say that the Highlanders who arrived in poverty, and who had been so badly treated, had paid him every farthing with which he had trusted them.

It would be tedious to describe the sufferings which they afterwards endured. Many of them left. Others, fathers, mothers, and children, bound themselves away as virtual slaves in other settlements for a mere subsistence. Those who remained lived in small huts, covered only with the bark or branches of trees to shelter them from the bitter winter cold, of the severity of which they had no previous conception. They had to walk some eighty miles, through a trackless forest in deep snow to Truro, to obtain a few bushels of potatoes, or a little flour in exchange for their labour, dragging them back all the way on their backs. A man by the name of Hugh Fraser, after having exhausted every means of procuring food for his starving family, resorted to the desperate expedient of cutting down a birch tree and boiling the buds for his little ones. On another occasion a small supply of potatoes, which had been brought from a long distance for seed, were planted, but the family were so severely pinched that they had to dig up some of the splits and eat them after they were planted. Various other incidents of hardships experienced by the same family—and that one of the families who had brought some means with them—will give an idea of the horrors endured by these pioneers for the first few years after their arrival. The remembrance of these terrible days sank deep into the minds of that generation, and long after, even to this day, the narration of the scenes and cruel hardships through which they had to pass, beguiled, and now beguiles, many a winter's night as they sit by their now comfortable firesides.

In the following spring they set to work, and soon improved their position. They cleared some of the forest, and planted a larger crop. They learned to hunt the moose, a kind of large deer. They began to cut timber, and sent a cargo from Pictou —the first of a trade very profitably and extensively carried on ever since. The population had, however, grown less than it was before their arrival; for in this year it amounted only to 78 persons. The produce raised was 269 bushels of wheat, 13 of rye, 56 of peas, 36 of barley, 100 of oats, and 340 lbs. of flax. The farm stock consisted of 13 oxen, 13 cows, 15 young neat cattle, 25 sheep, and one pig. One of the modes of laying up a supply of food for the winter was to dig up a large quantity of clams, or large oysters, pile them in large heaps on the sea shore, and then cover them over with sand, though they were often, in winter, obliged to cut through ice more than a foot thick to get at them.

This narrative will give a fair idea of the hardships experienced by the earlier emigrants to Nova Scotia, though in some cases matters were not quite so bad. In Prince Edward Island, however, a colony from Lockerbie, in Dumfries-shire, who came out in 1774, seemed to have fared even worse. They commenced operations on the Island with fair prospects of success, when a visitation or plague of locusts, or field mice, broke out, and consumed everything, even the potatoes in the ground; and for eighteen months the settlers experienced all the miseries of a famine, having for several months only what lobsters or shell-fish they could gather on the sea-shore. The winter brought them to such a state of weakness that they were unable to convey food a reasonable distance, even when they had means to buy it.

In this pitiful position they heard that the Pictou people were making progress, and that they had some provisions to spare. They sent one of their number to make

enquiry. One of the American settlers, when he came to Pictou, brought a few slaves with him, and at this time, he had just been to Truro to sell one of them, and brought home some provisions with the proceeds of the sale of the negro. The messenger from Prince Edward Island was putting up at this man's house. He was a bit of a humourist, and continued cheerful in spite of all his troubles. On his return to the Island, the people congregated to hear the news. 'What kind of place is Pictou?' enquired one. 'Oh, an awful place. Why, I was staying with a man who was just eating the last of his nigger;' and the poor creatures were reduced to such a point themselves that they actually believed the people of Pictou to be in such a condition as to oblige them to live on the flesh of their coloured servants. They were told, however, that matters were not quite so bad as that, and fifteen families left Prince Edward Island for the earlier settlement, where, for a time, they fared little better, but afterwards became prosperous and happy. A few of their children, and thousands of their grandchildren, are now living in comfort and plenty. But who can think of these early hardships and cruel existences without condemning the cruel and heartless Highland and Scottish lairds, who made existence at home almost as miserable for those noble fellows, and who then drove them in thousands out of their native land, not caring one iota whether they sank in the Atlantic, or were starved to death on a strange and uncongenial soil? Retributive justice demands that posterity should execrate the memories of the authors of such misery and horrid cruelty. It may seem uncharitable to speak thus of the dead ; but it is impossible to forget their inhuman conduct, though, no thanks to them—cruel tigers in human form—it has turned out for the better, for the descendants of those who were banished to what was then infinitely worse than transportation for the worst crimes. Such criminals were looked after and cared for ; but those poor fellows, driven out of their homes by the Highland lairds, and sent across yonder, were left to starve, helpless and uncared for. Their descendants are now a prosperous and thriving people, and retribution is at hand. The descendants of the evicted from Sutherland, Ross, Inverness shires, and elsewhere, to Canada, are producing enormous quantities of food, and millions of cattle, to pour them into the old country. What will be the consequence? The sheep-farmer—the primary and original cause of the evictions—has already suffered. The price of stock in Scotland must inevitably fall. Rents must follow, and the joint authors of the original iniquity will, as a class, now suffer the natural and just penalty of their past misconduct.

What has been said of those who first colonised Pictou may also, with equal truth, be said of the whole of the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. They, however, soon got over the first difficulties in the New World, and rapidly became prosperous, as they gradually cleared the forest and brought the land under the plough.

The whole of Nova Scotia is exceedingly rich in minerals, especially the district round Pictou, where we have the thickest seam of coal in the world, being for 33 to 40 feet deep, and only 212 feet under the surface. There are about 1600 miners regularly employed in the Pictou mines alone. The coal area of the Province is estimated at 9000 square miles. Pictou town has a population of between three and four thousand souls, while the country has some thirty-five thousand, of whom about thirty-two thousand are Protestants of the bluest type. The whole Presbytery kept out of the Union of all the Presbyterian bodies in Canada a few years ago.

THE

CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

No. LXXXVIII. FEBRUARY 1883. VOL. VIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

IV.

XII. EWEN CAMERON, commonly known among his own countrymen as "Eoghainn MacAilein," succeeded his father, and became one of the most distinguished Highland chiefs of his time. He formed a marriage alliance (his second) with Mackintosh, mainly with the view of bringing about more amicable relations between the two families. In this he was disappointed; their feuds became, if possible, more intense than ever; more sanguinary battles were fought between them, much to the loss and detriment of both parties; but in the end, the Camerons, under their vigorous, judicious, and brave chief, proved quite able to hold their own against the Mackintoshes.

In 1491 Ewen joined Alexander of Lochalsh, with the Clan Ranalds of Garmoran, and of Lochaber, and the Clan Chattan, in his famous raid to the county of Ross, which ended in the forfeiture of the Earldom of Ross and Lordship of the Isles. Advancing from Lochaber to Badenoch, where the Mackintoshes joined them, and thence to Inverness, where they stormed the Royal Castle, Mack-

intosh placing a garrison in it. They afterwards proceeded across Kessock Ferry, and plundered the lands of Sir Alexander Urquhart, Sheriff of Cromarty, from which they carried away a large booty. The details of this expedition are already known to the readers who have perused the *History of the Mackenzies* and the *History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, and need not be further commented upon at present. The Lords of Lochalsh appear at this time to have had strong claims upon the Camerons to follow them in the field; for the former were superiors, under the Lord of the Isles, of the lands of Lochiel in Lochaber,* in addition to the claims of a close marriage alliance, for, according to Hugh Macdonald, the Sleat historian, Alexander of Lochalsh gave Ewen, Captain of Clan Cameron, who succeeded his father, Allan, as heritable keeper of the Castle of Strome in Lochcarron, one of his sisters in marriage. In 1492 the Lord of Lochalsh styles himself also of Lochiel. On the 29th of July in the same year "Alexander of the Isles, of Lochalch, and Lochiel, granted to Ewen, the son of Alan, the son of Donald, captain of the Clancamroun, the lands of Cray, Salchan, Banwe, Corpach, Kilmalzhe, Achedo, Anat, Achetiley, Drumfermalach, Fanmoyrmell, Fassefarn, Corebeg, Owechan, Aychetioldowne, Chanloychiel, Kowilknap, Drumnassall, Clachak, and Clochfyne, in Locheil." † In the following August he obtained another charter, from the same Lord of Lochalsh, of the thirty merklands of Lochiel. In 1494, James IV. confirmed to John MacGilleon of Lochbuy the lands granted to him [in Lochiel] in 1461 by John, Lord of the Isles, by whom they had been forfeited to the King. On the 24th of October 1495, the same king confirmed to Ewen, the son of Alan, the lands granted to him in 1492 by Alexander of the Isles. Under date of 1520, Ewen appears again on record in the Argyll inventory. In 1522 the lands of Banvy and others in Lochiel, included in the grant of 1461, were resigned by Maclean of Lochbuy, and then granted by James V. to Sir John Campbell of Calder. This grant was confirmed in 1526. Two years later the same lands were resigned by Calder, and granted by the same king to Colin, Earl of Argyll. In 1528 Ewen Cameron

* Reg. of Great Seal, vi. 116; xiii., 203. Gregory, p. 59.

† *Origines Parochiales Scotiae;* Reg. of Great Seal, and Argyll Charters.

resigned to the King the thirty merklands of Lochiel, as specified in the grant of 1492, and these, with other lands at the same time resigned by Ewen, the King granted him anew, incorporating the whole into the Barony of Lochiel. In the same year the King granted the same lands, apparently, to John Maclean of Coll. In 1531. Ewen Alanson appears on record in the Register of the Great Seal as "Captain of the *parentela* of Clancameroun." In 1536 Donald is mentioned, in the same record, as Ewen's heir. In 1539 Ewen resigned the thirty merklands of Lochiel, and James V. at once re-granted these lands to him in life-rent, and to his grandson, Ewen Cameron, in heritage; his eldest son, Donald above referred to, having in the meantime died, during his father's lifetime. Ewen Alanson appears again on record in 1541, and in 1546 Queen Mary granted to the Earl of Huntly the escheat of certain lands which heritably belonged to Ewen Alanson of Lochiel, including the lands of Lochiel, and the place and fortalice of Torcastle, in the Lordship of Lochaber. In 1553 the Queen granted the lands to the same earl, these having been "forfeited by Ewen Allansoun of Locheill for the crimes of treason and lese majesty."

The following lands were, in 1492, granted by Alexander of the Isles of Lochalsh to Ewen, the son of Alan, Captain of Clan Cameron, namely, the two merklands of Achandarrach and Lundie; two of Fernaig-mhor; two of Cuil-mhor and Acha-more; two of Fernaig Bheag, "Fudanamine" and "Acheache;" two of Acha-na-Connlaich and Braintrath; two of "Culthnok," Ach-na-cloich, Blar-garbh, and Acheae; and two merklands of Avernish and Wochterory [?Auchtertyre] in Lochalsh. These—fourteen merklands in all—were confirmed to him by James IV. in 1495. In 1528 they were resigned by Ewen Alanson, and "for his good service" they were erected by the king into a portion of the Barony of Lochiel. These Lochalsh lands were included in the resignation of 1539, and in the re-grant to Ewen and his grandson in the same year. A portion of Ewen's possessions in Lochalsh were afterwards, in 1548, granted by Queen Mary to John Grant of Culcabock, near Inverness, they having been apprised in his favour for the sum of £758. 12s. 1d., as satisfaction for a "spulzie" committed on his lands by Ewen Cameron and others. The lands thus apprised included Achandarrach

and Lundie, Fernaig-mhor, Fernaig-bheag, Fynnyman, and Achacroy, making in all five merks out of the fourteen. The remaining nine merks were similarly apprised to John Grant of Freuchie, with other twelve merks in the vicinity, the property of Alastair MacIan MacAlastair of Glengarry; as also twelve merks, being the hereditary fee of his son, Angus, all of which had been apprised for the sum of £10,770. 13s. 4d. for satisfaction of a "spulzie" committed by Glengarry, his son, and their accomplices.* These lands do not appear to have returned to the Camerons, but were afterwards held for a time by Glengarry, in right of his wife, Margaret de Insulis, daughter of Alexander, Lord of Lochalsh.

In 1496 Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, Hector Maclean of Duart, John Macian of Ardnamurchan, Allan MacRuari of Moydart, and Donald Angusson of Keppoch, appeared before the Lords of Council, and bound themselves, "by the extension of their lands," to the Earl of Argyll on behalf of the King, to abstain from mutual injuries and molestations, under a penalty of £500.†

Ewen of Lochiel, Macleod of Dunvegan, and Maclean of Duart, were the first Highland chiefs to join Donald Dubh of the Isles in his attempt to gain the Island Lordship, and for his share in this rebellion Lochiel was, in 1504, forfeited as a traitor, but he seems soon after to have again got into favour at Court.

In 1514 an Act of Council was passed, appointing persons of influence in the Highlands to take charge of particular divisions of the northern counties as Lieutenants. Ewen Cameron of Lochiel and William Mackintosh of Mackintosh were appointed guardians in this capacity in Lochaber.

About 1524 Sir John Campbell of Calder, whose patrimony lay in Lorn, acquired, from Maclean of Lochbuy, certain claims, which that gentleman had hitherto made without effect to the lands of Lochiel, Duror, and Glencoe. Sir John made good use of the position and opportunities which possession of these claims had secured to him. At first he was violently resisted by the Camerons and Stewarts, the occupants of the lands in question, and suffered many injuries from them in the course of this dispute. But, by transferring his title to these lands to his brother

* Reg. Mag. Sig.

† Acts of the Lord of Council, vii. vo. 39, quoted by Gregory.

Argyll, and employing the influence of that nobleman, Calder succeeded in establishing a certain degree of authority over the unruly inhabitants, in a mode then of very frequent occurrence. Ewen Allanson of Lochiel, and Allan Stewart of Duror, were, by the arbitration of friends, ordered to pay to Calder a large sum of damages, and, likewise, to give him, for themselves, their children, kin, and friends, their bond of man-rent and service against all manner of men, except the King and the Earl of Argyll. In consideration of these bonds of service, three-fourths of the damages awarded were remitted by Calder, who became bound also to give his bond of maintenance in return. Finally, if the said Ewen and Allan should do good service to Sir John in helping him to obtain and enjoy lands and possessions, they were to be rewarded by him therefor, at the discretion of the arbiters.*

According to the family seanachie, Ewen invaded the country of the Mackays in the far north. "What the quarrel was," he says, "I know not, but it drew on an invasion from the Camerons, and an engagement wherein the Mackays were defeated, and the Laird of Foulis, chief of the Monroes, who assisted them, killed on the spot." The same writer continues—"Hitherto Lochiel had success in all his attempts. The vigour of his genius and courage bore him through all his difficulties. He had a flourishing family and an opulent fortune, but the death of his eldest son, Donald, which happened about this time, plunged him into so deep a melancholy that he, on a sudden, resolved to give up the world, and apply himself to the works of religion and peace. To expiate for his former crimes he set out on a pilgrimage to Rome, but, arriving in Holland, he found himself unable to bear up against the fatigue of so long a journey, and, therefore, he sent one Macphail, a priest, who was his chaplain and confessor, to do that job for him with the Pope. One part of the penance enjoined upon him by his Holiness was to build six chapels to as many saints, which he performed. Some of them are still extant, and the ruins of the rest are yet to be seen in Lochaber and the bordering countries. He also built a castle on the banks of the River Lochy, called Tor Castle, from the rock on which it was situated. Mackintosh afterwards de-

* Gregory, pp. 126-127.

signed himself by this castle, because it was built upon the grounds in dispute. However, it became the seat of the family of Lochiel, till it was demolished by Sir Ewen Cameron, with the view of building a more convenient house." Ewen's eldest son and heir, Donald, appears to have been a man of great promise, and his father gave him, what was considered in those days, a very liberal education, and he "soon came to have a relish for the elegancies and politenesses of society. His father's estate was such as enabled him to live in a rank equal to any of the young chiefs, his contemporaries, and his own behaviour soon got him a character among the courtiers. But the person with whom he contracted the most intimate friendship was George, the fourth Earl of Huntly. This Lord was then a young man, in so great a reputation at Court, that his Majesty honoured him with the government of the kingdom, during a voyage of gallantry that he made to the Court of France, in August 1535, in order to marry Magdalen, the eldest daughter of France, to whom he had been formerly betrothed. So much was Donald in favour with that Earl that he complimented him with a valuable estate conterminous with his own, and lying eastward of the lake and river of Lochy. The charter is given by George, Earl of Huntly, to the Honourable Donald Cameron, son, and heir apparent, to Ewen Cameron, *alias* Allanson, of Lochiel, of the lands of Letterfinlay, Stronabaw, and Lyndaly, lying within the lordship of Lochaber, and sheriffdom of Inverness. The holding is blench, and bears date, at Edinburgh, 16th February, 1534." Donald, who died before his father, was married to Anne, daughter of Sir James Grant of Grant, by whom he had two sons, Ewen and Donald, both of whom respectively succeeded to the estates of Lochiel after the death of their grandfather.

Ewen, at the head of his followers, fought with John Moydartach of Clanranald, in 1544, against the Frasers, at the battle of Kin-Loch-Lochy, better known as "Blar-nan-Leine," the details of which are already known at length to the readers of the *Celtic Magazine*,* and for this he got into disfavour with Huntly, then

* See also *The History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, by the same author, pp. 381 to 395.

Lieutenant of the North. Lochiel, also, in 1546, gave countenance to the rebellion of the Earl of Lennox, he having, among other things, written in that year to the Lord-Deputy of Ireland, promising his services to the English King, and saying that he had marched to the Lowlands, and taken a prey both from Huntly and Argyll. He also asked support for, and recommended, James Macdonald of Dunyveg—who had for a short time assumed the title of Lord of the Isles, and whom Ewen styles in his letter, as the "narrest of Ayr to the hous of the Yllis," and as a brave young man, "with great strength of kinsmen." Through the instrumentality of William Mackintosh of Mackintosh, who joined Huntly with a large force, to subdue the rebels, and lay the country waste, Ewen Cameron, and Ranald, son of Donald Glas of Keppoch, were, with several others, apprehended; imprisoned for a short time in the Castle of Ruthven; after which they were tried, at Elgin, by a jury of landed gentlemen, for high treason, for the part they had taken at Blar-nan-Leine, and in the rebellion of the Earl of Lennox. They were both found guilty, and beheaded, and their heads were exposed over the gates of the town, while several of their followers, who had been captured along with them, were hanged.

In addition to the Constabulary of Strome Castle, previously granted to Alan, Ewen's father, in 1472—with the twelve merklands of Kishorn, for the maintenance and faithful keeping of the Castle already possessed by him—Alexander of Lochalsh, in 1492, granted "Ewin, the son of Alan, Captain of Clancamroun," 20s. of Strome Carranach, 20s. of Slumbay, 10s. of the quarter of "Doune," and 30s. of the three quarters of Achintee, in the Lordship of Lochcarron. These were confirmed to Ewen, along with his other lands, in 1495; and, in 1528, they were included in the new grant erecting all his lands into the Barony of Lochiel.

On the 6th of March 1539, the Castle of Strome, with the lands attached to it, were granted by James IV. to Alexander of Glengarry and Margaret of the Isles, his wife, on her resignation of them. On the 11th of April, in the same year, Ewen Cameron resigned these with other lands. Strome and Kishorn, with others, were in 1546 forfeited for the crime of treason and lese majesty, and they never after formed any portion of the possessions of Cameron of Lochiel. They soon after passed to the

Macdonalds of Glengarry, and ultimately to the Mackenzies of Kintail and Seaforth.

The charter of 1472, by Alexander of Lochalsh, is apparently the first charter of any lands possessed by the Camerons of Lochiel. The author of the *Memoirs* briefly referring to the grants of 1472 says, "the family I am wryting of can produce non older than those I have mentioned, whereby it is now impossible to discover what the extent of their estate formerly was."

In 1528 James V. granted Ewen "for his good service, and for a certain pecuniary composition," the 40 merklands of Glenlui and Locharkaig, with half of the Bailliary of Lochaber, "which were formerly possessed by his father, Alan, Donald's son, of the king's predecessors, and were in the king's hands by reason of Alan's death."* These were also confirmed, in 1539, to himself in life-rent and to his grandson, Ewen, in heritage. In 1544, a previous grant of them in 1505, is confirmed, by Queen Mary, to William Mackintosh of Dunachton, but, in 1552, these lands and others are granted to Alexander, Lord Gordon, they having in the meantime been forfeited by William Mackintosh for the crimes of treason and lese majesty. They subsequently changed hands repeatedly, until they finally became the undisputed and undisturbed possession of the Camerons of Lochiel.†

Referring to the acquisitions of this chief, Skene says that, "He appears, in consequence of his feudal claims, to have acquired almost the whole estates which belonged to the Chief of Clanranald, and to have so effectually crushed that family that their chiefship was soon after usurped by a branch of the family. It was during the life of Ewen that the last Lord of the Isles was forfeited, and as the Crown readily gave charters to all the independent clans of the lands in their possession, Ewen Cameron easily obtained a feudal title to the whole of his possessions, as

* *Origines Parochiales Scotiae.*

†Referring to the acquisition of Locharkaig and Lochiel by the Camerons, first by Allan MacDhomh'uill Duibh, Skene says:—"This property had formed part of the possessions of the Clan Ranald, and had been held by them of Godfrey of the Isles, and his son, Alexander, the eldest branch of the family. After the death of Alexander, the Camerons appear to have acquired a feudal title to these lands, while the chief of Clan Ranald claimed them as male heir."—*Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 196-197.

well those which he inherited from his father as those which he wrested from the neighbouring clans; and at this period may be dated the establishment of the Camerons in that station of importance and consideration which they have ever since maintained." *

When the Highland chiefs were called upon to take out charters for their lands after the forfeiture of the last Lord of the Isles, Ewen set out for Edinburgh, and procured from James IV. a confirmation of his previous charters from Alexander of Lochalsh, "in presence," the author of the *Memoirs* informs us, "of all the great officers of the Crown, and of many other noble lords, spiritual and temporal, who are all designed witnesses to it." He remained for some time at Court, and got into favour with the King, whom he afterwards loyally supported in all his wars, including the disastrous battle of Flodden, from which Ewen was fortunate enough to escape alive.

During the minority of James V., Lochiel faithfully adhered to the fortunes of John, Duke of Albany, then governor of the kingdom. When he took charge of the Government he had no more faithful subject than Cameron of Lochiel, who aided him in all his wars, became a great favourite at Court, for which he was fully rewarded by the charter granted to him by the King in 1528, erecting all his lands into the Barony of Lochiel, already referred to, and the charter in which the Captain of Clan Cameron is for the first time designed "of Lochiel." In 1531 he obtained a charter to the lands of Inverlochy, Torlundy, and others, in the lordship of Lochaber, extending to thirteen merklands of old extent, "which belonged to the King in property, but were never in his rental, and were occupied by the inhabitants of the Isles and others, who had no right to them," for a payment of forty merks yearly. At the same time, and for a similar amount, per annum, the King granted him the lands of Invergarry, Kilinane, Laggan, and Achindrom, of the old extent of twelve merks, all of which also belonged to the King in property, but never were in his rental, and were also occupied by the inhabitants of the Isles and others, who had no right to them. In 1536 the same King granted to "Donald Camroun, the son and

* *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 197-198.

heir of Ewin Allanson, Captain of Clancamroun, the non-entry and other dues of various lands, including the £6 land of Sleisgarow in Glengarry." This grant was repeated in the following year. He also, in 1536, received a charter, dated the 8th of November, granting him the lands of Knoydart, Glen Nevis, and others in Inverness-shire.

It appears that, in 1492, Ewen had granted a bond of manrent to Farquhar (whose sister he afterwards married), apparent heir to his father, Duncan Mackintosh of Mackintosh, in which he bound himself to assist and defend him against all men, even his own superior, Alexander Macdonald of Lochalsh, in case the latter, in the event of dispute with Mackintosh, should refuse to arrange terms. In 1497, however, after Farquhar's imprisonment in the Castle of Dunbar, and immediately on the death of his father, Duncan Mackintosh, the Camerons broke through their engagement, refused to make any acknowledgment to Mackintosh for the lands they occupied in Lochaber, and then invaded the Braes of Badenoch and Strathnairn, plundering all the Mackintosh lands in those districts.

Farquhar's cousin, William Mackintosh, son of Lachlan Badenoch, led the clan in the absence of the chief, and after punishing the Macgregors of Rannoch and Appin, and the Clan Ian of Glencoe, who accompanied the invaders, he turned his attention to the Camerons. "His cousin, Dougal Mor MacGhillichallum, offered to 'daunton the Camerons for some time' if he were allowed thirty fighting men, and the use of the lands of Borlum for a year. His offer being accepted, he set about carrying out his plan, which was to sail up Loch-Ness in the nighttime and surprise and lay waste some part of the Cameron lands, returning to his head-quarters before the invaded country could be raised against him. He was completely successful, making several of these inroads at unexpected times to the no small disquiet of the Lochabrians." This version is from the historian of the enemy.*

Gregory says that, about the year 1500, the feud which had so long subsisted between the Camerons and the Macleans, regarding the lands of Lochiel, broke out into renewed

* Alexander Mackintosh-Shaw's *History of Clan Chattan.*

violence. The Macleans carried off a large number of cattle from Lochaber, an injury which was soon after fully revenged by the Camerons. These broils were stopped for a time through the influence of Argyll, when the Macleans, who appear on this occasion to have been the aggressors, received a temporary respite under the Privy Seal. A few years later, however, the old quarrel was revived, and another feud was carried on for some time with great bitterness. Indeed, traces are found of these quarrels between the two families during the greater part of the reign of James V., who died in 1542.

Such is a sketch of the career of the greatest chief the Clan Cameron had yet produced, and, if we accept the authority of the family historian, "a chief of the greatest abilities of any of his time. He is still famous," he says, "in these parts for his courage and military conduct, for the greatest part of his life was employed in warlike adventures, either in the service of the Crown, or his own private quarrels. However, he was so far from neglecting the government and policy of his [own] country that his people increased in numbers and riches, as his estate did in value and extent. In a word, he omitted no opportunity of serving the interest of his family; and in this was much wiser than any of his predecessors, that he was careful to secure his large and extensive possessions to his posterity by authentic charters;" a few only of which he refers to as being then extant.

He married, first, a daughter of Celestine of Lochalsh,* brother of John, last Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, with issue—

1. Donald, his heir, who married, as we have seen, Anne, daughter of Sir James Grant of Grant, with issue, (1) Ewen Beag, who succeeded his grandfather, Ewen Alanson, and (2) Donald, who succeeded his brother Ewen. Donald, Ewen's eldest son and heir, died long before his father,—between the years 1536 and 1539.

* Hugh Macdonald, the Sleat seanachie, in the Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, p. 320. This alliance will account for the Constableship of Strome Castle having been conferred upon Ewen Alanson, and upon his eldest son, by the Lords of Lochalsh in succession, as well for the lands bestowed upon him by each of them in Lochaber, Lochcarron, and Lochalsh.

Ewen married, secondly, Marjory, daughter of Duncan Mackintosh of Mackintosh,* with issue—

2. Donald, afterwards one of Allan Cameron's tutors, and progenitor of the family of Erracht. He was assassinated at a meeting of the clan held at Inverlochy Castle.

3. John, another of the tutors, progenitor of the Camerons of Kin-Lochiel. He was beheaded at the Castle of Dunstaffnage.

Ewen, as we have already noticed, was executed in 1547, at Elgin, for high treason, when he was succeeded by his grandson,

EWEN CAMERON, generally called "Little Ewen," to distinguish him from his grandfather, and of whom in our next.

(To be continued.)

THE MARQUIS OF BUTE ON EVICTIONS AND THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE.—His Lordship, in a recent lecture on "The Tendencies of certain Races," before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, made, for a proprietor, the following remarkable statement regarding the Celts of Scotland and Ireland:—"The Irish are animated by a feeling of nationality, which, however we may regret or condemn the acts of some of them, we cannot regard in itself without sympathy and admiration. You must have remarked how marvellously their political schemes are shipwrecked by the number of divisions and dissensions among them. This tribal system [in both countries] practically means, I take it, that the land belongs not to individuals in proprietorship, but to the inhabitants of the district in common. I believe that, in the purest development of the Gaelic polity, the office of chief was elective every time, with the choice confined to the members of a certain family; but even were it strictly hereditary when the chief's ancestor was chosen by his fellow-tribesmen, they intended to invest him with certain well-defined political rights, but certainly not with the power of turning themselves out of the common tribe territory. The change into proprietorship such as prevail in other races was abruptly effected by James VI. in Ireland; but among ourselves, although slowly brought on by the influence of feudal ideas—ideas which never had in Ireland any but a very limited sphere of operation—was yet practically and chiefly the consequence of the '45, a movement which I cannot help regarding as in itself a race movement, of Celt against Teuton, and in which, as is usually, if not invariably, found in history to be the case in the event of such collisions, the Celts were worsted. Hence, when, as in Ireland, with which I need not concern myself farther, but which it seems to me that no curious student of ethnology can regard as an outside or exceptional case, in a study of Gallo-Keltism, *our indignation is invoked to reprobate such acts as what are called the Sutherland clearings, for instance, and more recent cases of the same kind. The real idea underlying the denunciations is that the proprietor is making use of a mediæval or modern fiction to commit what is morally a breach of covenant. I think that that is what it comes to, though those who speak most upon such subjects do not always, if I may say it that should not, put their own case so well as I venture to think I do.*"

* Memoirs of Lochcill, Author's Introduction, p. 25, and Douglas's Baronage.

THE ETHICS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

I.—Introductory.

In the September number of this modest magazine I felt it my duty to put myself forward to contest the views of a respected Highland proprietor against the advisability of creating a peasant proprietary. In discussing that subject, so as not to complicate it, I avoided the more general question of Land Law reform, which now occupies so large a share of the public attention, and which concerns the well-being of the people generally, especially Highlanders, more than any other subject affecting their social and material comfort and advancement.

Society is agitated to its very foundation, and it behoves us to bring to the consideration of the subject minds imbued with a regard for fundamental principles of truth and justice, by the light of reason and experience. We find that those who are in possession of the soil, and those who wish to wrest it out of their hands, appeal to the same theories of political economy in support of their arguments, so that landlords and socialists would be at death-grips but for the bulk and strength of a vast commercial commuuity which interposes between them.

It is urged by some landlords that the principles upon which the Irish Land Act proceeds are opposed to the principles of political economy. Then, if the principles of the Act are founded in justice, the theories of political economy which do not tally with it require careful consideration and revision. The reader will here probably throw up his hands in dismay and exclaim, "Who on earth can understand the 'dismal science' called political economy?" Lochiel, of whose ancestral domains honourable mention is made in the "Wealth of Nations," made the frank confession, at a recent meeting of Highlanders, that he did not understand it, and the Prime Minister is said to have sent it to Jupiter and Saturn. For myself, I could well wish that he had given it a less exalted position, and consigned it rather to the limbo of all incomprehensible absurdities, and reconstructed it on intelligible principles.

There are still, however, many who pin their faith to what they call political economy, and it is well to inquire into the extent and limit of their faith, and more particularly into the nature of the things and transactions to which they refer.

Political economy naturally divides itself into two parts, as regards productive labour. Adam Smith refers to the agricultural system, and to the commercial system. His references to agriculture, although incisive, are brief. In his time the country was suffering chiefly from restrictions on commerce, and he devoted all his energy to the exposure of the pernicious effects of monopolies and restrictions. The removal of these has been effected, and freedom of trade has been adopted as the policy of the State, and we know the blessed effect that has had upon our own industries, and on the general condition of the world.

The inherent vice of the agricultural system had not, in his time, shown itself to any very great extent, as those who were engaged in the industry were acting under natural feelings of the interdependence of a receding age. But in respect of both systems, he always applied his fundamental principles, and we find the expression "justice, freedom, and equality," constantly recurring in his works.

The fundamental truths upon which the "Wealth of Nations" is based are the following:—(1) That labour is the foundation of all *exchange* value, and (2) that freedom of labour, or the removal of all restrictions and restraints is necessary, in order to obtain the best economic result.

Crabbed utilitarians and infidel materialists came after him, who thought they would raise political economy to the position of an exact science, by formulating theories and coining definitions which, by logical inference, result in a practical denial of truth. These theories, so confusing to the human mind, have had the most pernicious effect, not only on the conduct of individual landlords, but also on the policy of the State.

At this stage, I am not going to discuss these at any length. Without using the technical expressions of geometrical and arithmetical ratios, I may reduce the theorem of the *Reverend* Malthus to the capacity of the ordinary reader by describing it as applying the multiplication table to the human race, and the rule of simple addition to the culturable area of the globe; and the argu-

ment is that, as the multiplication table is certain to overtake simple addition, mankind must look out for the worst, or go in quest of another world. The theorem might be very amusing to a school boy on the third form, and at the bottom of his class, but it pleased the landlords so much that they raised the Reverend Malthus to the dignity of a philosopher.

Any one can see the absurdity of applying the rigid rules of arithmetic to the two most flexible subjects that can engage our serious thought—man's conduct in a state of freedom, and under a sense of responsibility on the one part, and the great capabilities of the materials of the earth responding to his labour, on the other.

It led, however, to the degrading conclusion that man is not fit to be entrusted with freedom, and must be governed by some superior beings exercising tyranny over his food and social habits. We are suffering from feudalism in thought, as well as in action. It should seem strange, indeed, at this time of day, to give a practical denial to the original command—"Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."

We are not within sight of limits. The demand for labour exists everywhere, even among the teeming millions of India. What do we hear from Cyprus? The locusts there devour more human food than the inhabitants. The Governor says that the only thing to keep them down is cultivation. They multiply so rapidly in the jungle, that they swarm down on the fields and devour the crops. A report says :—

> The Government endeavoured to check the plague by offering a piastre per oke, equivalent to a halfpenny per pound, for the eggs, a price subsequently raised, as the eggs became scarce, to three times that amount. Incredible as it may appear, between July 1881 and the beginning of February 1882, one thousand three hundred and twenty-nine tons and a-half of eggs had been brought in and destroyed. Statisticians can calculate the fabulous number of eggs which is represented by this weight; but the imagination fails to realise the immensity of the figures. Even this prodigious destruction of eggs was, however, insufficient to cheque the plague, and five thousand five hundred screens, each fifty yards long, and eight thousand one hundred traps, were brought into play against the enemy. It is believed that only *an increased population*, and so an increased area of cultivation, will eradicate the locust; for as it only lays its eggs in uncultivated ground, where they will not be disturbed by the plough, their numbers will decrease as the available area for their production diminishes.

Further comment on the Reverend Malthus and the Bible might weaken the conclusion to be drawn from the contrast.

But a still more pernicious theory than the Malthusian one was propounded by Ricardo, which forms the battle ground between the landlords and the socialists, and which gives a practical denial to Adam Smith's proposition that labour is the foundation of all *exchange* value. It is called the theory of rent, and demands a more thorough discussion than I can here give even a forecast of.

The two maxims which appear to comprise the entire political economy of some prominent politicians consist in the two expressions—"freedom of contract" and "buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest," without, apparently, understanding the difference between the agricultural system and the commercial system. It must be apparent to every one that there is nothing in commerce of the same nature as the soil, subject to the same equities and vicissitudes; nor is there a class in commerce claiming exemption from the universal law of labour and risks as landlords do; neither is there a relationship between any two classes in commerce such as subsists between landlords and agriculturists. There are, in short, two principles which are like oil and water: they will not mix. The commercial principle is *direct*, and leads to *accumulation* and wealth; the dual agricultural principle is *inverse*, and tends to *dissipation* and poverty. It is difficult to conceive how the one principle can apply to the other. But the task has recently been undertaken by the Duke of Argyll.

One of the great sources of the confusion of thought which exists on the subject is the use of false analogies, and the application of commercial terms to a transaction which is unknown to free commerce, so that when you are speaking of one thing you are thinking of another. This is the dialectic jugglery which plays so many tricks with the feeble human understanding.

The object of these papers is to make an attempt, however feeble, to clear the mind of those illusions which are so apt to be produced by the use of false analogies and definitions. I may here so far anticipate, as to ask the reader to distinguish between land as the subject matter of contract, and rent as actually the thing trafficked in, as, for instance, in the purchase of an estate, it

is reported as at so many years *value of the rental.* The inquiry will, then, resolve itself into these two questions—What is land? and what is land rent? My desire is to make the subject as clear to readers of the most ordinary intelligence, as it appears to my own mind, and I crave the indulgence of practised writers, as I am not used to composition. Let me first attempt an analysis of

THE TWO PRINCIPLES.

The cause, as I conceive it, why the public mind is so clouded and perplexed on a subject which ought in itself to be very simple, if viewed in the light of reason and justice, is that fundamental principles of freedom and equal rights are subordinated to other considerations, and land is treated of as if it were an ordinary article of commerce. It must appear to every one that the germinating property of the soil, liable as it is to the vicissitudes of the weather, and its products to blight and disease, has no analogy to ordinary commercial property, or the leasing of land to any ordinary commercial contract. Yet, in argument, nothing is more common than to find the supporters of our dual system resorting to analogy. The most distinguished and talented offender in this respect is the Duke of Argyll, who has written a pamphlet under the title, "The Commercial Principles, applicable to Contracts for the Hire of Land."

In this treatise the noble Duke tells of his having once heard a socialist speak, and as he repeats the same story in the *Contemporary Review* for March last, I give that edition of it. He is reviewing a pamphlet written by an English freehold farmer (Mr Prout), in which that gentleman gives an account of his improvements. The sentence objected to runs as follows :—

> I am convinced that the greatest impediment to the extension of my husbandry over the heavy lands of the Kingdom lies in the fact that no law yet provides any safeguard that a tenant shall obtain the full fruits of his enterprise.

This appears to have roused the noble Duke, and he comments upon it thus :—

> I pass over the objection that it is not the business of the law to secure the "full fruits"—or indeed any fruits—for any kind of enterprise, otherwise than by respecting and enforcing all contracts between man and man. . . . The Socialist doctrines in respect of the rights and the rewards of labour are largely founded on the same deceptive phrases. One of these doctrines is that no man should ever make any

profit out of another man's labour. I recollect hearing this doctrine laid down with the most perfect good humour, and in the most perfect simplicity of mind, by a London artisan, in a meeting held many years ago for the discussion of economical subjects. He said he could never understand how it ever could be just that any man should derive profit from the labour of another. Now, this doctrine rests upon the assertion—identical both in form and in substance with the assertion of Mr Prout—that every labourer should enjoy the "full fruits" of his labour.

No man in trade and commerce professes to make money out of other men's labour. Let the reader reflect. Labour is simply a necessity of human life, without which—nothing. Does the physician, clergyman, or lawyer profess to earn his wages by any other labour than his own? In trade every employer of reproductive labour pays the wages at the market rate, and is remunerated for *his own labour* and capital by profit on the product. It very frequently happens, as every one knows, that he makes a loss by the labour which he himself employs; but in any case there is no one over him to claim any share in the fruits of his enterprise, except what he pays to society in the shape of taxes. Mr Prout, being a freeholder, is in this happy position, and he may congratulate himself on the fact.

The labourer, if I may so speak, is a different genus from the capitalist, of very ancient origin, and of whom it is said, whatever his occupation may be, "the labourer is worthy of his hire." Society has not yet arrived at any plan by which to estimate the cost of production, except by the wages of labour. When the labourer has received his wages, as measured in money, he has received the full fruits of his labour. Any further eventual fruits belong not to him, but to the vast socialism in which all are fellow-workers together, except the landlord, who, as such, claims the privilege of idleness in virtue of his taxing power over other men's labonr and capital. Could the noble Duke afford to enter on the discussion, we should have liked very much to know the result. The question lies between his class and the socialists. The working community may rest at ease. In short, this is the working of the commercial principle, under which every man is a freeman, and by which no man forfeits to another any portion of the fruits of his labour. By putting a shallow truism in the mouth of a socialist, the noble Duke has simply presented us with a mare's nest.

Let me now turn to the agricultural principle, and avail my-

self of the noble Duke's illustration of its working and benefits. In a somewhat remarkable speech (for a Highlander) made in the House of Lords on 1st July 1881, the Duke of Argyll is reported in the *Times* to have spoken as follows :—

"I now pass on to the question of the confiscation of improvements—one of the most important heads of the accusation to which I ask the attention of your lordships. In most of the speeches by members of the Land League, I am sorry to say also in speeches which are not those of the League, constant accusations are made that landlords are confiscating the tenants' improvements by basing increases of rent on such improvements. I have searched these Blue-Books without finding any data for any such statement as that which, as I have said, is so frequently made. There is a hillside in the West of Ireland, the property of Colonel Pitt Kennedy. It was a barren moorland not worth in its natural state a shilling an acre; but it now consists of thriving farms bearing excellent crops. Now, what were the circumstances in which the change took place? Colonel Pitt Kennedy brought the people to the moorland, and said:—"Cultivate and improve this moorland, and you shall have it the first seven years for next to nothing—one shilling an acre. The eighth year you shall pay two shillings an acre; the twelfth four shillings," and so on. At the end of twenty years the rent reaches fourteen shillings an acre; the people were happy and contented; and the whole operation is praised by Professor Baldwin. The ultimate rent was 1300 per cent. above the original value of the land. It was raised entirely on what is called the tenants' improvements. The landlord made no outlay except £300 for a road. Now, was that or not a legitimate operation? Everybody knows that it was a legitimate operation, and that it depends on this *principle*—the tenant's work on the landlord's capital.

To me, who am a commercial man, it really seems a wonder that socialists are so "good humoured." If the rate of increase progressed at the same ratio for forty years it will be found that the rental would come to about £20 per acre, and, *on this principle*, there is no reason at all why it should not.

Not only the merest tyro in political economy, but even men of the most ordinary intelligence draw a distinction between land and capital, and one would certainly think that the Duke of Argyll knew the difference. The plastic human mind, however, is so liable to be impressed and influenced by one's condition, avocations, and surroundings as to run the risk of mistaking things external to his experience for things which are actually in his possession. "What Ireland requires is capital," and "What will Ireland do if the landlords take away their capital?" are questions which are painfully familiar to our ears. If land is capital it would be a strange phenomenon to see the landlords of Ireland walk away with the soil, and leaving the poor people on

the bare rock; and yet, I am disposed to think, that some politicians would regard the phenomenon without regret.

The noble Duke asks the question—"Was that or not a legitimate operation?" and, like Pilate, who inquired what was truth, did not wait for an answer. In Ireland the "improvement" took place by bringing the people to the hill-side, but in the Highlands the "improvement" was effected by driving them away. Really the land question is more of a study in psychology than in economics. It was a beautiful improvement to the hill-side, and, no doubt, a very great improvement on Colonel Pitt Kennedy's income, but the improvement on the condition of Ireland testifies that "improvements" may be effected whilst a country decays. It is quite clear if, like Mr Prout, the people had bought the hill-side, the full fruits of their labour would have accrued to themselves. It is equally clear that if Colonel Pitt Kennedy had reclaimed the land by means of paid labour at its market value he could not derive 1·300 per cent. per annum at the end of twenty years. The difference is exactly the amount in which the people were robbed—on principle.

From the fact that the agricultural principle acts in an inverse order, whilst the commercial principle acts in a direct order, I am disposed to think landowners cannot regard things in their natural order of time and place. A landlord is supposed, for the purposes of argument, to be like a shopkeeper to whom a whole population must *come* for their wants. Colonel Pitt Kennedy may have been on the hill-side before the people, but in the Highlands and Islands the people were there before the landlords, and as a general rule I believe that to be the case all over the country.

In the same way, by the doctrine of "freedom of contract," it is assumed that the agricultural population is in a constant state of locomotion, looking for farms as foot-passengers in the High Street of a town might be looking for the "hire" of sewing machines. No account is taken of those two great factors in commerce and human life—time and distance—nor of associations of locality, and the ties of friendship over a whole country side. Over all of these any despot can exercise his uncontrollable power, and commercial principles, it should seem, must bear the blame.

The Duke of Argyll argues that the question being a matter of contract, it is not the business of law to interpose. Every other economic relationship in the commercial world has undergone a change in the law; but land, on commercial principles, it should seem, is too sacred a subject to be subjected to equity. Does a contract, then, justify all transactions? A Turkish pasha contracts with his Government for a judicial appointment, or a revenue collectorate, so that he may amass wealth, in the one case by the bribes of suitors, and in the other by oppression; but no one will say that the contract justifies these transactions.

It is argued in the Duke's pamphlet that the tendency of modern legislation has been towards individual freedom by removing restrictive laws from the Statute-Book, such as the abolition of the usury laws. Money, as an instrument of exchange, is a necessity of commerce, but, being the product of human labour, it is capable of increase with increase of population and demand; and even if it were not, the inventive genius of man has found a substitute in paper. Where then is the analogy? But although the usurer is not now under penal laws, he is still an object of contempt in society, and commerce takes no account of him, as he trades upon the necessity or folly of his customer. From the attributes of land, to be engaged in "hiring" and "lending" it on the principles of the usurer is no trade for a respectable man. Would not a flush of shame suffuse the dusky cheeks of a Jew usurer at being caught charging the rate of interest on his coin which Colonel Pitt Kennedy by law received for his land? In virtue of his *lending right* over a barren hill-side, was he not in a position, as Highland proprietors still are, to interpose between the hungry mouth and the gratuitous gift of God in the germinating property of the soil, and practically to say to starvelings, "Your labour and your money, or your life?"

The commercial principle can never apply until land is regarded as the raw material to be bought and sold in freehold, just the same as manufacturers buy the crude materials which they subject to reproductive labour, and sell as finished articles. This is not the place to attempt a forecast of how an ethic-economic prohibitory law against the "hiring" and "lending" of land would remedy the existing great evils of our land tenure without prejudice to any just rights of landlords. The great inequalities

in respect of land are as apparent to the lovers of constitutional freedom as they are to extreme socialists. But my object here is to trace out some of those theories and analogies which obscure and perplex the mind.

Before I have done, however, with the comparison of the two principles, let me direct the reader's mind to the land law of contracts and the commercial law of contracts. The noble Duke says—"It is not the business of the law to secure the full fruits—or, indeed, any fruits—for any kind of enterprise, otherwise than by respecting and enforcing all contracts between man and man." This is strict law, and equity is not allowed to step in; as, for instance, when a man loses the fruits of his labour, not through any fault or want of prescience on his own part, but by the act of God, such as the loss of his crops by blight and grub, and of his cattle and sheep by epidemic. He may go to the landlord and say—"My lord, I have not only lost the fruits of my labour, but also a great part of my capital; your land has, by the dispensations of Providence, yielded me nothing this year. I pray you let me off my rent." By strict law the landlord says—"That is your affair; I live by my rent; I incur no risk; I am not subject to the dispensations of Providence; 'I stay here on my bond.'" A law that can lead to such a conclusion is immoral in the highest sense. In commercial law, if a man is *in a state of duress* when making a contract, or a "contingency" takes place which could not be foreseen, or ought to have been included in the contract, a court of equity will grant relief.

In praise of the excellence of Scots law, the noble Duke, in his treatise, says that it was founded on the wisdom of the Romans, who, he says, were great in art and war, but, above all, in law. The Venetians were great also in art and war, but, above all, in commerce; and the great dramatist personified in Shylock and Portia the distinction which I call attention to. To save the reader the trouble of looking up the reference, I give the quotation :—

"*Portia* (Equity)—Why, this bond is forfeit;
And lawfully by this the Jew may claim
A pound of flesh, to be by him cut off,
Nearest the merchant's heart—Be merciful;
Take thrice thy money; bid me tear the bond.

Shylock (Law)—When it is paid according to the tenor.
It doth appear you are a worthy judge ;
You know the law, your exposition
Hath been most sound : I charge you by the law,
Whereof you are a well-deserving pillar,
Proceed to judgment : by my soul I swear,
There is no power in the tongue of man
To alter me : I stay here on my bond.
* * * * * * * * *
Portia—Tarry a little—there is something else—
This bond doth give thee here no jot of blood ;
The words expressly are a pound of flesh.
Then take thy bond, take thou thy pound of flesh ;
But, in the cutting it, if thou dost shed
One drop of Christian blood, thy lands and goods
Are, by the laws of Venice, confiscate
Unto the State of Venice."

While I have freely availed myself of the sharp weapons of controversial criticisms, I beg the reader to feel assured that I entertain a high respect for the noble Duke's person, character, and talents, and a thorough belief in his dialectic skill to defend his position so far as it is tenable.

Having by the foregoing discussion briefly, and inadequately, laid down that there are two systems of industry, and two sharply defined principles of law and practice, I proceed next to elucidate that all-important question—What is Land? and to draw conclusions which carry the subject specially into the region of the highest ethics.

MALCOLM MACKENZIE.

EX VOTO.

(THURSDAY, 16TH MARCH 1882.)

Your voice restores Arcadia to-night,
And we, enchanted out of time and space,
Tread the green floor of Fancy's land, and gaze
Past the forgotten foot-lamps and their light,
Into the vanished world of pastoral,
Where, on the branch, some blossom-haunting bee
Hangs charmèd of his sordid industry,
And golden on gold hair slant sun-lights fall.

Rosalind, Perdita, and Amoret,—
Sweet names that lie within the heart asleep,
Waiting the lightest touch of thought to leap
In music,—by your side to-night we set
A sister name for memory to keep,
Saved out of time, and sealed beyond regret.

W. A. SIM.

LIA-FAIL, OR THE SCOTTISH CORONATION STONE.

THE early history of the famous Lia, Liag, or Leug Fail, in which the Celtic portion of our countrymen have at least as much interest as any others, is involved in obscurity, and rests entirely upon the traditions handed down from the old Celtic bards and seanachies. According to Dr Maclagan's interesting work on *Scottish Myths*, it was Lug MacEithlenn, King of the Irish Celts, who first brought the stone into Ireland from near Carmuirs, in Lothian. Again, it is said that Simon Breac, a Nemidean, caught the stone on the fluke of his anchor, and that the Danes took it to Ireland from Manand. Another account is that Conn, King of Ireland, was walking by the shore with his Druid priests and bards, when he happened to set his foot upon a large stone, which, upon being struck, emitted a hollow sound. Surprised at the phenomenon, Conn asked the priests the name of the stone, where it had come from, and what the sound portended? The priests took fifty-three days to consider, and then informed Conn that the name of the stone was Fal, that it came from the Isle of Man, that it was set up in a place called Temair or Tara in the Island of Fal, and that it was to remain for ever in the land of Tailtin; also, that the sound was only forthcoming when the stone was touched by the rightful king, and that the number of sounds emitted foretold the number of kings of the race of Conn who should succeed him. Conn was delighted at this account of the stone, and ordered it to be taken to the palace, and carefully preserved. The fame of the stone went abroad far and near, and came to the ears of the Scots, who were at that time engaged in a knotty point as to the legitimate succession to the throne. An embassy was at once dispatched to Ireland, to beg a loan of the stone until they could decide the question, but the virtues of the stone had suddenly departed (presumably upon the birth of Christ). This was unknown to the Scots, and the Irish, wishing to be friendly, readily consented to lend the stone, without hint-

ing that it would be of no use. The Scots, however, refused to return the relic, and, as the Irish did not think it worth recovering, it remained in Scotland, and was placed in Dunstaffnage Palace, in Argyllshire.

Some affirm that it is the stone which formed Jacob's pillow in the plain of Luz or Bethel, when he dreamed of the great ladder reaching up to heaven; that it was taken to Brigantia, in the province of Gallicia, in Spain, where King Gathelus used it as his throne; and that thence it was carried away to Ireland by Simon Breac, above mentioned, who was King of the Scots about 700 B.C. From Ireland it was conveyed to Iona by King Fergus I., about the year 330 B.C.; thence to Dunstaffnage; and, in the year 850 A.D., it was placed in Scone Abbey by Kenneth Macalpin. About this time a superstition gained ground, that, wherever the stone should be, a Scottish king should reign, and Kenneth is said to have caused the following rhyme to be engraved upon it in the Irish character:—

"Cinne Scuit saor am fine,
Mar breug am faistine:
Far am faighear an Lia-fail
Dlighe flaitheas do ghabhail,"

which Hector Boethius translated into Latin as follows:—

"Ne fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem hunc, regnare tenentur ibidem."

The common English rhyme is:—

"Except old saws do feign,
And wizards' wits be blind,
The Scots in place must reign,
Where they this stone shall find,"

another being—

"Consider, Scot, where'er you find this stone,
If fates fail not, there fixed must be your throne."

The translation generally received as the true one is—

"The race of the free Scots shall flourish, if this prediction be not false: wherever the stone of destiny is found, they shall prevail by the right of heaven."

This prediction has been verified in the cases of Gathelus, Simon Breac, Kenneth Macalpin, and James I.

In 1296, Edward I. of England carried it away with him, and placed it in the chapel of Edward the Confessor, in Westminster Abbey. He is said to have caused the inscription upon it, before alluded to, to be chiselled off, in order to destroy all record of the unfortunate country which he had so ruthlessly despoiled. The stone was then enclosed in a wooden chair, and was used at the coronation of Henry IV., as appears from the following account of the coronation of that King, in Riley's *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani*:—"Introducto rege, et in cathedrato sede regali super lapidem qui dicitur 'Regale Regni Scotiae,' cantabatur Antiphona."

The office of placing the Sovereigns of Scotland upon the stone for the ceremony of coronation was the hereditary right of the Earls of Fife. The preservation of the relic was regarded by the Scottish nation as of great moment, and in the year 1327 a treaty was drawn up between Scotland and England, one of the clauses of which stipulated that Lia-fail should be restored, but the population of London rose in a riotous manner, and refused to allow the emblem of Edward the First's success to be removed from England. In 1363, in a secret treaty entered into by David II. and Edward III., it was agreed that the coronation stone should be removed from England to Scone, and that the Kings of England were henceforth to be crowned of Scotland upon the stone at Scone. This treaty, however, was never ratified.

As seen at present in the chapel of Edward the Confessor, Westminster, the relic is an oblong stone of about twenty-two inches in length, thirteen in breadth, and eleven in depth. It is of a dark steel colour, interspersed with veins of red, and is composed apparently of a sort of limestone which is still found near Dundee. There is an iron ring at each end of it, provided with careful arrangements to prevent them breaking off by the weight of the stone when lifted.

In Scotland, the stone is known by the names of Lia-fail, the Coronation-Stone, Jacob's Stone, the Fatal Marble Stone, the Scottish Palladium, the Black Stone, the Stone of Destiny, the Stone of Fortune, and several others.

H.

OUR FIRST CELTIC PROFESSOR.

ON Friday, the 22nd of December, after we had gone to press with the January number, Mr Donald Mackinnon, M.A., was unanimously elected Professor of Celtic Languages, History, Literature, and Antiquities, in the University of Edinburgh, an appointment which has given very general satisfaction in Celtic circles. The Patrons are the Curators of the University and Professor Blackie. We have from the beginning felt a keen interest in the eventual election of the first occupant of the Chair, and we are quite satisfied that, taking everything into consideration, no better appointment could have been made. In this connection it may not be amiss to reproduce a few remarks which we made in the *Celtic Magazine* for September 1877, and which had unfortunately caused some little friction, and perhaps annoyance, in certain quarters, at the time. It has indeed been seriously stated that our premature intimation of what was to be, or what should be, was, in a degree, responsible for the delay in the appointment which has now taken place. Be that as it may, we are glad to find that the two gentlemen whose names we then mentioned as possible candidates were since two of Mr Mackinnon's strongest supporters for the Professorship, and it would be difficult to find two better qualified to express an opinion on such a subject than the Rev. Thomas Maclauchlan, LL.D., and Sheriff Nicolson, of Kirkcudbright.

The remarks which we published in 1877, are, with a slight variation of one sentence, as follows:—

THE NEW CELTIC PROFESSOR FOR EDINBURGH. — There has been a good deal of speculation of late as to who the coming Professor of Celtic is to be. It is understood that the Council of the University have decided to leave the choice of the first occupant of the Chair entirely with Professor Blackie, and this is as it should be; for, without him, there would have been no Chair to fill. We are happy to learn that the man has been already virtually decided upon, and that the future Celtic Professor will be D. Mackinnon, M.A., of the *Gael*, and Secretary to the Edinburgh School Board. Mr Mackinnon had a distinguished career in the University, and is a first-class general scholar. He is a native of Colonsay, and in working his way up from the bottom of the ladder, he has given ample proof of the qualities required in our first Celtic Professor. He has, throughout his course in the University, and since, paid special attention to Celtic literature, and his papers in

the *Gael* on "*Litreachas nan Gaidheal*" (The Literature of the Highlanders), show an extensive knowledge, and a due appreciation, of the subject under consideration. While we have others, among the rising generation of Celtic students, quite equal to Mr Mackinnon in Celtic scholarship, we are not aware of any amongst them equal to him in the higher education and in general culture. Some names have been mentioned as candidates for the Chair whose work in the Celtic field is a mere caricature and burlesque on Celtic philology. Others who have been mentioned, such as the Rev. Dr Maclauchlan and Sheriff Nicolson, are, no doubt, well qualified, but one is, perhaps, too advanced in years, and both too comfortably settled down in life, in their respective social positions, to care about devoting the labour and close application absolutely necessary for a successful Professor of Celtic, who must give a reason for his existence, and go over and cultivate an extensive field, hitherto comparatively untouched, even by our best native Celtic scholars. It requires a young man with proved ability, yearning to distinguish himself in Celtic research, to fill this Chair with credit to himself, to its distinguished founder, and to the literature of the Celts; and Mr Mackinnon is unquestionably the most likely man. Professor Blackie is, perhaps, the only man who would, or could, have made such an independent and excellent choice, where so much influence was certain to be used to secure the post for more influential but less able candidates.

In his application Mr Mackinnon says:—

Gaelic is my mother tongue, and I have read it and written, as well as spoken the language, from my boyhood. For the last twelve years I have devoted such leisure time as I could afford to the scientific study of my native language and the kindred tongues; and I am quite familiar with the standard works on these subjects published in recent years by Zeuss, Skene, Stokes, Windisch, and others. My published contributions to Gaelic and Celtic Literature consist, with few exceptions, of papers printed in a magazine called the *Gael*. . . . . During the last few years I have collected materials for a New Edition of Reid's *Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica*. I have also transcribed, arranged, and annotated the Fernaig MS. —a collection of Gaelic poetry made in 1688, and now the property of William F. Skene, Esq., LL.D., Historiographer-Royal for Scotland. The MS. is written phonetically, like the Dean of Lismore's MS., and consists of upwards of 6000 lines of unpublished Gaelic poetry by Bishop Carswell, Sir John Stewart of Appin, and others. For the last eighteen months I have acted as Secretary and member of a Commission appointed by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge for the revision of the Gaelic Scriptures.

Sir Alexander Grant, Bart., Principal of the University of Edinburgh, wrote so long ago as 1st January 1871:—

I have the honour to certify that Mr Donald Mackinnon has completed an honourable career as a student in this University. He obtained at different times class prizes for Latin, logic, mathematics, natural philosophy, moral philosophy, English literature, and metaphysics. In April 1868 the Macpherson Bursary was awarded to him after competition. In November 1869 he passed his examination for M.A. degree with first-class honours in mental philosophy. In the same month he obtained the Hamilton Fellowship in mental philosophy—one of the highest distinctions which this University has to offer. The professors under whom he has studied have a high opinion of his abilities and character.

Sheriff Nicolson writes under date of 18th November 1882:—

I have long taken a deep interest in the foundation of a Celtic Chair in the University of Edinburgh: I wrote circulars on the subject twenty years ago. Since the dream of those days has become a reality (thanks to my dear and honoured friend, Professor Blackie!), I have felt some anxiety in view of the time when the Chair must be filled, especially after it became certain that none of our older and most eminent workers in the field of Celtic literature would be available for the office: I refer specially to Mr Skene, Mr Stokes, Dr Maclauchlan, and Dr Clerk.

That anxiety has been much lightened by knowing that Mr Donald Mackinnon is about to become a candidate. I see no reason for withholding the opinion, as all the curators know me, that if the patronage of this Chair were in my gift, I should without hesitation confer the office on him. I should feel assured in doing so that the desires and anticipations of those who have taken most interest in founding the Chair would not be disappointed, and that Celtic literature would be worthily represented in the University of Edinburgh.

I shall briefly indicate what Mr Mackinnon's qualifications are, special and general.

I don't know any other man in Scotland more thoroughly master than he is of Gaelic Grammar, whose knowledge of it is more exact and reasoned. Nor do I know any equal to him as a writer of our vernacular Gaelic. Of this he has given abundant proof, *inter alia*, in two remarkable series of papers, in a Gaelic magazine called the *Gael*, the one on Gaelic proverbs, the other on Gaelic literature. The style of these papers is thoroughly idiomatic—that of a man who thinks in Gaelic, instead of translating from English, as many respectable preachers do, who pass for fair Gaelic scholars. The ease with which Mr Mackinnon can express, in good Gaelic, thoughts and modes of speech that have never been rendered familiar in that language, is very uncommon. The matter of these papers is not less remarkable than the form, showing thorough acquaintance with the subjects, and breadth of view in treating them. They give the impression of being the work of a vigorous and critical intellect, expressing itself naturally with clearness and power.

Mr Mackinnon's knowledge of Celtic philology and literature in general has not been exhibited to the world yet, so far as I know, in print. But I don't attach great importance to such exhibition—I think it would be unwise to insist on it as a *sine qua non* for a candidate. It sometimes happens, unfortunately, to prove to those acquainted with the subjects something quite different from what it was intended to demonstrate. My acquaintance with Mr Mackinnon leads me to believe that, in capacity to deal with the subjects which the occupant of the Celtic Chair is bound to know and teach, he may safely be trusted to do credit to himself and the University. Whether as a lecturer on such subjects, or as a teacher of Gaelic to those who may avail themselves of that important part of the new Professor's duties, I should look with confidence to his achieving success. His style in English is not less excellent than in Gaelic, and he possesses the gift of clear exposition in a high degree.

As to his general merits, his career at the University of Edinburgh was distinguished throughout, of which, as examiner at the time in philosophy and English literature, I can speak with distinct recollection of the high character and thoroughness of his papers. The Highlands have not sent, so far as I know, to the University of Edinburgh in recent times a more distinguished student than Mr Mackinnon.

He is in the prime of life, has a great capacity for work, and is one of those who still maintain, in the midst of a busy life and exacting details, the academic spirit and philosophic mind. He is straightforward and independent, and free from pre-

judices, even on Celtic questions, to a degree not common among warm-blooded Highlanders.

I earnestly hope the attendance at the Celtic class may be good; but whatever it may be, I have no fear that the office would ever prove a *caput mortuum* in the hands of Mr Donald Mackinnon.

The Rev. Archibald Clerk, LL.D., minister of Kilmallie, writes :—

I have had the pleasure of being well acquainted with Mr Donald Mackinnon for a considerable time; and during the last eighteen months I have been very closely associated with him in preparing for the press, under the auspices of the Christian Knowledge Society, a revised edition of the Gaelic Scriptures. I have thus had ample opportunities of estimating his knowledge of the Gaelic language, and I assert, without hesitation, that I consider him the most accurate Gaelic scholar within the range of my acquaintance. He is quite familiar with the various spoken dialects of the language. He has carefully examined its scanty literature, whether in print or MS., and has, with the eye of an accomplished philologist, studied its peculiar structure.

There are other important qualifications, besides philological attainment, necessary to fit a person to discharge aright the various duties required of the occupant of the Celtic Chair, for which Mr Mackinnon is a candidate, and these also he possesses in an eminent degree. He has thorough knowledge of, and sympathy with, the people whose history, character, and institutions the Professor would be expected to illustrate. He is well able to compare these with the history and institutions of other nations. His attainments, both in classics and philosophy, are of a high order, as is proved by the very distinguished position which he won in the University of Edinburgh. I know that he has continued to be a steady and systematic student. He has added the knowledge of modern languages to that of the classics, and is in every respect well abreast of the learning of the present day.

But what, in my opinion, specially qualifies Mr Mackinnon for the office which he seeks is that he possesses a very clear, vigorous intellect, sound practical judgment, thorough candour, and independence of character, rendering him loyal to truth, and fearless in its support.

The unsettled and very unsatisfactory state of almost all Gaelic questions imperatively demands the possession of such qualities in the occupant of the Celtic Chair. The orthography of the language is still a subject of unceasing contention – every district claiming supremacy for its own dialect—every writer for his own theory. All that pertains to Celtic character and history is most unduly depreciated by one class of writers, and just as unduly extolled by another. Mr Mackinnon is able to collect carefully and to record impartially all the facts which can still be gathered regarding those controverted subjects; and he has another most valuable quality, in being master of a style which is remarkably clear and concise. He is highly fitted for the duties of the Chair in its scientific aspects; and for its practical department – the teaching students good vernacular Gaelic—no one can surpass him. For the credit and usefulness of the Chair, as well as for his own sake, I heartily wish him success in his candidature.

Among others who testified to Mr Mackinnon's qualifications for the Celtic Professorship are — The Right Reverend Angus Macdonald, D.D., Bishop of Argyll and the Isles ; Rev. Thomas Maclauchlan, LL.D.; Rev. Robert Blair, Cambuslang ; Rev. J.

Cameron Lees, D.D., St Giles's, Edinburgh; Rev. Norman Macleod, St Stephen's, Edinburgh; Rev. John Maclean, Tarbert; Rev. Neil Dewar, Free Church, Kingussie; Rev. William Watson, Kiltearn; Rev. Alexander Lee, Free Church, Nairn; Rev. Alex. J. Macquarrie, Fort-William; Mr D. Campbell Black, M.D.; Professor Calderwood, LL.D., Edinburgh; Rev. Archibald Scott, D.D., St George's, Edinburgh; Professor S. S. Laurie, Edinburgh; Rev. David Duff, LL.D., Professor of Church History; the Rev. A. C. Sutherland, B.D., Strathbraan; the Rev. Dr Begg; the Rev. J. G. Campbell, Tiree; Professor Kelland; and the late Lord Colonsay.

Correspondence.

THE MACGILLONY CAMERONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

SIR,—Having read the letter of your correspondent, "Coirre-an-t-Sith," with much interest, I beg to be permitted to show where I differ from him. First—"Onfhadh" is not tempest, and, therefore, "Son of the tempest" could not be the interpretation of the name "Gill'-Onfhaidh." According to tradition, it was on a fine day, when there were but small waves on Lochiel, that the author of the being of the Camerons of that ilk was washed ashore. One person, who saw the casket containing him, wanted to get a boat and see what the value of this "flotsam" might be, and save it from becoming "jetsam." Another person present assured him that he might wait with patience; that the force of the waves would soon send it ashore—"Cuiridh onfhadh na tuinne gu tir e." This came to pass; and when they opened the casket they found the child, and forthwith he was yclept "Gille-an-Onfhaidh." His son, "Beolan Mor," the warrior, was the first Mac'ill'-Onfhaidh.

There is an old dancing tune still sung in Lochaber said to be composed about Beolan, which shows that he was famous in more ways than one. It goes thus—

Mear thu, mear thu, mear thu,
Mear thu, mear thu, Mhic'ill'-Onfhaidh.
Bu mhath a bhiodh na h-igheanan,
Mur bhi' thu Mhic'ill'-Onfhaidh, &c.

The Macgillonys were never spoken of in Lochaber as Cloinn-'ic-'ill'-Onfhaidh; it is invariably "Sliochd-'ill'-Onfhaidh."

It is not in connection with the name of Gille-an-Onfhaidh that the saying about the "Toitean" is quoted. The saying in Lochaber is "Mac gille-mhaoil an toitean, a thainig air tir 's a Chorpaich." This was another waif of the ocean who became the ancestor of the MacMillans of Loch-Arkaig, and the legend of the "toitean" is as follows:—

When this child was washed ashore at Corpach, it was found that precautions of

a curious kind were taken against his starving. A *toitean*, or bit of flesh, was tied in his hand, and he was sucking it. A string attached to his hand was fixed to his foot; the reason for this was easily seen. If the child were choking he would kick, and then the string would pull the hand, with its dangerous morsel, away from the mouth.

It was never said of the Camerons that they were specially fond of flesh, although the words of their Gathering Song began with "Thigibh an so, chlanna na'n con, 's gheibh sibh feoil"—"Come hither, children of the dogs, and you'll get flesh." These words merely rose incidentally out of the words of the Duke of Athol. True, the bard that attacked "Ian Lom" said:—

"Be abhaisd fir a bhraigh so,
Da thaobh Lochial is Arisaig,
Gu'm biodh sgian 's an darna bràthair
Airson urrad àr a dh' fheoil."

Yet that did not refer specially to the Camerons more than to the other clans that occupied the regions referred to. Butter was the great luxury of the Camerons, as handed down to us in a proverb to this day—

"Camshronaich bhog an ime,
Dh' itheadh an t-im 'bhar na sginne
Sileadh as a bhlàich."

When the lifting of cattle was a gentlemanly occupation, the Camerons excelled in it, as they have ever done in every deed of daring up to young Donald, who was the first to mount the walls and fall dead at Tel-el-Kebir.

In reference to the bone that "Coirre-an-t-Sith" speaks of as handed by a Campbell to a Cameron at a wedding, it was a common custom to hand the tail of a sheep, when cut off the gigot, to any one present who was a bard, and he was expected forthwith to compose some verses. This was done to Duncan Bàn, in Edinburgh, when at the marriage of a Macintyre girl. I only remember the first lines of his response—

"O'n a fhuair mi e gun sireadh,
'S cinnteach mi gun dean e math dhomh,
Mi aig bainnis mo bhean chinnidh,
'S lamh a mhinistear ga ghearradh."

—I am, sir, &c., MARY MACKELLAR.

ROY'S WIFE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

Manse of Ardoch, Braco, Perthshire, 2nd January 1883.

SIR,—In the December number of your Magazine there is a letter from the Rev. Allan Sinclair, in which he asks the following question, "Can you inform me whether Mrs Grant of Carron's song of 'Roy's wife' was originally composed in English or Gaelic?" and which concludes by giving the Gaelic version. I think I am able to give Mr Sinclair the required information. Originally composed in English, it was translated into Gaelic about fifty years ago by my grandfather, Mr Duncan Macnaughtan, at that time schoolmaster at Moreinsh, on Lochtayside, about three miles east from the village

of Killin. It was never published, but it was given by him to a strolling musician, by name, Duncan Macdiarmid, who went about the country teaching singing classes. My father recognised the words at once on reading them in the pages of your Magazine.

My grandfather was in the habit of translating the better known English songs and poems into his native language. Some of these were contributed by him to the magazine called "The Gaelic Messenger," edited many years ago by Dr Norman Macleod, the elder. My father has still in his possession the original manuscripts of the following Gaelic translations:—"The Ode to the Cuckoo," by Logan; "The Better Land," by Mrs Hemans; "The Graves of a Household," by the same; "The Destruction of Sennacherib," by Byron; "Home, Sweet Home," "My Peggy is a young thing," "Highland Mary," and "The Land o' the Leal." These, if of any interest to your readers, he, I am sure, would be quite willing to place at their disposal.—I am, yours, &c.,

GEORGE D. MACNAUGHTAN.

ON AN AYRSHIRE CUSTOM CALLED THE TAUNEL.—Lately from notices in the *Ardrossan Herald* and in *Notes and Queries*, it is very interesting to hear that in Ayrshire, at the end of harvest, children make a small fire by the wayside, and call it a *taunel*. They speak of it as *the taunel*. It is strange that this word was not known to Dr Jamieson of the *Scottish Dictionary*. One correspondent refers to the Gaelic *teine*, fire. Another refers to *tional*, gathering (as to the harvest). If we refer to *teine* alone, the termination *el* is not accounted for. Referring to *tional* alone, there is no allusion made to fire, which seems to be essential. Perhaps at some early period, it was called teine-tionail, the fire made on account of the harvest. In the course of centuries, this may have been shortened by leaving out the first word. This is possible, but not likely. To the consideration of the reader I offer the following guess:—Taunel is from *teine*, fire and Beal, the god Baal, Bel or Belus. Of Beal, the genative is Beil, or rather Bheil: *bh* is sounded like *v*. In the course of twenty centuries it would easily happen that the sound of *bh* would be slurred over, and then softened into nothing. Taunel is the fire of Baal; Beltane is Baal's fire. Beside me I have six Gaelic dictionaries; taunel is not to be found in them. As some persons think that at one time that part of Scotland was occupied by Celtic inhabitants of the Kymric division, I have looked at three Welsh dictionaries, and cannot find the word. It is strange that the custom is not referred to in the two Statistical Accounts. It would be well if observers in different parts of Scotland would take the trouble to notice if such a custom exists in their neighbourhood. I do not wish to interfere with the credit due to the correspondent who suggested *teine;* it is the termination *el* that was not accounted for by him. It is strange that there is a survival of Pagan worship among the seven-year-old members of the Ayrshire community.

THOMAS STRATTON, M.D.

Devonport, Devon.

QUERY.

Ross.—Will any of the numerous readers of the *Celtic Magazine* kindly inform me if the clan Ross are of Scandinavian origin; if there is a sept of the Rosses of Norman descent; and, if Ross of Balnagown is acknowledged to be the head of the Clan?

A TRANSATLANTIC ROSS.

THE HIGHLAND PROBLEM AND THE GOVERNMENT PROGRAMME.

IN a leading article thus headed, the *Greenock Telegraph* of 5th January says:—

That the present Ministry reflect the prevailing sentiments of the country with unusual fulness and accuracy, may be freely admitted; but there is at least one question with respect to which we doubt whether the Government have yet succeeded in realising the extent and depth of the feeling that exists in the constituencies. Towards the close of last session, it will be remembered, when Mr Macfarlane brought forward his resolution relating to the condition of the Highlands, he met with but scanty encouragement from the Ministerial benches. To the surprise and regret of many of his best friends in Scotland, the Lord Advocate was found supporting the monstrous contention of a Scottish member, who happens also to be a leading proprietor in Argyllshire, that the Highlands have not been undergoing a process of depopulation. In common with several of our contemporaries, we ventured to express our astonishment, not unmingled with indignation, at the line taken in the debate by Mr Balfour; and further examination of the subject has certainly not tended to weaken our sense of the great injustice to truth and to the Liberal Government, which the Lord Advocate perpetrated when he lent the weight of his personal reputation and official dignity to support statements of interested parties that were so inconsistent with the facts of the case.

How far astray Mr Balfour wandered is demonstrated by the statistics which the public-spirited editor of the *Celtic Magazine* supplies in the January number of that excellent periodical. These show that since the census of 1831 the population of the county of Argyll has actually declined from 100,973 to 76,468—a reduction of nearly 25,000. Nor is this all, or the worst. As of the latter number no fewer than 30,387 are people belonging to urban populations in the county, we are conducted to the conclusion that the rural population has in reality been reduced from 85,973 to 46,081. In other words, and to put it more plainly, the rural population in Argyllshire has within the last half century been reduced by nearly one-half! in the teeth of which tremendous and terrible fact, not only men like the Duke of Argyll, and Mr Ramsay of Kildalton, but even the Lord-Advocate in Mr Gladstone's Government has had the temerity to assert that Mr Macfarlane's comparatively moderate statement respecting depopulation was entirely unfounded.

Various incidents have brought the matter into bold relief during the intervening months since the subject was discussed in the House of Commons. The case of the Skye crofters, and that of the flagrant attempt to eject the crofters on the Kintail estate, have excited a very profound feeling all over the country, and the result of this is a still more emphatic demand that a Royal Commission shall be appointed to elicit the actual facts, and to supply the Legislature with the materials for the setting right of that which is most obviously wrong. We are pleased to see the demand uttered by influential spokesmen, such as the new member for Liverpool, at the meeting of the Federation of Celtic Societies, held in the "Queen of the Mersey" on Tuesday. Mr

Samuel Smith, M.P., though a Lowlander, has a knowledge of the Highlands, and we rejoice to find a man of his high standing and well-known thoughtfulness declaring his conviction that the Highland crofters are certainly entitled at the very least to advantages as real and substantial as those which have been conferred upon the small occupiers in Ireland. It is, indeed, little to the credit of the Government of this country that a population so law-abiding, and in every respect so worthy, as that of our Scottish Highlands should be neglected just because they bear their sufferings with such pathetic meekness. The shameful paradox that is involved in this style of treatment, compared with that which has been bestowed upon a nation of law-breakers, has deeply impressed the hearts of thousands in the constituencies, and roused an indignation which will, we believe, compel the Government to take action for the purpose of redressing the wrongs to which our Highland compatriots have been subjected for so many years.

The *Christian Leader*, a deservedly successful weekly, started last year, under the editorship of the accomplished writer of "Literary Notes" in the *North British Daily Mail*, makes the following reference to the same state of things :—

The condition of the Highlands demands much more serious attention from our statesmen than it has yet received; and it is a humiliating reflection that the duty is neglected because of the peaceful and law-abiding character of the people. They would probably be better attended to if they were less deserving. This is a sad blot on our boasted civilisation.

It is so far satisfactory, however, to learn that in the closing hours of 1882 peace was restored in the Island of Skye. Lord Macdonald, the absentee proprietor, after a personal visit, has at last taken the step which it was his duty to have taken long ago; the point urged, we believe with justice, by the crofters of the Braes has been conceded, and they have at once hastened to pay their rents. If all the owners of the soil in the North were animated by the humane sentiments of Mr Mackenzie of Kintail, who has so nobly maintained the rights of his crofters against a sporting lessee who puts his own selfish pleasure above every other consideration, we should soon see a happier state of things among the Highlanders. The Laird of Kintail recognises the fact that his crofters have a permanent and inalienable title to live in the land of their fathers as well as himself—an admission which greatly shocks the hidebound pedants who look upon a bit of modern parchment as the only basis of tenure. If Mr Mackenzie's theory is not recognised as a valid one, it will simply show that history is ignored, and law and justice in this connection dissevered.

The statements so very confidently advanced by the Duke of Argyll and Mr Ramsay, M.P., and which Lord Advocate Balfour so readily accepted with respect to the alleged depopulation of the Highlands, are refuted in a striking article which appears in the January number of the *Celtic Magazine*. Since the census of 1831 the population of Argyllshire has actually declined from 100,973 to 76,468; and as of the latter number no fewer than 30,387 are classified as urban, the conclusion is reached that the rural population has been reduced in fifty years from 85,973 to 46,081, or nearly one-half! Yet a few months ago the three Liberal politicians above-named were stoutly denying that the population had decreased.

INVERNESS GAELIC SOCIETY—ELEVENTH ANNUAL DINNER.

SPEECHES BY SIR KENNETH S. MACKENZIE OF GAIRLOCH, BARONET, LORD-LIEUTENANT OF THE COUNTY OF ROSS; AND OTHERS.

THE annual dinner of the Gaelic Society of Inverness was held in the Station Hotel, Inverness, on Tuesday night. There were over sixty gentlemen present. The chair was occupied by Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch, Bart., who was supported—on the right by Mr Allan R. Mackenzie, yr. of Kintail; Dr Macnee, Inverness; Provost Fraser; and Mr William Mackay, solicitor, Hon. Secretary of the Society; and on the left by Councillor Macandrew, Sheriff-Clerk of Inverness-shire; Mr Walter Carruthers, Gordonville; and Mr George J. Campbell, solicitor. The vice-chairmen were Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, and Mr Colin Chisholm, Inverness. Among the assemblage were—Rev.-R. Morison, Kintail; Dr F. M. Mackenzie, High Street; Mr Robert Grant, of Macdougall and Co.; Mr John Macdonald, banker, Buckie; Mr A. C. Mackenzie, Maryburgh; Mr Roderick Macrae, Beauly; Mr James Fraser, Mauld; Mr Fraser, C.E., Inverness; Mr Duncan, Fern Villa; Councillor W. G. Stuart; Mr James Barron, Editor of the *Inverness Courier;* Mr Kenneth Macdonald, Town-Clerk; Mr Wm. Mackenzie, clothier, Bridge Street; Mr John Noble, Castle Street; Mr Duncan Mactavish, agricultural merchant; Mr Andrew Davidson, sculptor; Mr Finlay Maciver, Art Gallery, Church Street; Mr Alexander Mackenzie, merchant, Church Street; Mr Griffin, Inland Revenue; Mr Cockburn, Royal Academy; Mr Mackintosh, commission-agent; Mr William Bain of the *Courier;* Mr Alexander Mactavish, Castle Street; Councillor Charles Mackay; Mr Macraild, writer, Inverness; Mr F. Campbell, draper, High Street; Mr P. Campbell, Bridge Street; Mr Duncan Campbell, editor of the *Chronicle;* Mr Nairne, sub-editor do.; Mr W. L. Henderson, of the *Advertiser;* Mr Cameron, commercial traveller; Mr Macgregor, solicitor; Mr John E. Macdonald, Bridge Street; Mr Mackintosh, ironmonger, High Street; Mr John Whyte, librarian; Mr Hector Maclennan, commercial traveller; Mr A. Macbain, M.A., Raining's School; Mr Mackenzie, Caledonian Bank; Mr Gillanders, grocer; Mr Wm. Gunn, draper, Castle Street; Mr Kenneth F. Macrae, Flowerdale Villa, Greig Street; Mr Ramsay, teacher; Mr D. Chisholm, Castle Street; Mr Alick Campbell, Kylcakin, Skye; Mr Macbean, assistant inspector of poor; Mr T. D. Campbell, draper; Mr Mackinnon, book-agent; Mr F. Murray, Sunnyside, Inverness; Mr William Mackenzie, secretary of the Society; &c. Apologies for unavoidable absence were received from several members. The Rev. Mr Morison said grace, and returned thanks. Mr Cesari, the manager of the Hotel, served an excellent dinner.

The Chairman proposed the Queen in Gaelic, eliciting much applause. After the loyal toasts, and the toast of the Army, Navy, and Reserve Forces, replied to by Major Macandrew, Mr Walter Carruthers proposed the Lords-Lieutenant of the Highland Counties. The Secretary's report was then read. The work of the Society

had during the year been carried on with success and promise. The income amounted to £115. 19s. 9d., and the expenditure to £94. 13s. 3d. There is thus a balance to the good on the year of £21. 6s. 6d.

Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, on rising to propose the toast of the evening, was received with loud and prolonged cheers. He spoke as follows :—We are all glad to hear from the Secretary's report (which has just been read) of the prosperity of the Society during the past year. It had of late suffered to a certain extent from the want of a proper place to meet in, but now it has been provided with most suitable quarters in the Free Library Buildings, where its meetings will take place with greater regularity than they have recently been doing, and as we have all seen from the newspapers a successful beginning was made last week, when a paper was read by my friend the Dean of Guild. (Cheers.) We have had losses in the past year to regret, but we have had no defections from our ranks. Chief among our losses is that of Mr Jolly, whose departure from Inverness the North of Scotland has had reason to regret. (Applause.)

NON-POLITICAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY.

But our constitution has been so interpreted by the good sense of the Society as to avert anything like that tendency to disruption which the *Scotsman* thinks is inherent in Celtic organisations. We have declined to be turned into a political association—(Applause)—have thrown cold water on the attempt to introduce party politics at our meetings, and have so been able to retain a membership of persons of all shades of political opinions. (Applause.) The Society has gone so far in its determination to be neutral as to have practically withdrawn from the Federation of Celtic Societies, because the Federation was identifying itself with certain demands for land law reform and extension of the franchise that partook of a party character. Not that there are not many of our members who, as individuals, sympathise in these demands, but even they are of opinion that, as a Society, we should have nothing to do with any movement that would risk our disruption, and wisely, therefore, as I think, the Society limits its aim to those which are either of a literary or social character. (Applause.)

THE OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY,

As set forth in the second article of its constitution, may be classed under three heads. There is first, the cultivation of the Gaelic language ; then the rescuing from oblivion of unrecorded Celtic literature and traditions ; and, lastly, the furtherance of the interests of the people of the Highlands. As regards the first of these objects, the Society did at one time take active steps to cultivate a grammatical knowledge of Gaelic among its members and other residents in Inverness. But it has done indirectly a much greater service than this. It found in existence, among many of those who thought themselves the more educated Highlanders, a false shame of their mother tongue, and this Society and kindred influences have been the means of absolutely and entirely dissipating that feeling. (Cheers.) We have also occasionally offered prizes in school districts for the study of Gaelic. This year we are holding a competition in Lochaber, and as that is a thoroughly Highland district, the competition is expected to be very successful. The Society may, therefore, claim to have been fairly carrying out the objects at which it aimed in respect to the cultivation of the Gaelic language. (Cheers.) Hardly so much can be said for it in reference to its proposal to rescue from oblivion

CELTIC LITERATURE AND TRADITIONS.

For the contents of the Secretary's Celtic portfolio, the Society is much indebted to him. But for these the Society's Transactions would of late years have been, I fear, rather barren. In the way of rescuing traditions that may throw light on national history, nothing has yet been done, and among our members there should be some, I think, who ought to be able to gather up matters of this sort that would be extremely interesting. There is no doubt among Highlanders a delicate sensitiveness with regard to the reputation of their race, and they dread publishing anything that might seem, in the remotest degree, to reflect on the manners or character of their ancestors. This is an estimable sentiment, but it may be carried too far. Under no garb do we find humanity reaching perfection, and if this Society is to carry out its intention of recording tradition, it must be content to show the Highlands of old as they were, not as we might wish they had been; to record the failings as well as the virtues of the time. If unwarranted illusions exist we must not fear to dispel them. No doubt we should sift the traditions as far as we can, always taking care, however, not to colour them by our own prejudices, and remembering that the first of all requirements in writing history is absolute veracity. Now, gentlemen, there are historical questions connected with the Highlands on which we very much want the light of tradition cast. You may have noticed that Dr Cameron, one of our legislators, who takes a warm and generous interest in the Highlands, said lately at Liverpool, and, I think, has said it in the House of Commons, that, "Prior to the rising of 1745, the Highland occupiers had a distinct proprietory right on the soil they tilled." Here you have a historical statement, undoubtedly made in all good faith by a man of reputation, in proof of which there is no accessible documentary evidence that I know of. The statement is no doubt made on the strength of traditions that have come to Dr Cameron's knowledge. Why should not this Society gather up any traditions it can relative to ancient land tenure in the Highlands? That, gentlemen, would be a distinct object to set before us, and, I think, too, that it is one which is worthy of a Society such as this. (Applause.) It is not a political question. It is a question simply of historical interest, and one on which it is well that the world should be enlightened. Rights which have lapsed for nearly a century and a-half can have no practical bearing in virtue of their previous existence on contemporary politics, and their investigation cannot be barred by anything in the nature of party feeling, since the interest they possess is purely historical. Again, we have constant reference to the

MILITARY ARDOUR OF THE HIGHLANDERS

In the latter half of the last century, as shown in the great number of regiments then raised here. There is no question regarding the number of regiments that were raised, nor is there any as to the excellence of the material of which they were composed. The Highland regiments have always been remarkable for their valour and their good behaviour, and have distinguished themselves whenever brought into action under fit commanders. (Cheers.) But was there really a great deal of military ardour in the Highlands during the last century? We are quite in the dark, so far as printed records are concerned, as to whether, when these regiments were first raised, the rank and file flocked of their own free will to the standard, or whether they were pressed into the service by chiefs and lairds who wanted commissions for their sons. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) The time is not yet so distant but that ample traditionary information on the subject should be procurable. There are very curious and startling tales in

this connection in and around the district whence our secretary comes which it might not be difficult for him to get recorded. He has already, I learn, given a lecture on the Highland regiments, which must have turned his attention in this direction. In any case, investigation by those competent to conduct it, whether confirming the belief in the military ardour of the last century Highlander or not, could not fail to produce interesting results. (Cheers.) Other points will doubtless cross your minds on which it would be desirable to gather up traditional history, and in doing which the Society would be carrying out the literary part of its programme more fully than it has of late years done. I cannot pass from the reference to Celtic literature without congratulating the Society that Professor Blackie's

CELTIC CHAIR

Is now filled; a great event for the Celtic scholars of Scotland. Whoever occupies my position here next year will, I hope, be able to speak of the work the new professor has performed. At present, while looking forward to this with interest and hope, we still find ourselves thinking of him to whose untiring efforts the founding of the Chair is solely due, who never ceases to advocate what he thinks the rights, and to vindicate the character of the Gaelic people, and who, in pursuit of this object, had last year published a most interesting work of fiction, dealing with social questions in the Highlands, which, in too complimentary terms, he has been good enough to dedicate to me. (Applause.) I suppose most of you have read "Altavona," and have seen how warm and generous towards all good Highlanders is the feeling that breathes through it. (Applause.) All honour to Professor Blackie. (Cheers.) He has now retired from his profession, but may he have long enjoyment of his well-earned repose, and always feel assured that, as sympathy begets sympathy, so Highlanders, whether agreeing with him in all things or not, will never forget what he has done for them, or fail to reciprocate the kindly feelings he has shown them. (Cheers.) He is very keen at present to provide a prize fund of about £140 a-year for the more effective working of the Celtic Chair. He is very sanguine about getting it. He does not ask for a capital sum to produce this income, but for an annual contribution from all the Gaelic and Highland Societies throughout the kingdom. The object is a good one, and I commend it to the Gaelic Society of Inverness. (Applause.)

TESTIMONIAL TO PROFESSOR BLACKIE.

I cannot leave this subject without calling the attention of the gentlemen here present to the testimonial from Highlanders which is to be presented to the Professor. Our friend is the last man in the world to measure gratitude by a golden standard, and he knows well enough that we have not the wealth of the great commercial centres; yet I hope we shall all do what we can to make this a substantial mark of our appreciation of the Professor's services. (Cheers.) In connection with the Society's relations to Celtic literature, let me remind members that we have a bard of our own—

MRS MARY MACKELLAR,

the most gifted, I suppose, of the Gaelic poets of the day. Rather to our discredit, a testimonial which it was lately proposed to present her to some extent fell through. Literary labour is not very remunerative, and I daresay the appreciation of her countrymen might not be unacceptably shown to Mrs Mackellar, in demanding for her one of those pensions from the Civil List sometimes bestowed on literary workers. (Applause.) So far as I know, no Gaelic worker is in receipt of such a pension. One

such we might surely have in recognition of the Highland tongue, and I would propose that we correspond with kindred societies and get up a combined petition for the bestowal of a pension on Mrs Mackellar, and that Mr Fraser-Mackintosh or Dr Cameron be asked to support it. (Loud applause.)

THE RIGHTS OF THE HIGHLANDERS.

The third object of the Society was to further the interests of the people of the Highlands. I have already referred to the fact that we have thought it right not to enter on party questions in doing this. The abstract rights of the existing occupiers of the soil, the rights they ought to have as distinct from those they possess, we leave to others to discuss, satisfied if we can create a public opinion which shall lead the legal owners of land to take a pride in the well-being of their tenantry, induce them to foster the Highlander in his own country, and to improve his position, and to advance his interests there. (Cheers.) We think that as a Society, we are confining our aims to that with which we are most fitted to deal when we occupy ourselves with social to the exclusion of political questions, and in so doing we gather strength from members of all political parties which we should otherwise fail to secure. (Applause.) It is perhaps not easy to point to any particular event which marks our success in influencing public opinion, but within the period we have been associated, the more dependent members of our Highland population have come to be regarded, I think, with increased tenderness, and that is, so far, evidence that in this department our Society's influence has not been exerted in vain. (Cheers.) It is not, however, with proprietors only that our influence may avail for good. If the proprietors can do something for their tenants, these may also do something for themselves.

DISTRESS AND OVERCROWDING IN THE WEST.

We have this year, unhappily, a great scarcity on the West Coast. The unfortunate circumstances which exist just now in the Lews, and to which such prominence has been given, obtain to an almost equal degree through the islands and coasts of the West. Potatoes have been nearly an absolute failure. The grain crop was to a great extent swept away by the gale of 1st October, and the fishing has not been successful. We have had no year that threatens to approach so nearly to one of famine since 1848, and though I feel very strongly that the distribution of public charity is demoralising to its recipients, and that no appeal for it should be made while it can be avoided; yet I am afraid that to prevent starvation it will be necessary to offer some amount of public relief in many parts of the West Coast besides the Lews before the next crop comes in, and I think the Society might with advantage endeavour to ascertain what the extent of the scarcity is likely to be, and to promote, if need be, a public subscription to meet it. A famine is threatened, and I am afraid there will be absolute starvation before the next crop is gathered in. But while feeling deeply, as we all must, for the suffering likely to ensue, and doing our best to avert it, one cannot help asking, "Are these West Coast populations always to continue so living from hand to mouth as to necessitate a reliance on outside help when unfavourable seasons occur?" I hope not. We have crofter populations on the East Coast who are as independent as any of that class of life in Britain. They are no doubt more favourably placed than their fellows on the West for obtaining employment for wages. On the other hand, they have, as a rule, no hill pasture, no fish at their doors, and, commonly enough, no peats. I can show you in the Black Isle crofts of five acres as well cultivated as any of the large farms adjacent to them, and whose occupiers,

if they do not live in luxury, are yet never in the course of their lives in fear of want. Individual cases of misfortune there may be among them, but these are all within reach of local effort. But none of these crofters would dream of subdividing their crofts among their family, nor does it occur to the young men to marry without providing a home for their bride. Unfortunately it too frequently happens in the West Coast and in the Islands that no such feeling of providence prevents many of the young people from marrying and settling on their parent's croft, subdividing among two or more families a piece of ground already barely sufficient to maintain one. Overcrowding is there an evil against which proprietors, if they wish to do their duty, must resolutely set their faces, for it necessarily tends to starvation and misery, and to the destruction of that independence which more than anything else incites to the maintenance of law and order. (Cheers.) Outsiders speak of the prohibition of marriage, which is heard of on West Coast properties, as an instance of landlord tyranny, not understanding that it is not marriage that is objected to, but the settling of two families where there is room only for one. (Hear, hear.) It may be contended—and I believe with perfect truth—that the early marriages in the West account largely for the high tone of sexual morality there. I believe that is quite true; but, after all, that is a one-sided morality surely which would encourage the increase of the population without providing for its sustenance. On

THE CROFTER QUESTION

I speak from an experience, and from opportunities of observation possessed by comparatively few of those who make it the subject of their criticism. For close on thirty years I have had personal dealings with some five hundred crofter tenants, between whom and myself, I think I may say without presumption, there has been the utmost mutual confidence. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I know their feelings pretty well, and from all I have seen and heard in other parts of the West, I know the people themselves recognise as fully as I do, that their poverty results from overcrowding, though individually they may be unable to resist the temptation to squat on a parent's croft. Now, there may be properties (though they are certainly not so numerous as is frequently assumed), where more elbow room might be given to the crofters without shifting them from their present homes. (Applause.) There may be others where relief from the pressure of population might be obtained by colonising large farms; but this would require an expenditure beyond the means of most proprietors and crofters. Where, however, such measures are practicable it would certainly be desirable to resort to them. There are strong reasons for not thinning population by

COMPULSORY EVICTION,

irrespective of its cruelty. (Cheers.) Even did it result in bettering the material condition, both of those who go and those who remain, it leaves with the former a bitter sense of wrong, and creates in the latter a feeling of insecurity. Moreover, human nature, and especially Highland nature, resents improvements forced on it. (Cheers.) The spread of education will, I am confident, have a marked effect upon the position of the West Coast crofter. Already are greater habits of providence showing themselves in the younger generation wherever schools have been efficient, and when these habits have become general, overcrowding will cease, and I venture to think there will then be an end to the necessity for appeals for relief when unfortunate seasons occur. (Applause.)

A PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Allow me before I sit down to say a word personal to myself. It has been

brought under my notice by more than one individual that a certain ambiguity in words which I last year used in all innocency of heart has led the small tenantry of the North to look askant on me as one who is unfriendly towards them, and who would willingly see them supplanted. If there were any truth whatever in the suspicion that I harbour such thoughts, I should be very much out of place in this chair. (Applause.) The confidence of Gaelic-speaking people in this Society would very naturally and very properly be shaken, and I think it right, in the interests of the Society, as well as for my own credit, to take this opportunity of repudiating any such ideas. (Cheers.) On the occasion I have referred to, I did undoubtedly express the opinion that the tendency of modern agriculture in Britain was to throw farming more and more into the hands of capitalists, but I also took occasion to say that this tendency, which I thought I saw, was one which I personally deplore. (Cheers.) I should be very glad indeed to think that my fears were altogether groundless, and I saw some facts stated lately which certainly lead to the conclusion that I was mistaken. Within the last ten days the *Scotsman* noticed a Parliamentary return, from which it appeared that between 1875 and 1880 there was in the county of Ross an increase of 331 in the number of holdings of less than 50 acres extent. That is a fact which should give us all great satisfaction, because concurrently with this, I think (making allowance for the depression of the times) that there has been no real check to that continuous improvement in the condition of the smaller tenantry and of the labouring classes, the progress of which has been so marked in the last thirty-five years. (Applause.) Be the tendency of the time, however, what it may, the small tenants of the North have no sincerer friend than they have in me, and I think they may rest assured that the Society is most anxious to use such influence as it possesses for their good. (Applause.) Let us hope that that influence, directed as it is to social reforms, and exerted with a just moderation, may be a power for good among all classes in the Highlands; and let me beg that each and all of you, while firmly resolving to do what you can towards realising this hope, will now join me heartily in drinking success to the Gaelic Society of Inverness. (Loud cheers.)

Mr Allan R. Mackenzie, yr. of Kintail, proposed our Highland Members of Parliament in appropriate terms.

Councillor H. C. Macandrew, in proposing Celtic Literature and the Celtic Chair, said—Celtic literature is one of the objects which this Society took upon itself to cultivate, and I think many members of the Society are now in the position, as I am myself, of knowing very much more of Celtic literature since the Society began than they did before. I know that it was a very common opinion that Celtic literature was confined to some poems of doubtful origin, known under the name of Ossian, and to some songs which we may have heard sung by the people among whom we may have mingled. But now, I have no doubt, many of you know that Celtic literature was of very wide extent, and that, while the Saxons and the Normans, whom we have hitherto been taught to look upon as superior beings, were, as we know now, ignorant barbarians, Celtic literature had attained a high position among the literatures of the world. We know also that, while the ancestors of our Norman aristocracy were totally ignorant of learning, and, in many instances, were plundering Celtic monasteries, the Culdee monks were wandering all over Europe, planting a literature and a religious civilisation which have enabled a learned German, who never was in England, Scotland, or Ireland, to compile a grammar of the Celtic language—a work not only of great learning, and of great merit as a work of the kind, but one of very high philological interest and value. Many of you know also that, contemporary

with that literature, there grew up with our ancestors in Ireland a school of art, which attained a very high degree of perfection, and of which we have many examples sent down. The ornamentations of these days in wood work and metal work are finer, perhaps, than can be seen in any part of the world, and our house ornamenters, our ornamenters of books—ornamental workers of almost every kind—have endeavoured vainly to imitate the work of that simple people who lived in bee-hive houses, or in the wood and stone monasteries scattered among the rocky coasts of Scotland and Ireland. We can trace to these days—we can indeed trace to the hands of St Columba — one of the most beautiful ornamentations of a missal in the world. Since that time very great changes have taken place. We get day by day great contributions to the Celtic literature from the sister country of Ireland, and if anybody might pass a criticism, one cannot but be struck in reading these contributions with the characteristic, in the higher style of literature, of its intrinsic purity. I do not know if there is a high-class poem in any language which a person could read in a mixed assembly of men and women without a blush upon the check, except the poem of Ossian. (Applause.) While the poetry of chivalry, which was supposed to teach high ideas of female virtue and military heroism, became foul in its tendency, these old Gaelic poems remained pure as the light of day. (Applause.) How this venerable art of poetry works has been handed down to us, we all know, and learn more and more every day; but it is an important consideration whether Celtic literature shall continue to be a living literature, or whether it must in future be one dependent upon the records of the past. A foreign language has forced itself in upon us; foreign manners and customs have over-ridden the Celtic life which existed long ago. I have been one of those who have always said that the preservation of the Celtic people was a duty even higher than the preservation of their literature. The first time I spoke to this Society, I got a rebuke from Professor Blackie for uttering this sentiment, to which I still adhere, and I am glad to say Professor Blackie and others have now adopted the same view. (Applause.) While it should be the aim of the Society to preserve the native race upon the soil, it would well become the people to cultivate literature, and it is an encouraging thing to find that so many people not only speak the language fluently but use it to give expression to their highest thoughts. Poetry deals with the highest feelings and actions of a people, as these stand forth in history. The highest and the noblest expressions of the feelings and the actions of a people have come forth long after the existence of those feelings, and the performance of those actions themselves. The poems of Homer were written long after the siege of Troy; and it is only when all that has been known of the life of a people stands out in the forefront that literature begins to express itself. Whether Celtic literature has a future or not, we know this, that Celtic literature has had a being, and we know also that among the Celtic people there have existed feelings and actions which may well inspire hope as to its future. Long after the ideas of chivalry had vanished from the world the people of our Scottish Highlands rose as one man for the cause of a prince whose ancestors no living man had seen on the throne. They risked their fortunes, they risked their lives—many of them sacrificed their lives —to restore the representative of that ancient race to an ancient possession. I have often thought that, when the time comes when that story stands forth in all its truth, n all its glory—when the high, noble, and chivalrous feelings of the people shall have been fully and properly appreciated—there can be no nobler theme for an epic poem in the world. We may well hope that the story of that memorable period of the history of the Celtic people of Scotland will yet be chronicled in a way worthy of

the actions themselves, and of the chivalrous feelings which prompted them. (Applause.) Councillor Macandrew in conclusion, referred to the Celtic Chair, and commended the wisdom of the Universities in selecting a gentleman conversant not only with modern Gaelic, but the ancient language and its literature.

Mr Wm. Mackenzie, secretary of the Society, who replied to this toast, after alluding generally to some of Councillor Macandrew's observations, said—In the few seconds allotted to me I will endeavour to glance as briefly as possible at the character of our literature, the vicissitudes it has undergone, and its present state (Cheers.)

ENGLISH WORKS BEARING ON CELTIC SUBJECTS.

In speaking of Celtic literature, I will mainly confine my observations to works composed in the Celtic languages, and will not trouble you by dwelling on the numerous works written in English bearing on Celtic literature and antiquities. But standing as I do before this meeting in the Highland capital, it would be unpardonable in me if I failed to notice the many excellent works falling under this category which are published at our own doors. (Hear, hear.) The literary activity of our friend, Mr Alex. Mackenzie—(Applause)—is well known to most members of this Society, but I have no doubt you will all be surprised to learn that during the past eight years he has written and published not fewer than twenty-two different volumes—(Cheers)—all of which I believe, have been financially a success. (Cheers.) Time will not permit of my dwelling on Welsh literature, and with regard to it, it is sufficient to state that not only is it very extensive, but it is also in a most flourishing condition. (Cheers.) Now, to deal more in detail with our own Gaelic literature—(Hear, hear.)

GAELIC LITERATURE—ITS CHARACTER.

That literature is in the main poetical. Is the Gael, it will perhaps be asked, such a poetical animal—(Laughter)—that he disdains giving expression to his sentiments in prose? Not exactly, but there are certain causes which account for the predominance of poetry over prose in his literature. The first stage of a language is that in which the songs and poems are rehearsed, and rhythmical verse, it is generally acknowledged, is the first form of composition. The rude primeval tribes went forth to war, and the praises of the victors or the lamentations for the slain were recorded in verse. (Cheers.) The bards composed and rehearsed their narratives in verse, and their words were handed down from generation to generation on the lips of the people. The same could not happen in the case of prose. However graphic a prose account the Seanachie might compose of any particular event, it would not be handed down to posterity in the original words: each narrator would employ his own language. (Cheers.) "Is math bu chòir na h-òrain a dheanamh an toiseach 's a liuthad fearmillidh 'th'orra"—(Laughter)—(Songs ought to be well composed at first, for those who spoil them are many)—said the bard. If that be in any measure true of poetry, where the memory is aided by measured lines and rhymes, how much more must it be true in the case of prose? (Cheers.) In a country like the Highlands, where the art of writing was not of old general, need we wonder if the bards and seanachies who were naturally anxious that their compositions should go down to posterity in as perfect a form as possible, adopted the means best calculated to attain that end, namely, rhymed verse. And hence the abundance of poetry in the literature of the Gael. (Cheers.)

GAELIC PROSE LITERATURE.

In the case of rising nationalities, the spread of letters carries in its train the cultivation of prose, but that has not occurred in the case of the Highlands. Attempts

made to get up an original prose literature were not crowned with success; and the *Teachdaire Gaidhealach*, *Fear-Tathaich nam Beann*, *Cuairtear nan Gleann*, the *Gaidheal*, and others, have all failed to secure for themselves a permanent footing. And why has this been the case? There were no doubt certain more or less unfortunate circumstances, to which I need not more particularly allude, connected with several of these publications themselves; but the real explanation of their failure is owing to other and more deeply-rooted causes. (Cheers.)

OBJECTS FOR WHICH PARISH SCHOOLS WERE ESTABLISHED.

Chief among these was the influence exerted by the clergy and the lairds, coupled with the total neglect of the language itself as a medium and means of instruction. (Cheers.) The Act of the Privy Council for the foundation of our parish schools, which is dated 10th December 1616, declared "That the vulgar Inglish toung be universallie plantit, and the Irishe, which is one of the chiefe and principall causis of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie amongis the inhabitants of the Ilis and Heylandis be abolisheit and removeit." (Laughter and applause.) That, gentlemen, was the resolution of the Privy Council of 266 years ago, but notwithstanding all the influence exerted to carry it into effect, the "Irishe language"—that is the Gaelic—has not been "abolisheit and removeit" quite yet. (Loud Applause.)

WEST HIGHLAND LAIRDS.

In the case of the West Highland lairds the want of a knowledge of English was a very serious disability; for the Privy Council in the same year passed an act in which the Island chiefs were accused of "neglecting the education of their children," and declaring that had they been sent "to the inland in thair youthe, and thair traynit vp in vertew, learnyng, and the Inglish tunge, thay wold baif bene bettir preparit to reforme thair countreis and to reduce the same to Godliness, obedience, and civilitie." (Laughter.) It was therefore ordained and enacted "that the haill chiftanes and principall clannit men of the Yllis, that thay and every ane of them, send thair bairnis being past nyne yeiris of age to the scoollis in the inland to be trayned vp in virtew, learnyng, and the Inglish tunge." It was also ordained "that no personis quhatsomevir in the Yllis salbe servit air to thair faither or uther predicessouris, nor acknowlegit as tenentis to his Maiesty, vnless they can write, reid, and speake Inglische." (Laughter.) The lairds so completely conformed to this act that not only did they learn English, but they lost all knowledge of Gaelic, until to-day a Gaelic-speaking Highland proprietor, such as our Chairman of this evening, is a *Rara Avis* indeed. They are, however, beginning to see their mistake, and although the present Lochiel and the present Lord Macdonald, for instance, are both unacquainted with Gaelic, the same cannot be said of their sons, who are acquiring an intimate knowledge of the ancient tongue.

THE HIGHLAND CLERGY.

But while the influence of the lairds in the past was more or less passive as against the cultivation of Gaelic literature, the influence of the Highland clergy as a class was actively asserted against it, if I exclude such notable exceptions as the Dean of Lismore in the distant past; Dr Thomas Ross, Dr John Smith, Dr Norman Macleod, and Dr Mackintosh Mackay in more recent times; and Dr Maclauchlan, Rev. William Ross, Rev. Alexander Cameron, Rev. Alexander Stewart, our late friend the Rev. Mr Macgregor—(Applause)—in our own time; and in the same connection I must allude to the reverend gentleman who is here with us this evening

—the Rev. Mr Morison, Kintail—(Applause)—a gentleman who has been interesting himself in all Celtic movements, and from whose manse are now going forth to the public numerous genuine Highland melodies which every lover of Highland music ought to possess. (Applause.) From the days of Bishop Carswell down to our own times, the influence of the Highland clergy has been in the main strongly against whatever was secular in Celtic prose, poetry, and music. Carswell, who was appointed Bishop of the Isles in 1564, set himself in opposition to the bards and seanachies of the time; and, in the dedicatory epistle to his famous prayer-book, he says that "great is the blindness and darkness of sin and ignorance and of understanding among the composers, and writers, and supporters of the Gaelic, in that they prefer and practice the framing of vain, hurtful, lying, earthly stories about the Tuath de Dannan, and about the sons of Milesius, and about the heroes, and Fionn MacCumhail, with his giants," than to write and compose more sacred things. (Cheers.) The result of Carswell's attitude was that, instead of his becoming a successful agent in the spread of religion, he became exceedingly unpopular, and a butt for the Gaelic wits and satirists of the time. But his clerical successors in the West did not profit by his example; for to the present day they persist in following the identical course which brought about his unpopularity. (Cheers.)

THE BAGPIPE A CONTRABAND ARTICLE.

To a large proportion of the West Highland clergy of the present day, anything secular is regarded as unholy. (Laughter.) The bagpipe is a contraband article, which is as carefully concealed from the eye of the pastor, as an illicit still is concealed from the eye of the gauger—(Laughter)—and woe betide the man who has music or dancing at his wedding against the wish of his minister, if he should ever have occasion to ask that minister to perform the rite of baptism. (Laughter and applause.)

BIGOTRY OF SOME CLERGYMEN.

I know of one West Highland minister who has not for many a day spoken to his nearest neighbour of the same denomination, because that neighbour committed the heinous sin of attending a soiree or concert where a number of secular songs were sung! (Applause.) Another divine in the same locality has recently been in a state of great agitation because an important personage in the district, whom he had hitherto regarded as pious, had actually so far forgotten himself as to partake in a shinty match, or something of that description! (Laughter.) From this clergyman's turn of mind one would naturally expect to find in him an admirer of works of imagination—(Laughter)—for at no distant date he sought to enlighten his Gaelic hearers by narrating to them a dialogue which, he said, took place between Jonah when in the belly of the whale and a number of little fishes who were his associates there!—(Laughter and applause.) To quote the rev. gentleman's own words—"Iasgan beaga groda 's faileadh loibhte 'n Diabhuil fhein diubh." (Great laughter.) But this interesting conversation came to an abrupt end, for on account of the rolling of the whale and the raging of the turbulent billows, poor Jonah became sea-sick! (Great laughter.) To this man and many of his class a Gaelic song is simply a work of the devil, and all the influence they possess is asserted against secular Celtic literature. (Cheers.) The result is that healthy secular literature is being banished by them, while it is extremely doubtful if the interests of true religion are thereby promoted. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) But notwithstanding all the influences to which I have alluded, the Highlanders have a very considerable literary heritage, of which we well may feel proud. (Cheers.)

IRISH LITERATURE.

Our Irish cousins, too, can boast of literary treasures in poetry and prose—works by the way with which all educated Gaelic-speaking Highlanders ought to be more intimately acquainted than they unfortunately are. Such works as the annals of the Four Masters—compiled by Franciscan monks—and the History of Ireland, by Dr Keating, are relics of antiquity which possess far more interest to me than much of our modern romance. (Applause) The work of the Four Masters, for instance, which was begun in 1632, gives minute—and also amusing—details of facts and fictions of the remote past. Beginning with the creation of the world, it narrates important events in almost every year downwards to the time of the Four Masters themselves. (Applause.) We are told, for instance, that forty days before the flood Ceasair, a grand-daughter of Noah, came to Ireland with fifty girls and three men; and Dr Keating, in his "Forus feasa air Eirinn," alluding to the same event, quotes the following verse from an ancient chronicler in proof of his statement:—

" Ceasair Inghion Bheatha buain,
Dalta Sabhail mhic Manuaill,
An cheid-bhean chalma ro chinn
D'inis Banbha ré n-dílinn."

Dr Keating also gives an account of the creation of Adam, and goes on to state that when he (Adam) was fifteen years of age he was blessed with a son and daughter. (Laughter.) Sir Kenneth may regret the prevalence of early marriages on the West Coast, but I don't think the Western Celts can compare with Adam in that respect. (Great laughter.) Twins at the age of fifteen is not an event that is common in these climes. (Laughter.) Adam next adds to his race when he is 30—twins again —(Laughter)—and when he is 130 his youngest son Seth is born—very respectable intervals between the different events. (Laughter.) Among other items of information to which our author treats us, I must not fail to mention his detailed account of the conquests of Ireland before the flood. (Laughter.) And now, in conclusion, let me briefly glance at the present and the future, and at the present moment the Celtic field displays considerable literary activity. We have the *Celtic Magazine* in Inverness dealing with the history, antiquities, and social condition of the Highlands; the *Scottish Celtic Review* in Glasgow dealing with the language philologically; and the *Revue Celtique* in Paris, in which learned foreigners discuss numerous questions in connection with our race. Two months ago a valuable addition has been made to our magazine literature, for then the Gaelic Union—an Irish Society somewhat similar to our own—started their *Gaelic Journal*, a publication which bids fair to be a success. (Applause.) But while all these are of interest in themselves, we, in Scotland at the present time, look, perhaps, with even greater interest to the

CELTIC CHAIR,

which has just been fully established. (Applause.) The new Professor, who if he could would have been with us to-night, is a Highlander, who, by sheer hard work, raised himself to his present honourable position. (Applause.) He is in the prime of life, and if intelligence, activity, and perseverance will ensure success, we may confidently look forward to excellent Celtic work under the guidance of Professor Mackinnon. (Applause.) In particular, we may reasonably hope that the Highland clergy of the future will look upon our secular Celtic literature—whether written or floating over the country—as a treasure to be preserved, rather than as a demon to be suppressed.

CONCLUSION.

In this age when a knowledge of English is an absolute necessity to ensure success in life, I do not know that we need look to a great spread of Celtic literature. It therefore, all the more behoves us to use our every endeavour to rescue from oblivion the literary treasures which our Highland forefathers have bequeathed to us, not only that we may ourselves be benefitted thereby, but also that the wit and wisdom which are so characteristic of the literature of the Gael may be objects of admiration, as well as sources of instruction, to generations yet unborn. (Loud cheers.)

Mr William Mackay, proposing the Agricultural Interests of the Highlands, said —On this occasion it may not be out of place to glance shortly at the state of agriculture in the past, and on the relationship that of old existed between landlord and tenant. I am sorry to say that on these points very erroneous ideas prevail, and as no good can come from drawing pictures of the past which, however beautiful and pleasing to us, are historically untrue, I shall endeavour to indicate briefly how matters really stood, as shown by ancient leases, minutes of baron courts, and other original documents. First, the feudal system, about which one hears a great deal of nonsense now-a-days spoken, was established in the Highlands as early as the thirteenth century, since which time the chiefs have held the lands as absolute proprietors under written titles in terms similar to those which were common over the rest of Scotland. In virtue of these titles the chiefs exercised the rights of ownership, and leased the lands to tenants for rent or other consideration. As a fair example of the ancient Highland lease, I may refer to one, granted in 1631 by Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy to Ronald Campbell, of the lands of Elrig and others, for a period of five years. By this document the tenant binds himself to pay to the proprietor a yearly money rent of £15. 13s. 4d. Scots; to supply him yearly with six firlots bear, 172 stones of cheese, the half of a good cow—(Laughter)—six sufficient wedders, a gallon of sufficient aquavitæ—(Laughter)—and a white plaid; to be ready himself with four good men to serve Sir Duncan in his wars; and to give the services of himself and other six men "in other employments" when required. The tenant was bound to remove at the termination of the lease, and during its currency he was subject to the landlord's baron court, the bailie of which sometimes exercised the most unlimited jurisdiction—at one sitting sentencing thieves to death, inflicting fines for killing game or cutting wood or turf, giving judgments in suits for debt, issuing agricultural rules and regulations, and fixing the prices to be charged by weavers and shoemakers. I have only time to give a few examples of the doings of these courts. At various times between 1618 and 1642 the bailie of Glenorchy enacted that a fine of £20 Scots should be paid by every person who would give meat, drink, or house-room to any man guilty of killing deer, roe, black-cock, or black-fish without the laird's licence; that no person cast peats, except with Lowland peat-spades, under the pain of £10—(Laughter)—that no person have swine, under the pain of confiscation thereof, and a fine of £10; that no broom be cut without the laird's licence; that every tenant make four "croscattis of iron" annually for slaying of the wolf, under the penalty of £5; that no tenant suffer rook, hooded crow, or pyat to "big or clek" within their bounds, under the penalty of 40s —(Laughter and applause)—that every tenant who has any cottar on his land without peats, and a kailyard, and some corn land, shall pay £5 of a fine to the laird; that destroyers of wood shall be subject to a penalty of £20 for each offence, and that informants of such offences shall be entitled to £10 of reward from the laird; that no person labour or manure any kind of land within the space of sixteen feet of any river such as the Orchy, Dochart, or Lochy, and of eight feet of any other great water less

than the said rivers; that for every cow found in the forest of Mamelorne a penalty of 40s. shall be paid by the owner to the laird, and a penalty of five merks for each horse or mare found so trespassing; that whoever has a scabbed horse and puts him out unwatched, except on his own grass, it shall be lawful for any man that finds and apprehends the said scabbed horse, to throw him over a craig and break his neck—(Laughter)—that no wife drink in the alehouse except in the company of her husband, and that all tenants pay their ale bills monthly; that all querns be broken, and that all tenants grind their corn at the mills, and pay the multure; that no tenant sell any barley, oats, pease, or meal until the rent be paid to the laird, under the penalty of £10 and forfeiture of the thing so sold; and that tenants at their removal be bound to leave their houses in good order and repair. For breaches of the baron court regulations fines were exacted all over the Highlands, and as they found their way to the landlord's pocket, they must have been a source of considerable revenue to him. At a court held by John Grant of Corriemony in 1691 seventy-eight tenants were found guilty of various offences, such as the killing of deer, roe, blackcock, and muirfowl, and the cutting of wood and green sward, and were fined in various sums amounting in all to £885 Scots, or £73. 15s. sterling. What that amount really represented in 1691 may be judged from the fact that a good cow then sold for £1 sterling, and a good horse for 30s. sterling. The baron courts continued to exercise full jurisdiction until the heritable jurisdiction were abolished after the '45; and instead of the feudal system having been introduced into the Highlands after Culloden, that battle was rather the first nail in the coffin of the system, which, as I have said, flourished since the 13th century. In addition to the oppressive authority of the baron bailies, and the harsh conditions on which the people held their lands, the tenants of the past suffered from other evils unknown to their successors of the present day. Wolves and foxes abounded, and on one farm in Breadalbane four mares, a year-old horse, and a year-old quey were killed by wolves in 1594. Then, the still more formidable cattle-lifters were a terrific scourge, and as an example of their deeds I may mention that during a raid made by Badenoch men on Glen-Urquhart in 1663, they, in the dead of night, carried away forty cattle, burnt down twenty-two houses and barns, with their contents, and severely wounded the poor people who endeavoured to protect their own.

Mr Barron, of the *Inverness Courier*, proposed Kindred Societies. The societies, he remarked, that existed for the benefit of the people of the Scottish Highlands mostly dated from a period twelve or fifteen years since; and their establishment was due to the feeling that the Highlanders required to unite and assert themselves in an age of change and dissolution. This combination, and the energy which marked these societies, had been productive of remarkable results. They had united scattered forces, they had vindicated historical claims, they had stirred the enthusiasm of the Celtic race, they had made the empire familiar with Highland sentiment, with Highland chivalry, and also with Highland wrongs, with Highland sufferings, and with Highland endurance. (Cheers.) Among their accomplishments, positive and substantial, was the Celtic Chair in the University of Edinburgh. (Cheers.) He trusted that the endeavours of all these Highland Societies to accomplish their objects would be characterised by firmness, sobriety, self-control, and practical wisdom. Let them show that the taunts of the poet who spoke of

> "The schoolboy heat,
> The blind hysterics of the Celt"

was not true as regards the Highland people, and that they were as well qualified as any other people to carry on their work by patient methods—by a gradual process which step by step improves the present, and yet respects the laws and the institutions of the past. (Loud cheers.)

Mr James Fraser, C.E., President of the Field Club, replied.

Highland Education was proposed by Dr F. M. Mackenzie, and responded to by Mr Alexander Macbain, M.A., Rector of Raining School, Inverness, and by Mr A. C. Mackenzie, Maryburgh.

Mr Alex. Macbain, M.A, in his reply, after a few preliminary remarks, insisted upon the recognition by the Government of Gaelic as a special subject in the code—(Applause) - a concession which must somehow or other be wrung from them. (Applause.) Small as the concession may appear to some, yet, closely considered, it is one of vast importance in its results. And one of these results will be a reflex action from the higher stages on the lower stages of school work, that is, on the lower standards. If teachers are encouraged to teach Gaelic to the higher pupils, they will also not neglect it at the lower stage of their educational course. It does look not a little anomalous that children who do not know a word of English should yet be taught that language without any use being made of their mother tongue. In theory the thing is utterly absurd, and in practice it would be found equally so, were not the Celts of the Highlands a race highly gifted and developed, heirs of ages of intellectual activity and of race characteristics, which rise superior to any blundering and stupidity on the part of their modern rulers. (Applause.) As a matter of fact, and a wonderful thing it undoubtedly is, the Highland counties are, at the very least, up to the average standard of passes of the rest of Scotland. (Applause.) Still more wonderful to say, the Island of Lews, the most intensely Gaelic of all, makes about the best passes of any rural district in Scotland; a fact which says a great deal for the otherwise well proven cleverness of the Lews people. (Applause). We are tempted to ask what Highland children would have done if they had the same advantages as the English, and not been hampered by bilingualism. But one or two concessions have already been wrung from the Government in connection with Gaelic; the examining of children for intelligence in Gaelic, with the consequent appointment of Gaelic-speaking inspectors, and also the power to teach Gaelic within Governmental school hours. This last is an entirely illusory concession, unless the examination is made less strict in the English subjects. Practically, only one concession has been gained, and the next one to be forced from the Government is the placing of Gaelic among the specific subjects. I cannot understand why we are so remiss in taking action in this matter. It must surely be from the fact that some think the concession too insignificant to worry about. But in reality it is a concession of great importance, as I have already said. The adoption of Gaelic as a specific subject will react on the whole school curriculum, and nearly effect all that the Society has ever been aiming at in the teaching of Gaelic and English together. But in any case Gaelic as a specific subject will be of immense benefit to the higher professional needs of the Highlands. (Applause). To take the glaring instance of one profession—and that, too, perhaps the highest in the scale—there is great difficulty in getting young men able to preach Gaelic, and this arises from inattention to the language in school days. It has been plausibly objected that, in spite of sentiment, teachers won't take advantage of Gaelic being a specific subject. And, as a matter of fact, some of them are teaching Gaelic under present circumstances to their higher pupils in order to meet the requirements of the annual examinations held for bursaries offered by various benevolent

societies, among which I am sorry to see our society not taking its place. Bursaries for the Celtic Chair, as proposed by the Blackie testimonial, will prove an immense stimulus to the study of the language. (Applause.) There can be little doubt that grants from the Government and bursaries from the societies will bring Gaelic to be the most popular of specific subjects both with teachers and pupils. The Government won't move in the matter until we do two things. The first is to prove the urgent need, not from a sentimental but a practical point of view, of our demands, and then to put before them a draft scheme of the course of study required for Gaelic as a specific subject, and guarantee suitable text-books. There are plenty here to-night quite capable of taking those matters in hand, officials, too, of the Society. (Applause.)

Mr Mackenzie also replied.

Mr Colin Chisholm proposed the Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Inverness, in the vernacular, in the following terms:—A Thighearna Ghearrloch a tha mar bu dual, 's an Ard-chathair, fhir na bonn-chathrach agus a dhaoine uaisle gu leir Chuir an Comunn so mar fhiachan ormsa deoch slainte luchd-riaghlaidh baile Inbhirnis a thogail; 's e sin ri radh—Ard-mhaor a bhaile so, gach frith-bhreitheamh's gach comhairliche tha air an taghadh gu coir a sheasamh's gu ceartas a dheanamh eadar duine 's duine air feadh baile Inbhirnis. A reir mo bharail fein tha iad comasach, eolach, deonach, air gach atharrachadh a bhitheas gu feum a Bhaile a dheanamh. Tha lan-choir aca air deadh-run gach aon tha chomhnaidh an taobh stigh do cheithir chearnaibh a bhaile so. 'S math an aire tha Comh-chomhairle Inbhirnis a toirt air na tha 'n earbsa riu. Mo thruaighe am fear a dh'fheuchas ri uiread aon oirleach do chladach mara, do lon mointich, no do thalamh air bith eile, fliuch no tioram, a ghearradh bho choir dhligheach Inbhirnis. Gheibh e mach air a chost nach cuir geilt, sochair, no aineolas, amaladh air Comhairle Inbhirnis. Bhiodh e ro thoilichte leam moran de'n gleusdachd 's de'n treuntas innse dhuibh. Tha cuid agaibh fein cho eolach air am buadhan 'sa tha mise. Ach theagamh nach eil fios agaibh uile gu'm bheil iad a cuir seachad roinn mhor d'en latha agus earrainn de'n oidhche a dian chuir air adhart maith Inbhirnis. Tha iad fior-thoilltinnach air toil mhaith 's air deadh-run muinntir a bhaile so. Lionaibh na glaineachean gu'm bar, 's traighibh iad gu'n grunnd alr deadh shlainte Riaghladairean Inbhirnis. (Loud cheers.)

Provost Fraser suitably replied, partly in Gaelic.

Mr Alex. Mackenzie, of the *Celtic Magazine*, proposed the Non-resident Members. He expressed pleasure at hearing the Chairman, and his own immediate chief, proposing the first toast on the list in Gaelic. Mr Mackenzie never heard him making a set Gaelic speech before, but he knew long ago that Sir Kenneth could both speak and read Gaelic fairly well. On his own property he always talked in Gaelic to the hundreds of people on his property, grasping the poor old woman, the decrepit old man, or the youth of those homes of toil cordially by the hand whenever he met them, and expressing himself always in the Gaelic language, as was his wont, in terms of kindness and sympathy that touched the warmest chords in their hearts. (Cheers.) The result was that, in a pre-eminent degree, Sir Kenneth Mackenzie was beloved by every person—from the school-boy to the oldest crofter—that lived on his estates. (Renewed cheers.) The Chairman's exertions in the cause of education were unequalled by those of any other gentleman in the country. As a thinker on social and political subjects he was unsurpassed; as a considerate landlord he had no equal; his heart was full of the broadest and the most generous sympathies; and the result was that not only did his schools produce, even before the days of School Boards, the best

achievements among those of the crofter districts of the Highlands, but his crofts produced a class of people as fine in physique and in every other respect, as could be found in the world. (Cheers.) In respect that Sir Kenneth lived in Ross-shire, he was a non-resident member; and he was, therefore, entitled to speak of him in proposing the toast: he was, however, always in the North among his people. The strictly non-resident members were among the best friends of the Society, and in this respect Mr Mackenzie mentioned pre-eminently, amid cheers, the name of Professor Blackie, who was entitled to the warmest gratitude of all Highlanders in every quarter of the globe. (Cheers.) Mr Mackenzie coupled the toast with the name of Mr John Macdonald, banker, Buckie, to whose unobtrusive researches in Celtic topography especially he paid a cordial tribute.

Mr Macdonald made a suitable reply.

Mr George J. Campbell, solicitor, proposed the Clergy, to which

The Rev. R. Morison, Kintail, replied. In the course of an excellent speech, he regretted the absence of the local clergy from the dinner, and said—"It is somewhat sad to contemplate that but for the accidental presence here of a solitary wanderer from the West Coast, this toast must have passed unacknowledged." As to the reference made to the clergy by the Secretary in his reply for Celtic Literature, Mr Morison said:—"I truly believe that the great mass of the clergy of the Highlands sympathise heartily with the objects of your Society, and that what appears to him to have been a desire to extinguish the Gaelic in days gone bye was really a desire to benefit the people by promoting the learning of English. They wanted Gaelic and English to go on hand in hand, and side by side. The clergy saw that the clinging of the people to Gaelic solely was an obstacle to their advancement. Therefore they desired them to learn English also. In other words, the clergy did not want to discourage Gaelic; but to endeavour to get the people to learn English. If that were so, I can't see how any person can fairly say that they were far wrong. As to those who denounced Gaelic and the bagpipes, I do not stand here as an apologist. (Hear, hear.) I am not one of those who would describe the national instrument as the devil's bellows. On the contrary, I think it would be a very good thing if we cultivated a little more of the national music, our national melodies, amongst us." (Applause.) Mr Morison then pointed out that the Highlands owed a very great deal to the clergy—particularly the high education which was characteristic of Scotland; and the voice of the country in recent years, in elections to the Boards which now governed national education furnished abundant testimony that the masses of the people of Scotland still desired that a great part of our education should still remain in the hands of the clergy. The clergy, he continued, have still some power, some influence for good. They will best promote religion, and discharge their duty, by working in a spirit of peace and goodwill one towards another—one Church towards another—by fighting, not against each other, but against the common foes of all religion and virtue.

The Press was proposed by Mr Whyte, librarian, and acknowledged by Mr Walter Carruthers of the *Inverness Courier*. The health of the Chairman, given by Mr Wm. Mackay, was pledged with Highland honours. The Croupiers were proposed by Mr W. G. Stuart, who had himself added largely, by song and recitation, to the enjoyment of those present, and whose health was specially pledged by the Chairman. During the dinner, Pipe-Major Alexander Maclennan, the Society's piper, played appropriate music as usual.

Great credit is due to the Secretary for the success of the meeting; and Mr Cesari served one of the best dinners ever laid before the Society.

The meeting did not seperate until twenty minutes past one o'clock on Wednesday morning, bringing to a close one of the happiest meetings ever held under the auspices of the Society.

THE HISTORY OF THE HIGHLAND CLEARANCES, by the Editor, will be ready in a few days. *See advertisement.*

A Supplement of four pages *extra* is given this month to admit of a full report of the Gaelic Society Dinner, notwithstanding which "A Tour in Canada" and "The Honours of Scotland" have been crowded out.

THE

CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

No. LXXXIX. MARCH 1883. VOL. VIII.

THE HIGHLAND DRESS.

BY J. G. MACKAY.

I.—CLAN TARTANS.

Oh, first of garbs, garment of happy fate!
So long employed, of such an antique date;
Look back some thousand years till records fail,
And lose themselves in some romantic tale;
We'll find our god-like fathers nobly scorned
To be by any other dress adorned.—ALLAN RAMSAY.

THERE is nothing which so much distinguished the Highlanders of Scotland as their very picturesque costume, which has been for so many ages peculiar to themselves. That the Highland garb is very ancient there cannot be the slightest doubt, though some writers affect to believe that it is of modern invention.

We can gather sufficient from the works of ancient writers to prove that tartans were worn in the Highlands at a very remote period, but their knowledge of the language and customs of the people was so very meagre that they could hardly be expected to be very minute in their descriptions. The art of dyeing was known among the Celts at a very early period. Diodorus Siculus, who wrote A.D. 230, says that the Gauls "wore coats stained with various colours." In our own country, in the Druidical times, the Ard-righ had seven different colours in his dress, the Druidical tunic had six, and that of the nobles or maormors had four.

There cannot be any doubt but tartans originated from these costumes, and came to be divided into distinctive patterns so soon as the people began to be divided into clans. The tartans themselves give the best possible proof of this, for by taking the set of any sect or group of clans of the same stock, we find a very great resemblance in the design. In almost every instance they have all been formed from the pattern worn by the progenitor of the sect. This is very noticeable in that of the descendants of the Lord of the Isles, viz., Macdonalds, Macdougalls, Macalisters, and Macintyres. The various branches of the *Clann Chatain*, viz., Mackintoshes, Macphersons, Macbeans, Macgillivrays, Macqueens, etc., etc. The Siol Alpein, viz., Macgregors, Macquarries, Grants, Macnabs, Mackinnons, and Macphees; the descendants of Connachar, viz., Mackays, Forbeses, and Urquharts; the clan Andrias, viz., Rosses, Macraes, Mathesons, and several others.

The fact of these clans having adopted patterns so very much after the same design proves most conclusively that their various tartans were invented at the time of the formation of the clans. Many of them lived at a great distance, and had very little communication with each other. Each branch of a clan, as it asserted its own independence, added a few lines of other colours to the tartan of the parent stock, to make a distinction for itself, but kept enough of the original design to show the relationship. This same system is seen very distinctly in the armorial bearings; while each clan has devices representing events in its own history, the family relationship is shown by some emblems relating to their common ancestors: thus, the different branches of the Clann Chatain have the cat, either as a crest or a device, on their shield. The Macdonalds, Macdougalls, and Macalisters have each the lamh-dhearg and the galley. The Mackays, Urquharts, and Forbeses have three boars' heads muzzled on their shield.

Besides this very strong circumstantial evidence, we have the testimony of Martin* and several others to prove that tartans were worn, as distinctive clan patterns, at a very remote period. Martin says:—

"The Plad, wore only by the Men, is made of fine Wool, the Thred as fine as can be made of that kind; it consists of divers colours, and there is a great deal of Ingenuity required in sorting the Colours, so as to be agreeable to the nicest fancy.

* Martin's tour to the Western Isles, 1692; pub. in London. 1702.

"For this reason the Women are at great pains, first to give an exact Pattern to the Plad upon a piece of Wood, having the number of every Thred of the stripe on it.

. . . . . .

"Every Isle differs from each other in their fancy of making Plads, as to the Stripes in Breadth and Colours. This Humour is as different thro' the main Land of the Highlands, in so far that they who have seen those places, are able at the first view of a Man's Plad to guess the Place of his Residence."

Beague, in his history of the Campaigns in Scotland in 1548-1549, printed in Paris 1556, states "they (the Scotch army) were followed by the Highlanders, and these last go almost naked, they have painted waistcoats and a sort of woollen covering, *variously coloured*."

As the Author wrote in French, it is not likely he understood the terms tartan, plaid, or kilt, and to him the Highlanders would have all the appearance of going almost naked, and the fancy colouring of the tartan would look as if it were painted.

The author of "Certayne Matters Concerning Scotland," 1597, says, "that the Highlanders delight much in marbled clothes, specially that has long stripes of sundrie colours; their predecessors used short mantles of divers colours, sundrie ways devided."

In the accounts of John, Bishop of Glasgow, treasurer to King James III. 1471, the following items occur:—

Ane elne and ane halve of blue Tartane, to lyne his gowne of cloth of gold	£1	10	0
Four elne and ane halve of Tartane for a sparwort aboun his credill, price ane elne, 10s.	2	5	0
Halve ane elne of doble Tartane to lyne ridin collars to her ladye the Quene, price	0	8	0

Pinkerton, who viewed everything Celtic with a jaundiced eye, considered the Highland dress "beggarly effeminate, grossly indecent, and absurd, with the tasteless regularity and vulgar glare of the tartans."

The colours of the tartan are not more red or glaring than the Peer's robes, military uniforms, or the Royal livery, and yet, these are not considered vulgar. One of the most distinguished artists of his age, Mr West, President of the Royal Academy, differs from this opinion. He has expressed "his surprise at the blending and arranging of the colours, and considers that great

art—that is to say, much knowledge of the principles of colouring with pleasing effect has been displayed in the composition of several of the Clan tartans; regarding them in general, as specimens of natural taste, something analogous to the affecting but artless strains of the native music of Scotland."

In "Eustace's Classical Tour," in treating of the various costumes of the European and Asiatic nations, he says regarding the Highland dress—"In one corner of Great Britain a dress is worn by which the two extremes are avoided. It has the easy folds of a drapery, which takes away from it the constrained and angular air of the ordinary habits, and is, at the same time sufficiently light and succinct to answer all the purposes of activity and ready motion."

Such, then, are the opinions of men who are much more likely to be correct than spiteful writers like Pinkerton, and they cannot be said to be prejudiced either one way or another.

Tartans were divided into three classes—Clan, Dress, and Hunting. The dress was formed from the ground of the clan pattern by making the larger checks white; this was intended for women's wear. The hunting was formed in the same manner, by making the larger checks green, brown, or some other dark colour, so as to make it serviceable for every-day wear, or, as its name implies, for hunting. George Buchanan says (1612)—"For the most part they are brown, near to the color of the hadder, to the effect that when they lie down amongst the hadder, the bright color of their plaids shall not bewray them."

The cloth worn by the women was finer and lighter in the make; the checks were larger in the tartan; and the colours made brighter and more showy. The women took a great pride in the manufacture of their different fabrics, so that very great perfection was attained both in weaving and dyeing. There are examples to be seen at the present day of tartans woven more than a hundred years ago; and when we consider the primitive means that were at hand, it is very difficult for us to believe that our ancestors were such barbarous savages as some would have us to understand.

There was a great deal of taste displayed in getting up the various colours, so as to blend properly with each other. On account of the different arrangements of the various tartans, the

shades of colour are changed in many of them, some having a lighter blue, green, or red than others, and some a darker; while others have a shade of green or blue peculiar to themselves, such as the Mactavish, which has a remarkable green that we find in no other. The Mackay has also a peculiar shade of green; and the Macnab has a particular red, something like what is now called majenta.

The varying of the shades of colour depended upon the other colours with which they had to blend. Thus a green had to be brightened or deepened, according to the shade of blue, yellow, or red to be used with it.

Martin thus describes the dress worn by the women:—

"The ancient Dress wore by the Women, called Arisaid, is a white Plad, having a few small stripes of black, blue, and red; it reached from the Neck to the Heels, and was tied before on the Breast with a Buckle of Silver, or Brass, according to the Quality of the Person.

"I have seen some of the former of an hundred Marks value; it was broad as an Ordinary Pewter Plate, the whole curiously engraven with various Animals, &c.

"There was a lesser Buckle, which was wore in the middle of the larger, and above two Ounces weight; it had in the Centre a large piece of Crystal, or some finer Stone, and this was set all round with several finer Stones of a lesser size.

"The Plad, being pleated all round, was tied with a Belt below the Breast. The Belt was of Leather, and several pieces of Silver intermixed with the Leather, Like a Chain.

"The lower end of the Belt was a Piece of Plate about eight inches long, and three in breath, curiously engraven, the end which was adorned with fine Stones, or pieces of red Coral."

"They wore Sleeves of Scarlet Cloth, clos'd at the end as Men's Vests, with Gold Lace round'em, having Plate buttons, set with fine Stones.

"The Head-dress was a fine Kerchief of Linan strait about the Head, hanging down the Back Taper-wise. A large lock of Hair hangs down their Checks above their Breast, the lower end tied with a Knot of Ribbands."

It has been predicted "that the tasteless regularity and vulgar glare of the tartan would for ever prevent its adoption by genteel society." How different the change of opinion! After all the vituperations of jealous and abusive writers, tartan is now recognised by the English themselves as the most graceful drapery in Europe. It is worn by her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, who seems to take a special pride in it; it adorns the ladies and courtiers who surround the throne; and not only does it appear to advantage at some of our most brilliant gatherings, but is exceedingly popular throughout the civilised world.

(To be continued.)

THE HONOURS OF SCOTLAND.

By M. A. Rose.

II.

Although Captain Ogilvie found himself obliged to surrender Dunnottar, he determined, if possible, to preserve the Honours from falling into the hands of the English. But the difficulty was, how to get them removed to a place of safety, when the castle was so closely besieged, that scarcely a mouse could escape without being seen; and hiding them inside the castle would be worse than useless, for they were almost sure to be found. Besides, he had no security but that the castle might be burnt, when his precious charge would be irretrievably lost. In this dilemma he did what most wise men do. He consulted his wife to see if her woman's wit could help him out of his difficulty. After some consideration, Mrs Ogilvie fixed upon a plan. She would herself arrange to get the Honours out of the castle and concealed in a place unknown to her husband, so that he could, when questioned, safely deny all knowledge of them. Ogilvie gladly agreed to this proposal, and his wife proceeded to carry out her scheme. The Rev. Mr Grainger, minister of Kinneff, and his wife, were intimate personal friends of Mrs Ogilvie, and she determined to seek their aid. Accordingly, she obtained permission from Colonel Thomas Morgan, the officer in command of the besieging force, for her friend, Mrs Grainger, to visit her for a few hours, and to take away with her a quantity of flax which she wanted spun. The two friends consulted together, and quickly arranged their plans, which, considering the shortness of time at their disposal, and the difficulties in their way, showed a good deal of ingenuity and courage on the part of the two worthy ladies.

Dunnottar Castle being unapproachable on horseback, there being a deep chasm between the castle gate and the mainland, Mrs Grainger had to dismount and leave her horse in the English camp. Colonel Morgan himself assisted her to alight, and gallantly led her up to the castle gate. After a long and anxious

consultation, the ladies concealed the Crown about Mrs Grainger's person, trusting that the long and full cloak she wore would effectively hide it. They then carefully packed the Sceptre and Sword in a large bundle of flax, which was placed on the back of a stout servant girl, who little dreamt of the importance or the value of her load. The belt belonging to the Sword of State Mrs Ogilvie kept, and carefully concealed it in the masonry of one of the walls of the castle; and when, long afterwards, it was taken from its strange hiding place, it was found so securely packed that it was none the worse.

It is very probable that Mrs Ogilvie kept the belt by her as a future proof that the Honours had been in their possession, and it is said that it is still preserved in the Ogilvie family.

When, her visit being ended, Mrs Grainger again made her appearance in the English camp, Colonel Morgan assisted her to her saddle, a courtesy the good lady would have gladly declined, if she could; for she trembled lest he should discover her momentous secret. She, however, managed to retain her composure, and thanking the Englishman for his attention, rode slowly away, followed by the girl carrying the bundle of flax; and in this very undignified manner the Honours of Scotland made their exit from the Castle of Dunnottar. On Mrs Grainger's arrival at home, her husband took charge of the Honours, and having carefully packed them up, he buried them inside his church.

Upon the English taking possession of Dunnottar, they demanded, according to the articles of agreement, that the Honours of Scotland should either be delivered up, or a satisfactory account given of where they were. Captain Ogilvie at once protested that they were not in the castle, and stoutly denied all knowledge of where they were concealed. Naturally enough this improbable statement was not believed. He was seized, and confined a close prisoner in the castle of which he had been so lately the commander. His wife was also imprisoned, and closely questioned, and it is said even threatened with torture; but she stood firm, always giving the same answer, namely, that she had dedelivered the Honours into the hands of the Earl Marshall, who had carried them abroad to Charles II. This account, though probable enough, did not satisfy the English officer, who detained her a close prisoner, and sent a party of soldiers to Barras House

to apprehend Captain Ogilvie's only son, William, thinking that, by punishing their son, they might prevail upon the parents to divulge their secret. Fortunately, however, the lad got timely notice of his danger, and escaped to some friends in Angus, where he remained for a long time concealed.

Captain Ogilvie and his wife were kept prisoners for a whole year, and treated with great harshness, a sentinel being always posted at the door of their apartment, and another in the room with them, in order, if possible, to pick up any hints of the secret from their conversation. The worthy couple, however, were not to be caught napping, always adhering, without the slightest prevarication, to the same story, so that, at last, their version of the affair was believed, and on the solicitations of numerous friends, General Dean consented to set them at liberty, on condition that they should not travel more than three miles from "their own house of Barras," and that they should render themselves again prisoners on demand, under a heavy bond, for which a friend, George Graham of Morphie, became cautioner. That they were kept under strict surveillance, is proved by the fact that some time afterwards they had to find additional security for their safety, in a new bond, dated 1st February 1653.

Some time after Mrs Ogilvie died, faithfully keeping her secret to the last, and Ogilvie himself lived under the same restraint until the Restoration; but, in spite of the vigilance of his enemies, he managed to keep up a regular correspondence with the minister of Kinneff, and each month sent clean linen cloths to Mr Grainger, with instructions to take the Honours up, and wrap them anew in fresh cloths to prevent them getting tarnished by their long concealment; all which instructions the rev. gentleman faithfully carried out.

At the Restoration, among the many claimants upon Royal recognition and gratitude, the Dowager Lady Keith, mother of the Earl Marshall, who was still abroad, presented a claim on behalf of her son as being the preserver of the Honours, without making any reference to the important share Captain Ogilvie and his wife had taken in the matter. On her representation, the King raised Sir John Keith to the peerage, with the title of Earl of Kintore, and granted him a pension for life. In the meantime Captain Ogilvie, finding himself likely to be over-

looked, and his services forgotten, sent his son William to London to present a petition to the King on his behalf, setting forth his version of the affair, and stating that he was the real preserver of the Honours. The King did not know how to decide between the two claimants, and consulted the Earl of Lauderdale, who, with his usual acuteness, argued thus: if Sir John Keith had preserved the Honours he would still have them in his possession; on the other hand, if Ogilvie's claim was just, he would be able to produce the Regalia, which would at once decide the matter. Accordingly Lauderdale sent the following letter to William Ogilvie in answer to his petition :—

"WHITEHALL, 28th September 1660.

"His Majesty ordains the petitioner's father to deliver his Crown, Sceptre, and Sword, to the Earl Marischal of Scotland, and to get his receipt of them.

(Signed) "LAUDERDAILL."

On learning this, the Dowager Lady Keith endeavoured to persuade the Rev. Mr Grainger to deliver them up to her; but the minister stood firm to his trust, and would not give them up to anyone but Captain Ogilvie, who, being informed of her ladyship's attempt to bribe Mr Grainger, immediately went to the church, exhumed the Sceptre and carried it to his own house, at the same time taking the following acknowledgement from the faithful minister of Kinneff:—

"Whereas I have received a discharge from George Ogilvie of Barras of the Honours of this kingdom, and he hath got no more but the Sceptre: therefore I oblige myself, that the rest, viz., the Crown and Sword, shall be forthcoming at demand, by this my ticket. Written and subscrived this day I received the discharge, 28th September 1660.

(Signed) "M. J. GRAINGER."

A few days afterwards Captain Ogilvie received a command from the King to deliver up the Honours to the Earl Marshall, which order Ogilvie at once obeyed, and got the following receipt written by the Earl Marshall's own hand :—

"At Dunottar, the 8th day of October 1660, I, William Earl Marischal, grants me to have received from George Ogilvie of Barras the Crown, Sword, and Sceptre, the ancient monuments of

this kingdom, entire and complete, in the same condition they were entrusted by me to him, and discharge the foresaid George Ogilvie of his receipt thereof, by this my subscription. Day and place foresaid.

(Signed) "MARISCHAL."

On getting this proof in corroboration of his petition, Captain Ogilvie journeyed to London and obtained an audience of the King, who received him very graciously; and, being fully convinced that he was indeed the real preserver of the Honours, created him a baronet by patent, dated at Whitehall, 5th March 1661, and granted him a new charter of the lands of Barras, in which document the services of himself and wife are fully acknowledged as the preservers of the Honours of Scotland.

After the death of Sir George Ogilvie, his son, Sir William, being annoyed at the account of the matter as published in Nisbet's "Book of Heraldry"—in which all the honour was given to the Earl of Kintore, while no notice was taken of Sir George Ogilvie's services—he, with the assistance of his son David, published a pamphlet in 1701, entitled "A True Account of the Preservation of the Regalia of Scotland, viz., Crown, Sword, and Sceptre, from falling into the hands of the English Usurpers. Be Sir George Ogilvie of Barras, Kt. and Baronet, with the Blazon of that Family."

The statements made in this pamphlet led, in 1702, to an action of libel before the Privy Council of Scotland, at the instance of John, Earl of Kintore, who contended that the late Sir George Ogilvie was only the deputy of the Earl Marshall in the matter; that it was the Dowager Lady Keith who had devised the method of getting the Honours out of Dunnottar, and that it was the stratagem of the Earl Marshall's writing home from Paris that he had the Honours in his keeping that lulled the suspicions of the English; and, in support of this, the pursuer produced, among several other documents, "ane recept granted by Mr James Grainger, minister att Kinneff, to the Countess Marishall, beareing him to have in his custody the Honours of the Kingdom, viz., the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword, and where the samen were absconded that the said Countess might have access thereto, dated the thirty-first day of March 1652," which is as follows:—

"I, Mr James Grainger, minister at Kinneff, grant me to

have in my custody the Honours of the Kingdom, viz., Crown, Sceptre, and Sword. For the Crown and Sceptre I raised the pavement-stone just before the pulpit, in the night tyme, and digged under it ane hole, and put them in there, and filled up the hole, and layed down the stone just as it was before, and removed the mould that remained, that none would have discerned the stone to have been raised at all. The Sword again, at the west end of the church, amongst some common saits that stand there, I digged down in the ground betwixt the twa foremost of these saits, and laid it down within the case of it, and covered it up, as that removing the superfluous mould it could not be discerned by any body; and if it shall please God to call me by death before they be called for, your ladyship will find them in that place."

The Privy Council decided in the Earl's favour, and ordered the pamphlet to be burnt at the Cross by the hands of the common hangman, and sentenced David Ogilvie, as one of the defendants, to pay a fine of twelve hundred pounds Scots.

This sentence seems certainly to have been far too severe on the Ogilvies, for although it may have been quite true that the Earl Marshall and his mother were cognisant of the scheme, or even may have devised it, yet it is perfectly certain that Sir George and his wife were the chief actors, as well as the greatest sufferers, and, consequently, were entitled to the chief reward. As for the worthy minister of Kinneff, after the Restoration the thanks of the Committee of Estates were formally tendered to him, and a sum of two thousand merks presented to his wife, Christian Fletcher, "as a reward of her courageous loyalty."

At the time of the Union between England and Scotland, when the minds of the great mass of the people were agitated and indignant at what they considered a surrender of their national independence, the opposers of the Union, taking advantage of the popular feeling, circulated a report that the Honours were to be sent away to England, as a token of the complete subjection of Scotland as a nation. This statement, absurd and unfounded as it was, yet gained credence among the people, who gave utterance to their sentiments so plainly, that to allay their suspicions it was found necessary to insert a special clause in the Treaty of Union, to this effect, "That the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword of

State, Records of Parliament, &c., continue to be kept as they are, within that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland; and that they shall so remain in all times coming, notwithstanding the Union."

On the 16th of January 1707, the Regalia made their last official appearance, the Sceptre being used to ratify the Treaty of Union, when the Chancellor, the Earl of Seafield, is reported to have said, as he handed it back to the clerk, with a scornful air, "There is an end of an auld sang."

After this, there being no Scottish Parliament, the duty of taking charge of the Honours devolved altogether on the Treasurer. The Earl Marshall in delivering them up for the last time, showed a very different feeling to the Earl of Seafield, and handed in a long protest that they should not be removed from the Castle of Edinburgh, without notice being given to him, or to his successor in title and office.

The now useless Honours were packed away in a large oak chest, fastened with three keys, and deposited in the Crown Room of Edinburgh Castle, a strong vaulted room, which was immediately securely locked and barred.

For a long time rumours were rife among the populace that the Regalia were either destroyed or conveyed into England, which impression was strengthened by their being no longer visible; but as time passed, and people began to discover the benefits of the Union, the feeling of irritation which at first existed gradually died out, and with it, the anxiety about the Honours. Thus, the venerable relics remained undisturbed, neglected, and forgotten, for the long period of a hundred and ten years, until people began to doubt of their existence. Only once, during that time, was the Crown Room entered; and that was in 1794, when, by special warrant under the Royal sign-manual, some Commissioners went in search of certain records which were supposed to be there. There was, however, nothing in the room except the strong oak chest, which the Commissioners had no authority to open. The apartment was again secured with additional fastenings, and the fate of the Honours remained as uncertain as ever. In 1817 George IV., then Prince Regent, ordered the room to be opened, and the chest examined, to see if the Regalia were really there. Among the officials entrusted

with this duty was Sir Walter Scott, then one of the Principal Clerks of Session, whose graphic description of the scene—of the emotion with which these long-lost-sight-of relics were regarded as they passed from hand to hand, and of the enthusiasm with which the news of their safety was received by the people of Edinburgh—is doubtless well known to the reader. Seeing the interest exhibited by all classes in their ancient National Regalia, the Prince Regent ordered that they should in future be placed in a position in which the public might have an opportunity of seeing them. They were accordingly given in charge of some of the Officers of State, and deposited for exhibition, duly protected from injury, and carefully guarded, in the Castle of Edinburgh, where they are now to be seen.

M. A. ROSE.

THE CROFTERS.—At a meeting of about 2500 people, held in Edinburgh, on the 7th of February, Mr Duncan Maclaren, ex-M.P., in the chair, the following resolutions were carried unanimously :—

Moved by the Rev. Dr BEGG, seconded by Mr D. H. MACFARLANE, M.P., and supported by Mr MILLAR of Scrabster—

I. That this meeting views with alarm the present condition of the Highlands of Scotland, and calls upon Government to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the alleged grievances of the peasantry, and the extensive depopulation of fertile districts for purposes of sport.

Moved by Principal RAINY, seconded by Dr CARMENT, and supported by Dean of Guild MACKENZIE, Inverness –

II. That this meeting desires to impress on Government the urgent need existing for such reforms as the following, viz. :—Security to the crofters against capricious eviction and rack-renting ; compensation for all value their industry may add to the soil, and inducement to extend their holdings by the reclamation of waste lands ; as also the utilisation for productive purposes of the vast tracts of country at present under deer.

Moved by Professor BLACKIE—

III. That this Meeting, recognising the necessity at this juncture for united action on the part of all friends of the Highlands, heartily endorses the objects of the Edinburgh Highland Land Law Reform Association as follows, viz :—(1.) To obtain for the Highland peasantry legislative security against capricious eviction and rack-renting, and to promote the amelioration of their condition generally. (2.) To collect information regarding the present extensive occupation of the Highlands by Deer Forests, and to agitate for a mitigation of this evil, and against further depopulation of productive districts for such purposes. (3.) To provide a basis for combined action in favour of such changes in the land laws as may be necessary to secure the foregoing objects—and recommends the formation of similar Associations throughout the country.

A SPRAY OF WHITE HEATHER.*

I lovingly greet thee, sweet spray of white heather!
With a heartfelt emotion I would not conceal,
Thou com'st from a friend true in shade and bright weather,
Who in kindness is warm as in friendship she's leal.

Good fortune and luck aye attend me together,
Is the wish you convey from the donor to me,
Charmed emblem of both! bonnie spray of white heather,
From the land of my fathers far over the sea.

Fair token, thou'rt chaste as the heart of the sender,
Bringing fond recollections of life's early day,
Of kin, friends, and country, and ties the most tender,
Ere from kin, friends, and country I wandered away.

Good fortune and luck aye attend me together,
Is the wish you convey from the donor to me,
Charmed emblem of both! bonnie spray of white heather,
From the land of my fathers far over the sea.

I never may see, pretty spray of white heather,
Caledonia's loved glens and her mountains so grand;
I may ne'er again with the dear ones foregather,
But my blessings on them and my dear native land!

Good fortune and luck aye attend me together,
Is the wish you convey from the donor to me,
Charmed emblem of both! bonnie spray of white heather,
From the land of my fathers far over the sea.

Thou gift of a friend! I will treasure thee dearly
Till my journey shall end in that long peaceful rest;
When some loving hand mine had oft pressed sincerely
May with tenderness place thee, sweet spray, on my breast!

Good fortune and luck aye attend me together,
Is the wish you convey from the donor to me,
Charmed emblem of both! bonnie spray of white heather,
From the land of my fathers far over the sea.

New York, September 1882. DUNCAN MACGREGOR CRERAR.

* Written on receiving a beautiful spray of heather from Mrs William Black, wife of the eminent novelist, and to whom the verses are inscribed with the esteem and gratitude of the author.

CELTIC DYES.

To give an account of the various ways in which the ancient Celts procured the dyes for their cloths and tartans, is necessarily, owing to the very scanty knowledge we have, a matter of extreme difficulty, but the following notes may prove interesting to the reader :—

YELLOW.—The bark of the crab-apple, and the leaves of the common birch-tree, both yielded a yellow dye, but the quality of that extracted from the latter tree was far surpassed by that of the dwarf birch. A decoction of the spotted arssmart with alum, or fir-club moss, which was the substitute for alum, the plant called bird's-foot trefoil, the green tops and flowers of heather, and the meadow saffron, were all used to dye different shades of yellow. St John's wort and alum, or club-moss, also produced a fine yellow, which was much used.

PURPLE.—This colour was obtained from the bilberry or blaeberry, and also from the crowberry boiled with alum or club-moss. The lichen called cudbear, or crotal geal, was extensively used for dying purple. The process of extracting the dye is thus described by Mr Cameron in his valuable work on *The Gaelic Names of Plants*:—"It (the lichen) is first dried in the sun, then pulverised and steeped, commonly in urine, and the vessel made air-tight. In this state it is suffered to remain for three weeks, when it is fit to be boiled in the yarn which it is to colour." The writer then proceeds—"In many Highland districts many of the peasants get their living by scraping off this lichen with an iron hoop, and sending it to the Glasgow market." In reviewing the above work, the *Northern Chronicle* says:—"Mr Cameron is mistaken in supposing that Highland peasants yet get their living by gathering the 'crotal corcur,' and sending it to the Glasgow market. The peace of 1815 put an end to that industry. The 'crotal' grows undisturbed on mountain stones, and the very scrapers, which were a generation ago to be found in most houses in the Highlands, have to some become puzzling curiosities." This crotal geal or corcur is, however, gathered and

extensively used to this day for dying the far-famed Gairloch hose, and any old Highland woman will tell you that the wearers of hose dyed with a decoction of this lichen are singularly exempted from having their feet inflamed or blistered with walking long distances.

RED OR SCARLET.—According to Logan, scarlet was extracted from the grain of a kind of bramble, called by the Celts, *us;* also from the hyacinth and the rue. The root of a plant, called the yellow bedstraw, also furnished a red dye. Lightfoot says:—"The Highlanders use the roots to dye red colour. Their manner of doing so is this:—The bark is stripped of the roots, in which bark the virtue principally lies. They then boil the roots thus stripped in water, to extract what little virtue remains in them, and after taking them out, they last of all put the bark into the liquor, and boil that and the yarn they intend to dye together, adding alum to fix the colour." A red colour was also obtained from the bark of the black thorn.

BLACK.—In almost all the black dyes, copperas was an essential constituent; thus, by boiling the bark of the alder with copperas, a magnificent black dye was the result; and by boiling the bark of the briar, and also that of the oak, with the same substance, black was produced. A deep black was extracted from the bark of the common willow.

BLUE.—This colour was generally obtained from woad. In reference to this plant, Mr Cameron writes as follows:—"The ancient Celts used to stain their bodies with a preparation from this plant. Its pale-blue hue was supposed to enhance their beauty, according to the fashion of the time." When woad was not obtainable, elecampane boiled with whortle-berries served the same purpose, and produced a bright blue colour.

CRIMSON was obtained from the hyacinth, the whortle-berry, and the corcur, or crotil geal (Logan).

BROWN was extracted from elder-berries, oak, white willow, and the crotal, a sort of lichen. H.

A number of the Glasgow business friends of Thomas Mackenzie, Esq., J.P. and merchant, Lochinver, presented him, on the occasion of his recent marriage, with a token of their high esteem and respect for him in the shape of silver plate.—*Daily Mail, Jany. 22, 1883.*

THE ETHICS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

II.

What is Land?

In every scientific inquiry the first prerequisite is to give a correct definition of the thing treated of, or, in other words, to predicate some attribute or quality which it implies. In this way land is defined by some political economists as a "natural monopoly," and now popularly spoken of as a monopoly. Those who are opposed to private property in land think it, no doubt, a good thing to have laid hold upon a bad name so as to stigmatise that of which they disapprove. This is a trick which is neither new nor far-sighted ; for assuredly, sooner or later, Truth, although obscured and retarded, will in the end assert her claim to recognition and consent.

Let us not be carried away by the mere sound of words, but carefully consider and realise what the words mean. A monopoly is the exclusion of competition. It has reference to some article of commerce, or to some trade, such, for instance, as the trade of the East Indies under the old East India Company. It must be subject to one will, or to the mutual consent, or common concurrence, of a body of individuals, and cannot be maintained in trade unless protected and enforced by the exercise of sovereign authority. The trade of India was started by two companies—the Scotch and English—each holding a royal charter of monopoly ; but, as is well known, competitions arose between them, and they found it necessary to amalgamate in order to establish a close monopoly. A monopoly cannot be maintained except by the power of some supreme authority. It is therefore a matter of human invention and political action. But land, or the rude materials of the earth, is not the produce of labour. To say that land is a *natural* monopoly is a contradiction in terms, and, therefore, an absurdity. Who is the monopoliser? It would be quite improper to say that the Author of nature is; for the object of monopoly is profit, and all His gifts are gratuitous.

In actual fact we find that competition does exist in land, whether held in freehold or leased out on hire, and those who decry private property in land give a decided advantage to their opponents in argument by maintaining a definition which is false and absurd. Indeed, so inconsistent are they that, in advocating a transfer of the land of the country to Government, they in fact advocate a Government monopoly, which is, however, a very intelligible and possibly beneficial monopoly.

It was Ricardo, the author of so much confusion in political economy, who introduced the term ; and Stuart Mill, the god of the Socialists, by way of improving upon the false definition, qualified it by predicating of it that it was a "natural monopoly," and thereby made confusion worse confounded.

Mr Isaac L. Rice, in the *North American Review* for June last, writes as follows on this point :—

> Ricardo, conscious of the error of designating landed property as a monopoly, terms this property a partial monopoly. But the phrase partial monopoly is a contradiction in terms. The word monopoly carries within itself the meaning that the entire species of property to which it is applied is controlled by a single will. The moment that one has only a partial control of a certain kind of property, there is no longer a monopoly. To say that a man who owns an acre of ground has a partial monopoly of all the evil of the country, is as barren of meaning as it is to say that a man who owns a coat has a partial monopoly of all the coats.

I am disposed to think that shallow theorists may have been led astray by an expression made use of by Adam Smith, who, in writing of the rent of land, said :—"The rent of land, therefore, considered as the price paid for the use of land, is *naturally* a monopoly price." But the reader will at once perceive that saying the rent of land is in the nature of a monopoly price is very different to saying that land itself is a natural monopoly. The philosophic mind of Adam Smith could not conceive such an absurdity.

After exposing this definition to the ridicule I have quoted, Mr Rice proceeds to define land as property. Does this remove our difficulty? By no means, for the question arises, What is property? I may further direct the mind of the reader to the expression which is so often misapplied, viz.:—"The sacred rights of property." As a matter of convenience, lawyers divide property into two classes—real and personal ; but this is not a scientific definition. Property is a belonging, and by natural

instinct man in his rude state does not recognise any property as sacred except what has been appropriated by labour. The English language makes this broad distinction, for all unenclosed land is termed "common," as opposed to "sacred." Until lately hares and rabbits were "sacred" to landlords, but by natural instinct the casual killing of them with a stick or a stone was not regarded as a crime. Then, whatever is the produce of labour is a belonging, and whether in land or in moveable property is regarded as sacred to him who bestowed the labour, or paid the wages of labour to the labourer. Hence, it should follow, that property in land upon which no labour has been bestowed, is, by natural instinct, and by the English language, common property.

As to legal phraseology, is my ship not as much a property as my land and houses? Does the term property, or real property, predicate an attribute of land which is distinctive and descriptive of it, apart from other property? If not, we cannot accept it as a correct definition.

It will be admitted by everyone that the produce of labour is property. But land is not the produce of labour, but the gratuitous gift of God. Therefore, it is not property in the sense of the word which renders property sacred.

Then the question remains, What can we predicate as an attribute of land which may be accepted by all the world as a correct definition? That land is a natural agent no one can deny, and all natural agents have one attribute in common—that of possessing power. All natural agents are powers. Land is a natural agent. Therefore, *land is power.* To put the syllogism in a negative form: all natural agents are not monopolies, nor property. Land is a natural agent; therefore land is neither monopoly nor property. The reader will probably say, "You prove too much." No, indeed, I do not. I am perfectly consistent with my belief and principles. Labour is the only thing which has exchange value. The labour which has been incorporated with the soil is the only property which is sacred. The attributes of land, as power, are as gratuitous as the water that turns the mill-wheel, and the wind that fills the sail.

Seeing that I have exposed, as I hope with some degree of success, the fallacy and danger to truth of applying commercial terms as descriptive of land, our difficulty lies with the limited

range of our ideas and narrow capability of language to find one descriptive term for that which has no analogy within the cognisance of our conception. I think, however, that it is sufficient for all practical discourse to define land as *the originating and sustaining Power of Life.* Land is, therefore, not natural monopoly, but natural power.

No doubt the term power is one which covers a wide field, and is often loosely used and misapplied. Without entering into the metaphysical subject of discussing it, and as to how we form our idea regarding it, it is sufficient to define it both in its moral and physical sense as *that which sets in motion.* To say, then, that land is power is what no one can controvert, because (1) it sets life in motion and sustains it; (2) it is dominion, which conveys the notion of and implies power; and (3) its products set commerce in motion, which is the subject of economics. Further, monopoly, as we have seen, is indivisible, whilst power has the attribute of divisibility; and when I come to treat of Law I shall have occasion to refer to the piecemeal alienation and piecemeal aggregation law of Prussia, which, in its conception and application by the great Stein, was founded on the fundamental principles of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and on the ethics of Emmanuel Kant, whose leading idea of an ethic law was its universality—"Let your law be so founded in principles of justice as to be capable of universal application."

Land, as a natural agent, is not only immediate power, as, if I may so speak, the matrix upon which the other natural agents act, but is the expression of the will of a higher power (who set the worlds in motion) towards man, His rational creature, and greatest work of His hand. This is recognised by all the churches in observing a Thanksgiving-day for the harvest. How could the churches offer prayers and thanksgiving for the success of a monopoly! What is nature? What is man? What is God? These are questions which carry us to the Inner Temple of the soul, the consideration of which transcend, but ought to govern, ethics and economics alike.—

> The earth belongs unto the Lord,
> And all that it contains,
> The world that is inhabited,
> And all that there remains.

I am no Socialist in any bad sense of the term, but a British Constitutionalist. The land of every country belongs to the people of that country as a whole. The Crown is lord paramount of the soil, and, as such, the vicegerent of God the owner. Individual owners are mere occupiers. The position of British landlords is one of usurpation and appropriation of what does not belong to them, by exercising a taxing power, in their own right, which ought to appertain to the State alone.

The consideration of this subject naturally falls under the question—

What is Value?

No clear understanding can be obtained with regard to the nature and equities of rent without first guarding the reader against a misuse of the word value. Incalculable mischief arises from the misuse and misapplication of words, especially when the subject treated of partakes of the nature of abstract ideas in the province of science and philosophy. In connection with the study of the business of life no word has been more discussed and tortured. In its general meaning, and when loosely used, no great harm can arise, but its double meaning in political economy produces an illusion, and marks, as it were, a fugitive idea or notion which plays tricks with the imagination, and, like a phantom, eludes the grasp of the wondering enquirer.

On the very threshold of his enquiry Adam Smith cautioned the reader against this illusion, and as to the use of words generally he speaks as follows in one of his philosophical essays :—

> A notion, as long as it is expressed in very general language, as long as it is not much rested upon, nor attempted to be very particularly and distinctly explained, passes easily enough through the indolent imagination accustomed to substitute words in the room of ideas.

Being aware of this, he cautioned the reader—and it was all the more necessary for him to do so, seeing that the groundwork of his system was to place value in human labour—as against the French economist, Quesnay, whose theory was then in vogue, and which proceeded on the idea that land was the source of wealth. Of course land is the source of life and of all things. Land and labour are the two necessities—the one gratuitous, the other onerous.

But as to the word value: J. R. Macculloch very well ex-

presses the difference between the two notions which are conveyed by it when applied to material objects :—

> The word value has been very frequently employed to express, not only the exchangeable worth of a commodity, or its capacity of exchanging for other commodities, but also its utility or capacity of satisfying our wants, and of contributing to our comforts and enjoyments. But it is obvious that the utility of commodities—that the capacity of bread, for instance, to appease hunger, or of water to quench thirst—is a totally different and distinct quality from their capacity of exchanging for other commodities. Dr Smith perceived this difference, and showed the importance of carefully distinguishing between the utility, or, as he expressed it, the "*value in use*" of commodities and their value in exchange. But he did not always keep this distinction in view, and it has very often been lost sight of by subsequent writers. There can be no doubt, indeed, that the confounding together of these opposite qualities has been one of the principal causes of confusion and obscurity in which many branches of the science, not in themselves difficult, are still involved. When, for instance, we say that water is highly valuable, we unquestionably attach a very different meaning to the phrase from what we attach to it when we say that gold is valuable.

Here, the uninitiated reader will naturally ask—"But why is there so much importance attached to this distinction?". The logic of justice is a terrible weapon to evil-doers when carried to its ultimate conclusion. The injustice may be felt, but a flaw in the logic may, and very often does, amount to the escape of the culprit. If labour is the foundation and measure of all real exchange value, hence it should follow that all natural agents and products have no value in exchange, except what is imparted to them, or incorporated with them in human labour. But without giving any labour or service of his own, the landlord makes a charge in rent for that which has no value. He clearly gets something for nothing. Then the landlord, as such, must be a very uneconomic factor in the composition of values.

Although it is in connection with rent that the fundamental theory or law of value possesses its greatest, if not, indeed, all its practical importance, there are other phases of the discussion which seem to have landed the utilitarians, or those who place value in materiality, in a fog. For instance, Stuart Mill is of this number. Strangely enough, he postpones the discussion of the subject until he comes to consider of exchanges, after first treating of landed property and rent, as if the fundamental law of value were of secondary consideration, instead of being the very *essence* of the question ; and Mr Fawcet, in his very excellent "Manual of Political Economy," follows the same arrangement

of his subject. These writers explain the phenomena of value, and call them laws of value, as, for instance, placing value in demand and supply. This is the same as if we were to say that the law of gravitation consisted in the perturbations in the orbits of the planets instead of illustrating and proving the law of gravitation by the phenomena of perturbations.

Another phase of the question is the contemplation of a general rise or fall in values. The suggestion of such a question indicates, as Adam Smith says, "an indolent imagination," for it is in the remuneration of labour that a change must take place before any change can take place in value. It is in the abundance or scarcity of nature that the rewards of labour consist; and money, the adopted standard, being a product of nature, its value consists, like every other value in exchange, not in any virtue inherent in it, but in the labour of the digger. Stuart Mill speaks of *price* as not being the same as value, but he uses the word value where he should use the word price, a mistake which Adam Smith never makes. Price is merely numbers expressing the equivalent demanded for the commodity, in whatever denomination it may happen to consist. In comparing values, it is money that has to be considered as a medium of exchange, standard, and equivalent. The abundance or scarcity in rewarding the common labourer regulates the amount of labour bestowed upon that industry, so that it finally resolves itself into labour for labour, at the average rewards of labour of ordinary workmen, just the same as one man may exchange a boll of meal with another man for a cran of herrings—the labour of the peasant for the labour of the fisherman. So the labour of the digger, with all other labours. Everything is measured by the labour of the common man. It will be a very interesting question for us to consider, later, how the products of nature are placed there, in proportion to the wants and necessities of men. It is sufficient to remark here that this is a line of thought which the school of "indolent imagination" was not in the habit of pursuing.

The school represented by Malthus, Ricardo, and the Mills, has dominated political economy, and practically superseded and perverted Adam Smith's great work by placing value in utility, and thereby rendered the science unintelligible, because illogical. Stuart Mill, who is now regarded as the greatest

authority on the subject, consistently enough with his utility theory, always speaks of value as relative.

Now, in practical experience, we know that the value of labour is brought to a standard, and is therefore comparative. It is the "use" of things which is relative to our wants and desires, and relative to one another in regard to the degree in which they satisfy these. But, to show that Stuart Mill was landed in a fog, it is only necessary to compare his confidence with his own admitted failure, and then the reader may estimate the *relative* values of the "Wealth of Nations," and John Stuart Mill's "Principles of Political Economy".—

"Happily," says he, "there is nothing in the laws of value which remains for the present or any future writer to clear up; the theory of the subject is complete; the only difficulty to be overcome is that of so stating it as to solve by anticipation the chief perplexities which occur in applying it: and to do this, some minuteness of exposition, and considerable demands on the patience of the reader, are unavoidable. He will be amply repaid, however (if a stranger to these inquiries), by the ease and rapidity with which a thorough understanding of this subject will enable him to fathom most of the remaining questions of political economy."

To any one who has read the "Wealth of Nations," or even left the precincts of the nursery, this must seem more like the speech of a showman or a clairvoyant than an appropriate introduction to a practical subject. I do not wish to tax the patience of the reader by making him wade through the deeps and shallows of sophistries and "perplexities," but simply invite him to compare this confident tone with the result. In a summary of these expositions the following wonderful admissions of failure are made :—

We have now attained a favourable point for looking back, and taking a simultaneous view of the space which we have traversed since the commencement of this book. The following are the principles of the theory of value, *so far as we have yet ascertained them.*

The closing sentence to this summary is to the same effect.—

The further adaptation of the theory of value to the varieties of existing or possible industrial systems *may be left with great advantage to the intelligent reader.* It is well said by Montesquieu, "It is not always advisable so completely to exhaust a subject, as to leave nothing to be done by the reader. The important thing is *not to be read*, but to excite the reader to thought."

Strange performance for an unread book!

In case it may be thought that these criticisms proceed from some acerbity of disposition, or from some vain passion for dis-

play, instead of from an honest desire to arrive at a correct conception of truth, I must delay the reader for a little longer in order to point out how a *wordy* dialectician got entangled in the meshes of a network of false theories and inappropriate terms.

Of this I am certain, that there is *a law* of value, as certain as the law of gravitation, by which to demonstrate all the phenomena of economic life.

The word value is the key-note of political economy, from which to produce the full diapason of sweet sounds, but Stuart Mill has been playing dissonance, inasmuch as he tried to discourse sweet music by simultaneously thrumming on different scales.

Let the reader reflect on the absurdity of supposing different laws of gravitation in one system, and then he will be able to realise the ignorance and confusion displayed in contemplating different laws of value. Like the attempt of the ancients to understand astronomy on the theory of cycles and epicycles, it is so with intelligent readers to understand the political economy of the school of indolent imagination, as demonstrated by Stuart Mill. To illustrate this idea further, let us suppose labour, *in a state of freedom and liberty*, to be embodied, and moving in its orbit like, say, Jupiter. Demand and supply acts upon it, as does the attraction of interior and exterior planets upon Jupiter, which accounts for the phenomena of perturbations, as demand and supply do for the rise and fall of *prices*.

But the generic idea of value appertains to a mental perception or law of human thought as to justice and fair dealing, which is primary and fundamental, and thereby giving it the unity and character of law.

Now, every one must know that it is abundance or scarcity that regulates the *price* of commodities. It is nature that rewards, and the fruits of earth and sea are her gratuitous gifts. The extent to which she responds to human labour regulates the rewards of primary labour, which sets all labour in motion. Hence, it should follow that the greater the abundance wrested from nature, the greater will be the wealth and comfort of all. For instance, the price of corn depends upon the abundance or scarcity of the harvest. It is so also with regard to the herring fishing, the cotton crop, the supply of wool and hides, fruit and hops, iron ore and coal, gold and silver, diamonds and rubies,

and so on. The prosecution of these industries, and of all other industries, depends upon finding *an outlet*, and thus we find the eagerness with which producers search for new markets for their commodities. But, by an inversion, Stuart Mill says that demand *precedes* and creates supply. This gives a poor account of the enterprise of the British merchant. He also confounds the action of demand and supply with that of abundance and scarcity. Not to burden the sequence of my argument, I shall give only one example.—

"The supply of a commodity," he says, "is an intelligible expression: it means the quantity offered for sale; the quantity that is to be had at a given time and place by those who wish to purchase it. But what is meant by the demand? Not the mere desire for a commodity. A beggar may desire a diamond; but this desire, however great, will have no influence on the price. Writers have therefore given a more limited sense to demand; and have defined it, the wish to possess, combined with the power of purchasing. To distinguish demand in this technical sense from the demand which is synonymous with desire, they call the former *effectual* demand. [Readers who have read Pascal's Provincial Letters will be reminded by this of the casuistry as to effectual and proximate grace.] After this explanation, it is usually supposed that there remains no further difficulty, and that the value [*price*] depends upon the rates between the effectual demand, as thus defined, and the supply.

"These phrases, however, fail to satisfy anyone who requires clear ideas and a perfectly precise impression of them. Some confusion must always attach to a phrase so inappropriate as that of a ratio between two things not of the same denomination. What ratio can there be between a quantity and a desire, or even a desire combined with power? A ratio between demand and supply is only intelligible if by demand we mean the quantity demanded, and if the ratio intended is that between the quantity demanded and the quantity supplied. But again, the quantity demanded is not a fixed quantity, even at the same time and place; it varies according to the value [price]; if the thing is cheap, there is usually a demand for more of it than when it is dear. The demand, therefore, partly depends upon the value [price]. But it was before laid down that the value depends on the demand. From this contradiction how can we extricate ourselves? How solve the paradox of two things, each depending on the other?"

How indeed? I could not imagine that anyone who had read the "Wealth of Nations" should have so completely misunderstood the nature of the question which is here so apparently mystified in a cloud of words. A ratio can be established between abundance and scarcity, which are of the very essence of the question, whereas demand and supply is merely a *local* feature in a fall and rise of prices.*

* When the quantity is proportioned to the requirements of the market it is *the mean* or natural state. Then the just and natural value may be said to agree with the price.

The following classification may help the reader to a better understanding of this complex word in its various applications:—

(1.) GRATUITOUS VALUE.—Natural agents, utility of things in use, such as seaweed and shell-fish picked up on the sea-shore. Also, in an abstract sense, the value of friendship and friendly advice.

(2.) ONEROUS VALUE.—Labour bestowed on land and sea in production, and on adapting materials for the use of man; the labour and services of men in their distribution by sea and land, roads, rivers, and canals, and all other methods of exchange. Also all services of men to one another in the civil and moral government of society and protection of the State—literary and professional men, &c.

(3.) FANCY VALUE.—This is of an aesthetic kind, which is not governed or estimated by the laws of trade, and the price paid, although estimated in money, is not in any proportion to cost of production or the utility of the article. These are works of art, articles of vertu, things sought after for their rarity and beauty. The services of musicians, actors, showmen, and such like, who administer to our amusement.*

Although reluctant to interrupt my own argument, I must give one more specimen of the confusion and trifling which mark the treatment of this important subject by a professional writer who foisted himself into ephemeral fame by attacks on Scotch philosophy, and who passes as the greatest authority on the science of wealth and government of society. The authority cited by Stuart Mill is De Quincey, and from the highly imaginary example of the *law* of demand and supply, I am disposed to think De Quincey must have been under the influence of opium, for it does greater credit to his imagination than to his sagacity, and indicates the same amount of ignorance regarding the practical business of life as characterises the whole treatment of the law of value by Stuart Mill, who says.—

As was pointed out in the last chapter, the utility of a thing in the estimation of a purchaser is the extreme limit of its exchange value: higher the value cannot ascend; peculiar circumstances are required to raise it so high. This topic is happily

* It will be observed the landlord *qua* landlord can find no place in these categories.

illustrated by Mr De Quincey:—"Walk into almost any possible shop, buy the first article you see: What will determine its price? In the ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, simply the element D—difficulty of attainment. The other element U, or intrinsic utility, will be perfectly inoperative. Let the thing (measured by its uses) be, for your purposes, worth ten guineas, so that you would rather give ten guineas than lose it; yet, if the difficulty of producing it be only worth one guinea, one guinea is the price which it will bear. But still not the less, though U is inoperative, can U be supposed absent? By no possibility; for, if it had been absent, assuredly you would not have bought the article even at the lowest price. U acts upon you, though it does not act upon the price. On the other hand, in the hundredth case, we will suppose the circumstances reversed: you are on Lake Superior in a steamboat, making your way to an unsettled region, 800 miles ahead of civilisation, and consciously with no chance at all of purchasing any luxury whatsoever, little luxury or big luxury, for the space of ten years to come. One fellow-passenger, whom you will part with before sunset, has a powerful *musical snuff-box*. Knowing by experience the power of such a toy over your own feelings, the magic with which at times it lulls your agitation of mind, you are vehemently desirous to purchase it. In the hour of leaving London you had forgot to do so; here is a final chance. But the owner, aware of your situation not less than yourself, is determined to operate by a strain pushed to the very uttermost upon U, upon the intrinsic worth of the article in your individual estimate for your individual purposes. He will not hear of D as any controlling power or mitigating agency in the case; and, finally, although at six guineas a-piece in London or Paris you might have loaded a waggon with such boxes, you pay sixty rather than lose it, when the last knell of the clock has sounded, which summons you to buy now or to forfeit for ever. Here, as before, only one element is operative: before it was D, now it is U. But, after all, D was not absent, though inoperative. The inertness of D allowed U to put forth its total effect. The practical compression of D being withdrawn, U springs up, like water in a pump when released from the pressure of air. Yet still that D was present to your thoughts, though the price was otherwise regulated, is evident; both because U and D must co-exist in order to found any case of exchange value whatever, and because undeniably you take into very particular consideration this D, the extreme difficulty of attainment (which here is the greatest possible, viz., an impossibility) before you consent to have the price reached up to U. The special D has vanished; but it is replaced in your thoughts by an unlimited D. Undoubtedly you have submitted to U in extremity as the regulating force of the price; but it was under a sense of D's latent presence. Yet D is so far from exerting any positive force, that the retirement of D from all agency whatever on the price—this it is which creates, as it were, a perfect vacuum, and through that vacuum U rushes up to its highest and ultimate gradation." On this jargon Stuart Mill begins to comment thus:—"This case, in which the *value* is wholly regulated by the necessities or desires of the purchaser, is the case of strict and absolute monopoly."

If Stuart Mill had ever given signs of possessing any humour, or any sense of the ludicrous, one might suppose that he meant the above as a burlesque upon a subject which he regarded as too trivial for the serious consideration of a philosopher; but from his well-known character we can hardly suppose that to have been his object. We must therefore conclude, as indeed we

have already seen, that he was utterly unable to explain the phenomena of value on his utilitarian theories.

But let me briefly explain the action of demand and supply. It must be borne in mind that Adam Smith was contemplating the commerce of the world and elucidating its movements and laws from a fundamental proposition. Now, it must be clear to every one that, if that proposition is controverted or superseded, another system must take its place if it deserve the name of science; and, in speaking of political economy, it would be well to ask those who profess to have any belief in it, or attach importance to it, Which political economy—that of the Scotch Idealists, or that of the English Materialists? But to proceed. Now, we know that a great part of the capital of every country is invested in a stock of commodities, and Adam Smith always refers to this as capital stock; but *the school* have dropped the term, and we now hear of nothing but capital. We know, further, that the markets of the world, and even retail shops, are supplied with stock which is very often equal to six months' consumption or supply. The supply is therefore always in advance of the demand, but buyers, as we know, watch the abundance or scarcity in production with the keenest interest. For instance, let us take the Liverpool cotton market. The reports of the American Agricultural Bureau are looked for with greater interest than the Queen's speech. Every fluctuation in the arrivals at the American ports is carefully, what is called, discounted, and, at the same time, the arrivals and deliveries at Liverpool are daily and hourly reported; the brokers' ears are sharper than those of an eavesdropper, and their eyes than needles —a piercing look of intelligence darts from every corner, and scans the expression of every face in the Exchange. Bargains are going on and sales effected, the price oscillating by, what Adam Smith calls, the *higgling* of the market. Under these processes prices rise above and fall below the line of natural value, like (as I have already said) the perturbations of a planet in its orbit. This is the case with every market in the world. I, then, ask every reader if it requires the illustration of a musical snuff-box on Lake Superior to make him understand it?

Now, let me set before the reader the fundamental law laid down in the "Wealth of Nations," and the terms of the inquiry

which the great author set himself to investigate, and which, let it be observed, are expressed with that precision, simplicity, and clearness of thought which can hardly be surpassed :—

I. What is the real measure of this exchangeable value; or, wherein consists the real price of all commodities?

II. What are the different parts of which this real price is composed or made up?

III. And what are the different circumstances which sometimes raise some or all of these different parts of price above, and sometimes sink them below, their natural or ordinary rate; or, what are the causes which sometimes hinder the market price of commodities from coinciding exactly with what may be called their natural price?

In answer to this essential and primary proposition, as well as in order to illustrate and prove from the greatest authority the validity of my own observations, let me give a few extracts :—

"Labour, therefore, is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities."

. . . . . .

"Labour alone, therefore, never varying in its own value, is alone the ultimate and real standard by which the value of all commodities can at all times and places be estimated and *compared*. It is their real price; money is their nominal price only."

. . . . . .

"Labour, therefore, it appears, evidently is the only universal, as well as the only accurate, measure of value, or the only standard by which we can *compare* the values of different commodities at all times and at all places."

Now, need the reader wonder that the so-called political economy of the utilitarian school should have become unintelligible as a science of logical deductions.

But there is still another conception of the mind as to value, which carries it into the sphere of ethics designated in the Ethics of Aristotle, namely, Distributive Justice. He writes :—

It follows, therefore, that the just must imply four terms at least; for the persons to whom the just relates are two, and the things that are the subjects of the actions are two. And there will be the same equality between the persons and between the things; for as the things are to one another, so are the persons, for if the persons are unequal, they will not have equal things.

But hence all disputes arise when equal persons have unequal things, or unequal persons have, and have assigned to them, equal things. Again, this is clear from the expression "according to worth" (value), for, in the distribution, all agree that justice ought to be according to some standard of worth. . . . Justice is, therefore, something proportionate; for proportion is the property not of arithmetical numbers only, but of number universally; for proportion is an equality of ratio, and implies four terms at least. Now, it is clear that disjunctive proportion implies four terms; but continuous proportion is in four terms also, for it will use one term in place of two, and mention it twice. For instance, as A to B so is B to C; B has therefore been

mentioned twice. So that if B be put down twice, the terms of the proportion are four. Moreover, the just also implies four terms at least, the ratio is the same, for the persons and the things are similarly divided. Therefore, as the term A to the term B, so will be the term C to the term D; and therefore, alternately, as A to C so B to D. So that the whole also bears the same proportion to the whole which the distribution puts together in pairs; and if it puts them together in this way, it puts them together justly. The conjunction, therefore, of A and C and of B and D is the just in the distribution; and this just is a mean, that is, a mean between those things which are contrary to proportion; for the proportionate is a mean, and the just is proportionate.

As already said, some economists were engaged upon the idea of a general rise or a general fall in all values. Now, the idea is an absurd one, for, regarding value as a mean proportional, no change can take place in it until a change takes place in either of the extremes; and we find this to be the case in actual experience with regard to labour and money, the standard of value. If we apply the "continuous proportion," the formula would read thus: As the produce of labour is to value, so is value to money, which is also the produce of labour. It should, therefore, appear that value consists in labour, and that its rewards depend upon the amount of exertion and rewards from the products and bounties of nature.

Then, with regard to "disjunctive proportion," he says that there are two persons and two things, and as the two persons are unequal, they cannot have equal things. Each ought to have according to his worth or merit. In commerce, for instance, there are only two persons and two things: the employer and labourer, or employed; capital and labour; the rewards are profits and wages. We can, therefore, say according to the formula: As wages are to profits, so is the labourer to the employer; or, as labour is to capital, so is the labourer to the capitalist. I may safely leave it to the intelligent reader to work out by examples such practical applications of the proportionals, by alternating and compounding them, as his own experience may suggest to him.

To large employers of labour the practical working out of this formula might be very useful in obviating disputes and strikes, if they could first condescend or agree upon the proportion between labour and capital, wages and profit.

But it will be seen that, in a dual system of agriculture, there are three persons—the landlord, the farmer, and the labourer—

and only two things; land and labour. Therefore, the landlord, *as such*, cannot come within the equation of justice.

Having so far quoted the world-famed philosopher, it is most appropriate to these pages, and to my subject, that I should call attention to the *estimation* in which he held the Highlanders. In treating of the mean of virtue, he remarks with regard to bravery as follows :—

But those who are in the extreme of excess there are two kinds, one who is excessive in fearlessness, who is not named (and we have often stated that many of these extremes are not named); but he (if, as is said of the Celts, he fears nothing, neither earthquake nor waves) may be called mad or insensate.

Ah me! he fears the landlord and factors, but not the earthquakes and waves!

Guernsey. MALCOLM MACKENZIE.

(To be continued.)

PROFESSOR BLACKIE AND THE SUTHERLAND CLEARANCES.—The following Letter to the Editor appeared in the *Scotsman* of February the 17th:—"9 Douglas Crescent, Edinburgh, February 10, 1883.—Sir,—I have received letters from persons whose opinion I respect, complaining of my use of the term 'infamous,' in connection with the well-known evictions in Strathnaver which took place at the beginning of the present century. I am perfectly willing to recall that term, and to say that these clearances were 'harsh and inhuman.' That is all that I ever said in my printed work, and all that I cared to say about them. I may say, however, also, that, in my opinion, they were unwise and impolitic in the highest degree; and the only excuse for them is, that they were perpetrated under the operation of land laws which gave, and still give, to the lords of the soil and their agents and underlings, what in practice amounts to an absolute power over the native population of the glens. Those who wish to study in detail the sad history of Highland depopulations under the influence of unjust land laws, commercial greed, and administrative neglect, should read 'The History of Highland Clearances,' recently published by A. Mackenzie (of the *Celtic Magazine*), Inverness. I have been also requested to state where the passage from Sismondi occurs, quoted by me in my address at the crofters' meeting. The passage runs thus:—'If the lords of the soil in the Highlands once begin to think they have no need of the people, the people may take it into their head some day that they have no need of them,' and will be found in the *Etudes sur l'Economie Politique, par J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi*, Paris, 1837, Vol. I. p. 238.—I am, &c.,

"JOHN STUART BLACKIE."

HISTORY OF THE MATHESONS.—Mr Alexander Mackenzie has compiled a *History and Genealogy of the Mathesons* which gives a very full and interesting account of the fortunes of this important Highland family—more fortunate than some others which have played a part in our past history, in that its decayed fortunes have been superbly restored in the last and present generations. The book includes some valuable incidental information about the condition of the Highlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.—*Scotsman, January 25th, 1883.*

A RUN THROUGH CANADA AND THE STATES.

By Kenneth Macdonald, F.S.A., Scot.

IV.—From Glengarry to Toronto.

American railway travelling has been frequently described. The cars have a platform and steps at each end, where also the doors are. A passage runs along the centre of the car from end to end, and by means of the platforms the traveller can stand in the open air as he journeys, and see the country through which he passes, in a manner and to an extent which would be impossible in our trains, or he can pass from car to car through the whole train, changing his company, or enjoying a quiet weed just when it suits him.

When I left Lancaster I intended to follow the Grand Trunk Line as far as Prescott, a distance of about sixty miles, and there take the St Lawrence and Ottawa Railway for Ottawa, the Capital of the Dominion. I had been informed, however, before leaving Lancaster that the Canadian Pacific Company were working the line from Prescott to the Capital, and that only freight trains were being run over it, and that to get from the Grand Trunk System to Ottawa I should have to go on to Brockville, about thirteen miles beyond Prescott, and there join the Canadian Pacific Railway. The Grand Trunk officials at Lancaster could not or would not give me any information, but referred me to the conductor of the train I was to travel by. Depending upon getting information from this official I had my baggage checked for Prescott from Lancaster. I took the earliest opportunity of interviewing the conductor of the train, but, with many expressions of regret, he declared his inability to give me any information about the line from Prescott. By this time, the weather which had been threatening all the morning declared itself, and the rain came down in torrents. At times it became so heavy as to appear almost like a solid body of water. The prospect of being left at a wayside station on such a day to wait an hour or two for the departure of a train that might possibly not depart at all

was by no means inviting, and I accordingly decided to go right on to Toronto, and leave Ottawa until my return from the West. The difficulty, however, was my baggage. It was checked to Prescott, and unless I looked very sharply after it, it would be landed there and left behind. This was a difficulty I did not attach much importance to, but the baggage-man apparently saw difficulties which I did not, and after first declaring "it could not be done," got rid of me at last by promising to see what could be done when we got to Prescott. This suited me well enough, and when we got to Prescott I was in front of the baggage waggon almost before the train stopped, and by a judicious use of the influences at my disposal, which, although limited, were powerful, the difficulties were overcome, and my baggage re-checked to Toronto.

I had now a journey of over 220 miles before me, with over nine hours to do it in, and I sat down to wait for the inquisitive American so familiar to readers on this side the Atlantic, and so unfamiliar to travellers on the other side—the gentleman who, without introduction, comes up to you on a railway car, and, having settled himself comfortably on the opposite seat and expectorated a mouthful of tobacco-juice over your boots, begins, "Waal, stranger, I guess you're a Britisher! What dew you think of this great country?" and then proceeds to examine you in detail as to your age, parentage, business, and destination. I was simple enough to believe that, if I managed to look innocent and unoccupied, the typical Yankee of the books would develop himself. I tried to look innocent with what success I cannot say, and I certainly was unoccupied, but the fish would not bite, or the sort of Yank I wanted was not about. So I thought at the time. *Now*, after travelling over about six thousand miles of American soil without meeting a single specimen, or seeing any person who had met one, I am inclined to think the species is extinct, if, indeed, it ever existed.

It soon became evident that unless I managed to open a conversation with some person myself I would be left to pursue my journey in silence. This was not at all what I had bargained for, as I had calculated on obtaining a good deal of information from my fellow-travellers while moving from one place to another. True, in making this calculation I had counted on the assistance

of the "inquisitive American" to open the conversation, when, being fairly proficient in asking questions, I meant to turn the tables on him and find out what he knew. But now the American failing me, I had to depend entirely on my own resources. I began to move about from seat to seat and car to car looking and listening for a sign or sound which might indicate where a paying vein of conversation might be struck. By-and-bye, in the last car but one of the train I came on two gentlemen, both apparently men of education, discussing politics. I sat down on the seat opposite them, which happened to be vacant, and as the conversation was carried on in tones loud enough to be audible further away than I was, I had no occasion to disguise the fact that I was listening to what was said. I was not long a mere listener, however. After a short time one of the speakers left the train, and I resolved, if possible, to engage the remaining one in conversation. He was a man of apparently between forty and fifty years of age, of middle size, and with a shrewd but withal a kindly face. A conversation was soon started, and mutual explanations brought out the fact that we were to be travelling companions for several hours, and that my newly-made friend was a Mr Fraser, a dry-goods merchant in Picton, Ontario. Mr Fraser is a Canadian born, but he told me he believed his father came from Scotland, but from what part he did not know. On mentioning Mr Fraser's name afterwards to Mr Hugh Miller, of Toronto, that gentleman stated that he believed Mr Fraser's father had come from about Strathpeffer. Picton, where Mr Fraser is located, is a town situated on the Bay of Quinte, and the business in which that gentleman is interested is one of the largest in the place. From Picton, as from other parts of Ontario, there has been a considerable movement westwards of late years. Young men of energy and ability, after a few years experience behind the counter, fired with a desire to better their position, go westward to Manitoba, or the North-West Territory, and some of them to British Columbia, and there with their slender capital begin in a small way in a new settlement, grow with the place, and in a few years become men of comparatively large means. There have been so many instances of success of this kind that, according to my informant, Ontario is being constantly depleted of its store assist-

ants or clerks, and there is consequently always room for new men. In his own business he told me boys received usually 200 dollars a-year to begin with, and after four or five years service they received 400 a-year, rising afterwards as they increased in experience and usefulness, to 500 and 600 dollars a year. These wages are not particularly high, but they compare favourably with the wages of the same class in this country, in towns of similar size to Picton, which has only about 3000 inhabitants. I did not ascertain what the cost of living, to a man earning these wages, would be, but I learned that experienced milliners were paid as high as 400 dollars a year, and that sewing girls, who might be described as learners, were paid at the rate of four dollars a week, while they could live comfortably on two and a-half dollars. The cost of a single man's board and lodging would, of course, be very much the same, so that in both cases there is a fair margin for saving, even when allowance is made for the increased cost of clothing and other necessaries, over the cost of corresponding articles on this side. Domestic servants are paid eight, ten, and twelve dollars per month—sometimes, but rarely, as low as six dollars—with a constant demand for them. Saving habits seem to be the rule with all classes, although there are many exceptions. Every store clerk aspires to have a store of his own, and most farm labourers aspire to be farmers, but generally when the clerk desires to open a store he moves to a new locality, and a farm servant becoming a farmer has often to do likewise. Of farm servants who have become large and wealthy farmers the number is legion, and of clerks who have become wealthy merchants the number is also large. One instance among many of the latter kind mentioned to me was that of a young man who, after a few years' experience behind the counter, left Picton nine years ago with a few hundred dollars he had saved of his earnings. He settled in a western village which has now become a town, and at the time my informant spoke he had amassed a fortune of 50,000 dollars, and was making from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars a-year. Shrewdness in selecting a locality to settle in counts for a good deal, and luck counts for more. Given these two, men of average ability and industry rapidly amass a competency, and this is especially true of settlers in the new North-West.

Canadian politics are, I believe, as little known by the generality of my countrymen as they were by me when I first set foot on Canadian soil. But politics bulk much more largely in the mind of the average Canadian than they do with the average Scotsman. We are politicians at election time; they are politicians all the time. You can rarely converse with a Canadian for a quarter of an hour, however carefully you may wish to avoid politics, without finding out to which of the political parties in the Dominion he is attached. So with my friend from Picton. He was talking politics when I first saw him, and, although the subject with which we had started led away from politics for a time, we soon returned to them. In fact, the cause of the present material prosperity of Canada is made a political question. I could not have done better than follow my friend into politics. A traveller in Canada hears and reads many things which he cannot understand unless he understands the politics of the country; and during my whole tour I did not meet any person who spoke more intelligently on the principles of the two political parties than this unpretentious dry-goods merchant. The two parties are generally known as Liberals and Conservatives, but the Conservatives prefer the name "Liberal-Conservative," while they call their opponents "Grits," and sometimes the "Grit-Rouge Party." The Conservative Leader is the present Prime Minister of Canada, Sir John A. Macdonald, while the Liberals were, until lately, led by the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, the late Prime Minister. Mr Mackenzie recently resigned the leadership of the party on account of ill-health; but he is still regarded all through the Dominion as the real head of the party whose policy is his, and there can be little doubt that should the Liberals again succeed to power during Mr Mackenzie's lifetime, the man whose sterling native integrity a long political life has failed to touch, and whose praise is in the mouth of every Canadian, political foe as well as friend, (for he has no personal foe), will become again the nominal as well as the real leader and head of the party.

The two questions which occupy the most prominent part in the Canadian political mind at present are the Land Question and the so-called National Policy of the present Government; but there is this difference between the two, that while the latter

interests the whole of Canada more or less from Nova Scotia to British Columbia, the former, for the present, interests chiefly the actual or intending Western settler. My travelling companion did not apparently interest himself very much in the squatter question, or in the policy which guided the Government in its land grants, but he took a very decided and intelligent interest in the question of Protection, the "National Policy" of Sir John A. Macdonald. A Liberal on every other question, he was a Tory and Protectionist on this. For the Leader of the Liberal party (Mr Mackenzie), he expressed the highest admiration, and said that he had been a strong supporter of himself and his party until the question of protecting native industries became a test question in politics. When this occurred he fought with the party against whom he had previously acted, and he apparently was satisfied that in doing so he had done well. It is almost impossible for a person trained in the traditions of Free Trade, as nearly every person in this country is, to accept right-off the statement of any person in any country, that Protection, under certain circumstances, or under any circumstances, is a good thing, and I therefore readily entered the lists in support of *our* National Policy as against the policy bearing the same name in Canada. My object, however, was to obtain information, and I took care to do little more than lead my opponent on in defence of the Canadian system. The present Government in Canada went into office several years ago, pledged to a Protectionist policy, and, after remaining in office some five years, they went to the country again on the same issue, and were again returned to power, so that there can be no doubt what the Canadian mind is on the subject. Whether the Canadian is right or wrong, time only will show; but there is no doubt that at present the country is more prosperous than it was before the present policy was inaugurated. The people are earning more money, and are therefore more contented; the Revenue flourishes, and trade flourishes with it; and while things continue to wear their present rosy hue, no amount of argument, based on abstract theories of political economy, will convince the Canadian that Protection ought to be abandoned for even such a moderate measure of Free Trade as he enjoyed before the advent of Sir John Macdonald's party to power. The examples given by my informant of individual and collective progress under the present

system seemed to satisfy him, if it did not satisfy me, that Protection had saved Canada. It was to be expected that, under a system of Protection, particular individuals interested in protected industries should benefit, but it has usually been contended that they profited at the expense of the consumer, and that the masses suffered that the individual might grow rich. In Canada my friend averred this experience had not been realised. Until the system of Protection was inaugurated, the manufacturer carried on his business at a loss, and the labourer was unable to earn enough to purchase what he required of the commodities which Free Trade enabled him to buy more cheaply than they can be purchased now. A few years ago about 2000 unemployed and starving men robbed the bread carts in Montreal. Last summer the same men, unskilled labourers most if not all of them, not content with the wages they were receiving (25 cents per hour), struck work for 30 cents, or 1s. 3d. per hour. In other departments of labour the result is the same. Work has become abundant, and wages high. While this change has taken place in the earnings of the labourer, my informant averred there had been no material change in the cost of living. Under the old system he maintained that, although certain necessaries might be cheaper than they are at present, the labouring classes were so poor, in consequence of the frequent want of employment, that they were unable to purchase them, while now their increased wages enable them, not only to pay the increased price of necessaries, but to indulge in certain luxuries, and yet save money. Whether all this prosperity is to be attributed to Protection, as against Free Trade, I cannot say. Even in our country of Free Trade, we know something of the fluctuations of commerce. A series of bad years is followed by a series of good ones, and *vice versa*, and if, at the beginning of the new cycle, a change of commercial policy took place, it might get the credit or discredit of a result for which it was not in any way responsible. Whether this has been the case in Canada or not, I do not venture to say. The Canadians are satisfied with their present prosperity, and so long as they are satisfied, no outsider need criticise their system.

K. M'D.

(To be continued.)

ORAN NA H-OIGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

Sir,—I send you a copy of "Oran na h-oige," an unpublished song by John MacCodrum, the Uist Bard. I give it as I took it down from the recitation of Donald Laing, residing at Howmore, in South Uist, a man who was possessed of great stores of Gaelic poetry, both published and unpublished, but was some years ago gathered to his fathers. The accompanying poem seems to have suffered to some extent in the course of oral tradition. Verse 2 contains two lines taken out of Alexander Macdonald's "Oran a Gheamhraidh." Borrowing is difficult to impute to so original a bard as MacCodrum himself, and must have been inserted to supply lines which dropped out of the reciter's memory. Verses 7 and 10 do not convey the poet's meaning with his usual clearness, and must to some extent have suffered also since receiving their original form. The word *deaghad* in verse 7 is in use in Uist, and signifies mode of living, but seems to be a corruption of the English word *diet*. The poem on the whole is well worthy of preservation.—Yours, &c.,

A. M'D.

ORAN NA H-OIGE.

An toiseach nam bhliadhnaichean ur,
Deireadh gheamhraidhean udlaidh nam fras,
'Nuair is anmoiche dh'eireas a ghrian,
'S is lionmhoire shileas an sneachd,
Bi'dh gach leanabh, gach naoidhean bochd maoth,
A' gabhail gu saothair 's gu cnead,
Aig geirid an fhaileidh 's an fhuachd,
Nach faodar an gluasad bho nead.

'N toiseach earraich bi'dh gearran fliuch garbh
Chuireas caluinn gach ainmhidh air ais,
"Thig tein' adhair, thig torunn 'na dheigh,
Thig gaillionn, thig eireadh, nach lag."
Bi'dh gach leanabh, gach naoidhean bochd maoth,
Nach urrainn doibh innse 'de staid.
Gun eirbheirt, gun asdar, gun luth,
Gus an teirig an dubhlachd air fad.

Am mart tioram ri todhar nan crann,
A' sughadh gach allt 'us gach eas;
Gach luibh 'bhios an garadh no 'n coill,
Gun snodhach, gun duilleach, gun mheas.

Bi'dh turadh fuar, fionnar, gun bhlas,
A crubadh gach ail a thig ris;
Bi'dh gach creutair 'n robh aiceid o'n Mhàrt
Tigh'nn air eiginn o'n bhas, no dol leis.

Mios grianach, ur, fheurach, an aigh,
'M bi gach luibh a' cur blath os a ceann,
Nach boidheach bhi 'g arach gach luis,
Ur, alluinn, fo ghucaig, 's fo dhriuchd!
Bi gach deoiridh 'n robh aiceid o'n Mhàrt
Fas gu buadhach, snuadhmhor, glan, ur,
Le eirbheirt, le coiseach, 's le cainnt,
'N deigh gach bochdainn 's gach sgraing chur air chul.

Baile Bhealltuinn nan cuinneag 's nan stòp,
Nam measraichean mora lom-lan,
Trom torrach, le uibhean 's le eoin,
Le bainne, le feoil, 's le gruth bàn.
Fasaidh gillean cho mear ris na feidh,
Ri mire, ri leum, 'us ri snamh,
Iad gun lethtrom, gun airtneul, gun sgios,
Sior ghreasad gu ire 's gu fas.

Mios dubharrach, bruthainneach, blath,
Bheir sineadh 'us fas air a' ghart:
Fasaidh gillean an iongantas mòr
Le iomadaidh bosd agus beairt.
Iad gun stamhnadh, gun mhunadh 'nan ceill,
Cuid de 'n nadur cho fiadhaich ri each,
'N duil nach 'eil e 's nach robh e fo'n ghrein,
Ni chuireas riu fein aig meud neart.

'N tusa 'n duine 'm bheil iomadaidh bosd,
C'uim' nach amhairc thu foil air gach taobh?
A bhi beairteach seach iomadaidh neach,
No bhi taitneach mu choinneamh nan sùl?
'N tigh creadha so 'm bheil thu 'n ad thamh,
Cheis chneadhaig, ni cnamh anns an uir,
Ma 's droch dheaghad a bh' agad 'san fheoil,
Thig fhathasd ort dòruinn 'ga chionn.

Cia mar dh'eireas do 'n choluinn 'n robh 'm bosd,
'Nuair a theid i 'sa' bhord chiste dhluth?
Cia mar dh'eireas do 'n teanga 'n robh cheilg,
No do 'n chridhe bha deilbh a mhi-run?
No do dh'uinneagan buairidh nam miann,
Dh'fhag bruaillean a'd' inntinn o thus:
'S grannda 'n sloc anns an robh iad a'd' cheann,
'N deigh a stopadh le poll 'us le uir.

'N deigh a stopadh le poll 'us le uir
Anns a' chlosaich gun diubh is beag toirt,
'S am beagan a thug thu leat sios,
Bheirear buileach e dhiot anns an t-sloc;
Cia 'n aghaidh bu mhaisiche fiamh?
Cia do shuilean, cia t-fhiaclan, cia t-fhalt?
Cia na meoirean an glacaibh nan lamh,
'Bha cur seachad gach spairn a rug ort?

'Nuair a dh'fhalbhas an samhradh ciuin blath,
Theid gach uamhar 's gach ardan air chul,
Bi'dh cnuimh-itheann 'gar 'n ithe 's gur searg
Ris an abair iad farmad 'us tnu;
'Nuair nach foghainn 'na dh'fhoghnadh de'n bhiadh,
'S nach foghuinn 'na lionas a bhru,
Cha robh bheairteas aig Solamh 's aig Iob
'Na' thoilicheadh comhla do shuil.

Gur e 'n gaisgeach nach gealtach am bàs,
Leis an coingeis an saoibhir no 'm bochd,
'Nuair a thilgeas e 'n gath nach teid iomrall
Cho cuimseach ri urchair a mhoisg.
Cha 'n amhairc e dh'inbhe no dh'uaisl',
Ach gach ardan 's gach uamhar 'na 'thosd,
'S ni cinnteach 'shiol Adhamh o thus,
Bàs nadurr' 'us cunntas 'na chois.

MILITARY ARDOUR OF THE HIGHLANDERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

GREENOCK, 10th February 1883.

SIR,—In the *Celtic Magazine* of this month, I find Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, in his address at the Gaelic Society annual meeting, remarking—"We have constant reference to the military ardour of the Highlanders, in the latter half of the last century, as shown in the great number of regiments then raised here. There is no question regarding the number of regiments that were raised, nor is there any as to the excellence of the material of which they were composed. The Highland regiments have always been remarkable for their valour and their good behaviour, and have distinguished themselves whenever brought into action under fit commanders. But was there really a great deal of military ardour in the Highlands during the last century? We are quite in the dark so far as printed records are concerned, as to whether when these regiments were first raised, the rank and file flocked of their own free will to the standard, or whether they were pressed into the service by chiefs and lairds, who wanted commissions for their sons. The time is not so distant but that ample traditionary information on the subject should be procurable."

This is a very pertinent suggestion for a Celtic society to consider, and on which some light is very desirable. In our day the military ardour of the Highlanders, and their good fighting qualities in the past, seem, with many, to be their chief claim for

consideration, and a stranger that does not know their thoughts and habits would be ready to conclude that Scottish Highlanders as a race are so constituted that they take a special delight in fighting without much cause, and are ready to say with Burns:—

"Bring a Scotchman frae the hills,
Clap in his cheek a Hieland gill;
Say such is royal Geordie's will,
And there the foe,
He has nae thocht, but how to kill
Twa at a blow."

Such language is only a perversion of the facts, for the native Highlanders were, and are, much attached to their hearths and homes, however humble; and it required a great pressure to make them become knights-errant to fight the miserable wars of the Georges.

Sir Kenneth says we have no printed records bearing on this subject. Very true. Of this subject we have no such records as we have of the villanies of the press-gang in our sea-ports about that time; still we know enough of the evil deeds of some of the lairds to make our blood yet boil.

I shall relate some of the hardships endured in a parish in the district of Cowal, which, I presume, was not an exception to other parts of the Highlands. An influential laird in this parish had a large family of sons, to whom the Government offered inducements of posts in the army if they would recruit so many men. These young scions, with their retainers, went round the country and seized upon all passable men, whether single or married. My grandfather, a married man, and a tailor to trade, was plying his calling, with a fellow-tradesman, in one of the farm-houses at the head of the parish, and before they were aware, the laird's sons and their retainers got scent of their being there, and surrounded the house. My grandfather was caught, yet so determined was he to be free, that he slipped out of the house, made a rush into a near brook and took up a stone with which he broke his leg; but the other tailor being a powerful man, made a dash, got clear of his captors, left the country, and never returned. This incident is told in Mr J. F. Campbell's Tales, in a foot-note to the story of "Conal Gulban."

My grandfather being now disabled, was allowed to go home the best way he could, but his troubles did not end there. In about ten years he was seized by the press-gang in Greenock, and was put on board a man-of-war, which was sent to the west of Ireland, where he remained for six months, when a humane officer from Argyllshire, on board, learned of his circumstances, interceded on his behalf, and got him released. Another man in the same parish escaped from the recruiters into a cave, where his wife supplied him with food at night. One stormy evening, as he came to the mouth of the cave, he saw a clump of heather moving above him, which he mistook for his pursuers. In order to escape he made a desperate bound over a rock, which dislocated his shoulder, and then ventured home. Many others fled from their pursuers to the North Country herring fishing, in some cases without anything but their body clothing.

No doubt the lairds managed to entrap many brave fellows in that district, which helped to make the original Highland regiments famous. But it was neither their military ardour nor any sympathy they had for the extremities of the Government that made them become soldiers, but the misfortune of being kidnapped, and forced into a foreign service.

A. B.

HIGHLAND SUFFERINGS; HIGHLAND WRONGS.

"The Highlanders required to unite and assert themselves in an age of change and dissolution. . . . . They had made the empire familiar with . . . . HIGHLAND WRONGS AND HIGHLAND SUFFERINGS."—*Speech of Mr Barron at Inverness Gaelic Society's Meeting.*

"*Highland sufferings! Highland wrongs!*"
Theme of sorrow's tales and songs;
What are these? O! speaker tell,
Thou who know'st the Highlands well;
Dost thou blush for Highland fame
At the deeds thou durst not name?
Art thou fearful lest the story
Should confound each Whig and Tory,
And deprive thee of the smile
Which can only weaklings wile?
Hast thou not a Highland heart,
Or the sympathetic part
To denounce or to expose
Wrongs which are thy country's woes?
What is nobler in a man
Than in doing all he can
By his voice and by his pen
For his suffering countrymen?
Suffering! and for what? or why?
Answer me with truth's reply;
Answer me! as one of those
Now enduring Highland woes;
Answer me! if thou hast felt
Wrongs that would a hard heart melt;
Answer me! if thou hast borne
Aught of others' hate and scorn;
Answer me! if thou hast been
Where Eviction's deeds were seen;
Answer me! if thou hast known
Sorrows by another sown.
O! that thou should'st fear to speak,
O! that thou should'st be so weak,
Thou whose intellectual might
Shines with no uncertain light;
Unto every man belongs
Liberty to battle wrongs,
And canst thou be silent when
Sufferings blight thy fellow-men?

Say, would'st thou a wrong suppress
When it brings unhappiness?
Would'st thou not all evils curb
When they social peace disturb?
Would'st thou not do deeds of good
For a stricken neighbourhood?
If thou fear'st to do thy duty,
Where is Life's divinest beauty?
Highland sufferings! Highland wrongs!
Sound them far with thunder's gongs;
From the wave-washed Hebrides!
From the isles in Highland seas!
From the shielings in each glen!
From ten thousand suffering men!
Hark! the cry of wakening might,
"Help us in our war of right!"
Ye whose hearts to justice lean,
Ye who know what sufferings mean,
Ye who pity can bestow,
Ye who feel love's purest glow,
Ye who would for Scotland's fame
Sweep away her blots of shame—
Give reply! a million-tongued,
"Scotland shall not see ye wronged!"

Sunderland. WM. ALLAN.

THE HIGHLAND CLEARANCES.—Nothing could be more opportune than the appearance at the present moment of "A History of the Highland Clearances," by Mr Alexander Mackenzie, F.S.A., Scot., the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*. Into the 528 pages of which the book is composed he has gathered all the most significant literature of the entire subject, beginning with that remarkable record, Donald Macleod's "Gloomy Memories of the Highlands," which has been out of print for many a year. . . . Macleod's narrative, which bears the stamp of truth on every line, is one calculated to stir righteous indignation in every heart; and its reproduction cannot fail to-day to be productive of important practical results. It is followed by a series of admirably arranged opinions on the Sutherland Clearances by writers of authority. . . . To these succeed accounts of evictions in other parts of the Highlands; and the closing section of the work is devoted to a detailed report of all the recent proceedings in the Isle of Skye, and a valuable appendix giving the population returns of each of the Highland counties from 1801 down to the latest census. Mr Mackenzie, it will be perceived, has produced a volume that ought to be in the hands of every member of the Legislature, and which is simply indispensable to all who would rightly understand the problem now awaiting solution. When we turn from this book to the current proceedings in Parliament, it is with a feeling of impatience that we find the spirit of cold and haughty legal pedantry still predominant in official quarters. But Mr Mackenzie will have the satisfaction, we believe, of seeing his volume produce a result that must give him infinitely more pleasure than any praise such as might fairly be bestowed upon it for its literary merits. Himself the son of a crofter, he has rendered a service to that class which will secure for his name an enduring place in the annals of Scottish patriotism.—"*Literary Notes*" *in the Daily Mail of 19th February.*

"THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS," and several other contributions, are unavoidably held over.

Literature.

THE LIFE OF JOHN DUNCAN, SCOTCH WEAVER AND BOTANIST. By WILLIAM JOLLY, F.R.S.E., F.G.S. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co., 1883.

IT is Sydney Smith, we think, who points the lesson to be derived from the story of the Deluge. At a certain period in the history of the world, he wittily relates, mankind was peculiarly favoured: the average duration of human life was something like a thousand years. But the Flood came. The human race was destroyed, with the exception of Noah and his three sons. After the Flood the average duration of the lives of men was cut down from a thousand years to three score and ten. What is the lesson? Prior to the Flood, men could afford to lounge over a pamphlet for ten years; subsequent to the Flood, men, whether in the act of reading or in that of hearing, were compelled to carefully consider time. The world of to-day is a different world from that of the time of Noah. Writers of to-day, therefore, as well as speakers, ought to take to heart the warning—Gaze at Noah, and be brief!

Mr Jolly's book is unnecessarily long: the writer has forgot the fact that human beings have not now the time at their disposal which they seem to have had prior to the Deluge. In every other respect, however, the work of our friend is one which will command a place in English literature. It is one which will ever maintain a high position in that path of literature which the writings of Mr Smiles have rendered peculiarly attractive. Mr Jolly's book, like the best of the books of Mr Smiles, is the narrative of merit in obscurity, of genuine work performed under unspeakable conditions of hardship and poverty, of sturdy manhood and independence in circumstances the most antagonistic that can be conceived to the cultivation of the higher aspirations of human nature. John Duncan is a man who, as a botanist, scientific men must in all time admire, and whose achievements in other parts of knowledge, will, taking into account the environment, be regarded only with feelings of wonder and appreciation. But for Mr Jolly's love of genuine worth, and his deeply seated and universally acknowledged love of truth, the poor Alford weaver would to-day have been unknown. We should have lost a story of victory in poverty, and sustained individuality under circumstances of the most distressing nature. Duncan was a man whose companion, from the cradle to the grave, was Want. And yet he was a man whose achievements in botanical science are not unworthy of members of the Royal Society. The man who had framed a "watch-dial" for himself forty years before such a thing was brought forward to the world, with exultation and certainty of profit as a great invention, and who had formed a botanical collection which was to become a treasure in the University of Aberdeen, was something more than an ordinary man. And yet how poor and how obscure!—

> "Full many a gem of purest ray serene,
> The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear;
> Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
> And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

John Duncan was born in Stonehaven in 1794, and he died in 1881. Not having been born in wedlock, the world can never know anything of those who went before him. All that we know of the boyhood of the botanist are circumstances the most unfavourable that can be conceived to mental development. His earlier years of

approaching manhood were spent as a herd boy, and as an ill-used weaver's apprentice in Drumlithie. He was sixteen years of age when he began, under the tuition of kindly women as poor as he, to learn the alphabet; and Mr Jolly tells how that "we have no evidence of his learning to write till almost twenty years after he came to Drumlithie in 1828, when we find him in his thirty-fourth year, laboriously working at a copy-book!" But once on the road to knowledge, John Duncan never flagged till he reached the limit of possibility. We find him ever on the move as a humble weaver from one place to another in Aberdeenshire, till he settles in Alford. In a worldly aspect he grows poorer. For an unfortunate marriage, a second courtship, and that revolution in the simple trade of the weaver which was brought about by the introduction of steam and advanced machinery, kept him ever on the verge of poverty. And yet with every move from place to place the mind of this remarkable man grows, and continually his store of knowledge becomes enlarged. We read of the raw youth who began to learn to read at sixteen, and who began to learn to write at thirty-four, becoming soon a student of astrology, a critic of Culpepper, an astronomer with powers of observation of no mean order, a politician well acquainted with many of the fundamental principles of good government, a leading member of advanced debating societies, a reader of essays on astronomy, the history of weaving, an advocate of the teaching of natural history to children; and, lastly, but in every sense the most important, a botanist whose success in this department of science, and whose enthusiastic love of study are worthy of universal admiration. The great result of his life labour is the splendid botanical collection which is now the property, as a gift by John Duncan, of the University of Aberdeen. It consists of—

1. A general collection of about 500 species, arranged according to the twenty-four classes of Linnæus, including ferns, in various books.
2. A book containing an almost complete collection of species, about 150, representing the flora of the Vale of Alford, many being rare.
3. A book of about 50 specimens of the grasses of the Alford district.
4. A book of about 50 specimens of the cryptogamic plants of the same district, chiefly mosses and lichens.

The whole world knows the story of the last days of the Aberdeenshire weaver—how that Mr Jolly discovered him while he was in want and obscurity, and how that he, out of the fullness of his heart and love of science, endeavoured to befriend him. But the world does not know all. In 1873 (we write it with pain), so low were his circumstances, that the old man (now 79 years old) "took to bed sick with melancholy heart-ache," for the first time in his life losing hope amidst the gathering blackness. Want pressed upon him, and he was compelled to go to the Inspector of Poor.—

"That officer took note in his books, which bear that 'his average earnings were only about two shillings a week; he was failing in strength, and his trade was almost gone.' He then received five shillings, and at the first meeting of the Board, on the 17th of November 1874, he was formally admitted on the roll of paupers, at an allowance of three shillings weekly; and one of the usual pauper's cards for entering the sums received, inscribed with his name and number, lies before me. That badge was the consummation of his shame, as it felt to him, and seemed to stamp him with the brand of Cain, which all men might read."

To Mr Jolly is due the honour—and an honour of no mean magnitude it is—of raising this good man from that position to the condition in which he died. In the last years of his life John Duncan received donations for his homely comfort from every corner of the kingdom. The Queen on the throne sent him a ten-pound note, and had he lived, the Queen would have visited him in his humble cot last year. He died amid companions that had been the most foreign to his career—comfort and honour.

We have room for only three quotations. The first is a picture of rural comfort, which, before the march of "scientific" farmers (a phrase which now-a-days means decreased rent-rolls and depopulation) has completely disappeared.—

"Every householder had his workshop attached to his house. He rented, moreover, a large garden and a considerable croft of land of from two to four acres, and kept a cow. At early morn every day, as certainly as the sun rose, the blast of the horn of the common village cowherd resounded over the vale; when from every gate a cow joined the general herd, which was led by him to the wide common in the hollow, below the town to the north, now under cultivation. The same merry sound was heard in the evening, when he returned with his lowing charge, and every animal went of her own accord to her own byre, bearing rich treasures for the pail. The public cowherd, generally an elderly weather-beaten man, was known throughout Scotland by the title of 'Tootie,' from his tooting or winding his horn—a name still attached to places such as 'Tootie's Nook,' a street corner where he used to assemble his cattle in an ancient town in Angus, where the writer was born."

Our second quotation illustrates the remarkable love of science which the subject of this book possessed. At the age of 84 he set out on a twelve miles' walk to find a certain plant. What enthusiasm!—

"When he got well up the hill, a dreadful storm of thunder, lightning, and heavy rain descended upon him and speedily drenched him to the skin. Still he held on, searching over all the spots where he had found it before. But all in vain: the shy favourite was nowhere to be seen, and he had reluctantly and with a heavy heart to retrace his steps homewards, defeated—a rare sensation with John in such explorations—and he felt the disappointment to the very core. Yet, with all the strenuous eagerness of youth in an aged body, he could not thus lose the day, and recalling that another rare plant used to grow on the south side of the hill, he determined to go in search of it. The midnight shades were now descending amidst the pouring rain; but it was midsummer, and darkness would be short. So he climbed the eastern shoulder of the hill to the source of the Culhay Burn, for the plant grew somewhere along its bed. This stream flows there between steep banks covered with brushwood in places, and the old man had to grope his way down its channel in search of the prize he sought. But as this dirty work would have soiled his old blue coat, he took it off in the drenching pelt, and in his shirt-sleeves, clambered down the burn and along a neighbouring dike till he found it!"

The third quotation shows very clearly how contemptible is the social life in the towns or cities of to-day. When John Duncan, full of honour, was in Aberdeen city only a few years since, he was asked to visit houses of consideration. But—

"Latterly, John's old-world attire and unconventional ways rather disturbed the ladies in the households of the friends he used to visit, as violating the proprieties of city life, to which the sex are so ardently devoted, and the want of which they find it difficult to condone, when they are not strong and pronounced enough to shake off the bondage in special circumstances, as in John's case. Of 'the proper,' one of the first articles in the female creed—standing even before 'the right,' shall we say?—the ancient weaver had not the dimmest glimpse even in the city, and it certainly was not a little trying to feminine nerves to receive so *outré* a visitor, whose appearance could not fail to draw the public eye in a way far from soothing to feminine notions regulated by the social demands of 'the genteel.' On occasions—but these were few—the petty annoyances thus created found expression in remonstrance, which was in the old man's eyes certainly unexpected, if not a good deal painful, and which he was not slow to mention to his male friends with indignant surprise and rebellion when it occurred."

As we stated at the outset, Mr Jolly's book is capable, to a very considerable extent, of condensation. With this reservation, we must say that he has accomplished a work which will long stand out as an example of his broad and generous sympathies, his true scientific culture, and his warm-hearted appreciation of faithful work, and noble achievements.

THE

CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

No. XC. APRIL 1883. VOL. VIII.

THE HIGHLAND DRESS.

By J. G. MACKAY.

II.—ANTIQUITY OF THE KILT.

'Se 'feile preasach tlachd mo ruin,
'S osan nach ruig faisg an glùn,
'S cota breac nam basan dlù,
'S bonaid dhù-ghorm thogarrach.

IN the previous chapter we have given a description of Clan Tartans, proving conclusively that they were worn in the Highlands at a very remote period, and also that they were arranged into distinctive clan patterns, as we now have them. We will now proceed to give an account of the different forms in which the dress was worn, and as in most other matters referring to the Highlands the dress has been subjected to a great amount of ignorant criticism. We will at same time place before our readers indubitable evidence of the great age and authenticity of the dress.

The sculptured stones of Scotland give clear and decided evidence of the great antiquity of the dress, and their period may be said to extend from the sixth to the ninth century. There is one at Dupplin, in Perthshire; Forres, in Morayshire; and Nigg, in Ross-shire, each representing figures in the Highland dress.

Some years ago, a sculptured stone was dug up from the ruins of the Roman wall (which was constructed in the year 140), representing three figures dressed exactly in the ancient garb of the Gael. There is also a sculptured slab in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh, which was found at Dull, in Perthshire, some years ago, which represents several figures in the Highland dress.

In Kilmuir, Skye, there is a rock bearing a natural representation of the dress. It is called "Creag an Fheilidh," or the rock of the kilt, from its marked resemblance to the checkered plaits of the kilt. This name must be coeval with the arrival of the Gael in Skye, for, bearing a natural representation, it could not get the name from any event or accident.

In the Norwegian Sagas, in reference to the expedition of King Magnus to the Western Isles, in the year 1093, it is said *that he adopted the costumes in use in the western lands*, and likewise many of his followers; and for this he was called *Magnus Barefoot.* The seal of Alexander I., whose reign began in the year 1107, represents that monarch in the *feileadh-beag*, or kilt as now worn. King David I., who began his reign in the year 1124, and Malcolm IV. in 1153, used a seal identical with that used by Alexander I.; and their adopting it proves that they wore the dress represented.

The dress was anciently of various forms, to suit the requirements of the wearer. The "triubhais" or truis, were made of tartan, cut crossways, and worn tight to the skin, after the style of breeches, and fastened at the knee with a buckle. It required considerable skill to make a pair of truis, as the tartan had to be matched at the seams so as to show the pattern. The sets were generally smaller in the tartan than that used for plaids.

The "breacan-feile," or belted plaid, was made of twelve ells of tartan, *i.e*, six ells of double tartan, which, being plaited, was fastened round the body with a belt, the lower part forming the kilt, and the other half being fixed to the shoulder by a brooch, hung down behind, and thus formed the plaid, in the same shape as the belted plaids now used by the military, which is an imitation of it.

There was great neatness displayed in arranging the plaits, so as to show the set of the tartan. This was a particularly con-

venient form of the dress, as the plaid hung loosely behind ; it did not encumber the arms, and in wet weather could be thrown over the shoulders ; while in the event of camping out at night, it could be thrown loose, and covered the whole body. It was principally worn on warlike expeditions, or when going any distance from home. It was called the belted plaid from the fact of its being simply made of a piece of tartan, unsewn, and fixed round the body with a belt.

The "feileadh-beag," or little kilt, same as still worn, was made of six ells of single tartan, which, being plaited and sewn, was fixed round the waist with a strap, half a yard being left plain at each end, which crossed each other in front. This is one of the parts of the dress for which a modern invention is claimed. This claim, which first saw the light of day in the form of an anonymous letter in the *Scots Magazine*, in 1798, though echoed by several writers who took upon themselves to write on the Highlands, has never been admitted by any one who can be taken as an authority. The date of the pretended invention of the kilt is 1728. It is said that in that year Parkinson, the superintendent of the Lead Mines at Tyndrum, finding his Highland labourers encumbered with their belted plaids, taught them to separate the plaid from the kilt, and sew it in its present form.

To any one acquainted with the manners and customs of the Highlanders this must seem a very ridiculous and unlikely story, but, nevertheless, it has been accepted by many writers, none of whom, however, can give any proof for their assertion further than this anonymous scribbler, and it is surprising, after all the research of our learned antiquarians, to find even the editor* of the latest edition of the "History of the Highland Clans" re-echoing such a silly fable.

Next to Ossian's poems there is no subject connected with the Highlands that has caused more discussion or ill-feeling than the reputed invention of the kilt. There is not a national movement in which the Highlanders are specially mentioned, but this fable is "trotted" out by jealous and acrimonious writers to smother our national pride.

It is unfortunate that the ancient Highlanders left so much

* John S. Keltie, F.S.A.

of their history, customs, and manners to be recorded by others, who, from the remote and inaccessible nature of the country and their ignorance of the language, could not be expected to do them justice, and as in everything else, ancient writers on the Highlands are very obscure in their descriptions of the dress, and while they give a sort of an idea of the "breacan-feile," or belted plaid, as being the most complicated and attractive part of the dress, they pay little attention to the "feileadh-beag."

Martin, in his "Tour to the Western Isles," published in 1702, gives a very good account of it. He says—"The plaid is tied round the middle with a leather belt. It is plaited from the waste to the knee very nicely. This dress for footmen is found much easier and lighter than breeches or trowis." He also gives a description of the "breacan-guaille," or shoulder plaid, *which was only worn with the "feileadh-beag" or kilt.* He says—"The length of it is commonly seven double ells. The one end hangs by the middle over the left arm; the other, going round the body, hangs by the end over the left arm also. The right hand is to be at liberty to do anything upon occasion."

Martin visited St Kilda in 1697, and says—"The men at this day wear a short doublet to their waste; about that (*i.e.*, the waist) a double plat of plad, both ends joined together by the bone of a fulmar. The plad reaches no further than the knee, and is above the haunches girt about with a belt of leather." This is a most minute description of the "feileadh-beag," and should be sufficient in itself to put the matter beyond the possibility of a doubt, but we can bring forward even much stronger evidence than this. On the armorial bearings of the Burnets of Leys in Aberdeenshire, the dexter supporter is a "Highlander in hunting garb," viz.—*Feileadh-beag*, and short Highland jacket, exactly the same as worn at the present day; date of patent, 21st April 1626. Sir George Mackenzie, who died 37 years before Parkinson's time, says—"The Burnets of Leys carry a Highlander in Hunting garb, and a greyhound as supporter on their arms, to show that they were the King's foresters in the north."

The Mackenzies of Coul, in Ross-shire, have, as dexter supporter on their arms, a Highlander dressed in the kilt and shoulder plaid, same as worn at the present day; date of patent, 16th Oct.

1673. The clans Macrae and Macgillivray have also as supporters Highlanders dressed in the *feileadh-beag*.

In a book printed in London in 1720, "The Life of Mr Duncan Campbell," there is a drawing representing the subject of the work, dressed in an unmistakable *feileadh-beag* or kilt, with the following note referring to it. "Our young boy, now between six and seven, delighted in wearing a little bonnet and plaid, thinking it looked very manly in his countrymen. His father indulged him in that dress, which is truly antique and heroic." This is the nicest representation of the dress we have seen, the kilt, bonnet, hose, and everything so clear and distinct that it would pass muster at the present day.

In "Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland, 1728," also published in London, there are several plates showing the different forms of the dress, viz.—*Breacan an fheilidh*, or belted plaid; *feileadhbeag*, or kilt, with shoulder plaid, as now worn; and *triubhais*, or truis. He makes no mention of Parkinson, and he certainly would have done so if there was any truth in the story.

The *feileadh-beag* (philabeg) is often mentioned in Jacobite songs composed at the time of the rising of 1715. The kilt and plaid is also mentioned in a very old Gaelic song, *Macgriogair o Ruadh-Shruth*. Besides all this, we have it on the testimony of Blind Harry that the great Scottish patriot Wallace wore the kilt. He tells us that when Wallace was in school in Dundee he was insulted and assaulted by the son of Selbye, the governor; and he points out most distinctly that he not only wore the Highland dress, which he calls "Ersche Mantill," but tells that "it war thi kynd to wer," showing most conclusively that Wallace was considered to be a Highlander, and that the tartan was his national dress.

We now hold that we have completely settled this question, and, in the face of such a chain of evidence, it is amusing to think that such a silly assertion should ever have been made. It betrays very great ignorance of the customs and manners of the Highlanders to suppose that, if they were sufficiently ingenious to design the tartan, and to plait it into the form of the belted-plaid, which is a very intricate contrivance, that they should not think of dividing the kilt and plaid, when occasion required it, without the assistance of an Englishman. The thing

is so positively absurd that we cannot conceive how any sensible person should repeat it.

We will now proceed to give a description of the various articles which compose the dress.

The doublet or coat (in Gaelic, *cota-gearr*) was sometimes made of tartan cloth, cut crossways, the size of the checks being less than in the kilt or plaid. This style of coat was called *cota fiaraidh.*

For every-day wear the coats were generally made of a drab cloth. This colour was produced by a mixture of natural black and white, with a quantity of crotal-dyed wool. This was called *cota lachdunn.* For full or court dress, the coats were made of velvet, and richly embroidered with silver lace and buttons. We have proof of velvet being used for coats at an early age. In the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, in August 1538, we find the following entry regarding a Highland dress for King James V.:—

"Item in the first for ij elnis ane quarter elne of variant colorit velvet to be the Kingis Grace, ane schort Heland coit. Price of the elne vi. lib. Summa xiij. lib. xs.

"Item for iii. elnis quarter elne greene taffatys to lyne the said coit with price of the elne x s. summa xxxij s. vi.d."

Hose.—Before the invention of knitting, the hose were made of tartan, the same as in the kilt. They were also made crossways, and required a great amount of ingenuity to match the checks. After knitting was invented, they were made of different patterns, and very great perfection was acquired in imitating the various checks of the tartan.

Shoes.—Martin says—"The shoes antiently wore were a piece of the Hide of a Deer, Cow, or Horse, with the hair on, being tied behind and before with a point of leather." This is the *cuaran.* It was much in the style of the sandals worn by Eastern nations. It is this that gave rise to the term, "Rough-footed Scots." "Feumaidh fear nan cuaran éiridh uair roimh fhear nam bròg." Martin says again—"The generality now wear shoes, having one thin Sole only, and shaped after the right and left Foot, so that what is for one Foot will not serve the other." The shoes were usually peaked at the point. The uppers were of one piece, and sewn to the soles, and then turned inside out. They were open up the front, and drawn together with thongs. These shoes were called *brogan tionndaidh.*

I think it was a Lochcarron bard who said—

'S math thig osan air do chalp
Brog bhiorach dhubh 's lughach lorg.

Shoe buckles are a modern addition to the dress, and I do not think they are any improvement.

Donnachadh Bān says—

Fhuair sinn ad agus cleòc
'S cha bhuineadh an seors' ud dhuinn
Bucail a' dunadh ar bròig
'Se 'm barr-iall bu bhòiche leinn.

The sporrans were made of the skins of wild animals—badger, otter, wild cat, or goatskin. The latter were often ornamented with silver mountings, but they were neither so large nor so gaudy as those now worn.

The bonnet was of different shapes in different districts, but the broad form, such as is now styled "Prince Charlie," is the most ancient.

The dress was capable of being very richly ornamented. The plaid was fastened at the shoulder by a brooch of silver, often studded with precious stones, and embellished with devices of thistles, animals, etc. There was also a brooch worn in the bonnet, with the wearer's crest and motto engraved on it. In the bonnet was also the badge or *Suaicheantas* of the clan and usually one or more eagle's feathers, according to the rank of the wearer. A chief wore three, a chieftain two, a *duine-uasal* or gentleman one.

John Taylor, the Water Poet, made an excursion to Scotland in the year 1618, of which he published an account, under the title of the "Pennylesse Pilgrimage," and in which there is an amusing description of the Highland dress. He says, "Their habit is shoose with but one sole apiece, stockings which they call hose, made of a warm stuffe of divers colours, which they call tartan. As for breeches, many of them nor their forefathers never wore any, but, a jerkin of the same stuff as their hose is made, with a plaed about their shoulders, which is a mantle of divers colours, much finer and lighter stuffe than the hose, with blue flat caps on their heads, a handkerchief knit with two knots about ther necks, and thus they are atyred."

(To be continued.)

CURIOUS SUPERSTITIONS IN TIREE.

By J. SANDS.

ALTHOUGH the inhabitants of Tiree are in general an intelligent, as well as kind-hearted, race, who would progress if they had an opportunity, some superstitions, which have descended from a very remote period, still linger amongst them. Customs which originated when the sun was an object of worship survive to this day, although the Gospel has been preached in the island since the year 565, when Baithean (a cousin of Columba's) landed at Soraby, and founded a monastery there. Marriage parties still take care to turn to the right hand (Deasail), and not to the left, when they enter the church. The same rule is observed when a body is to be laid in the grave. When boats are launched from the shore the bow is brought round (although it may be a little inconvenient) agreeably to the apparent course of the sun. Nine was a sacred number with the ancient Scandinavians, as well as Celts, and this part of the Pagan creed is still respected. Water taken from the tops of nine waves, and in which nine stones have been boiled, is believed to be an infallible cure for the jaundice. The shirt of the patient, after being dipped in this magic infusion, is put on wet. I was acquainted with a man on whom this remedy was recently tried, but without effect, as he was on the brink of death, and whisky had been ordered from Glasgow to regale the mourners at his funeral. As intoxicants are not procurable on the island (the Duke of Argyll having abolished all the public-houses) provident relatives are obliged to send for a supply to Glasgow when a death is anticipated. Water taken from nine springs or streams in which cresses grow, is also, when applied in the same way, believed to be an effectual cure for jaundice. On the west side of the island there is a rock with a hole in it, through which children are passed when suffering from whooping cough, or other complaints.

Sick cattle were, and probably still are, treated in a curious way. The doctor being provided with a cogue of cream and an oatcake, sits on the sick cow, or other animal, and repeats the

following verse, *nine* times *nine* times, taking a bit and a sip between each repetition :—

"Greim is glug, mise air do mhuin,
Ma bhitheas thu beo 's maith ;
'S mar a bi leigear dhuit."*

The cream and the bannock are the doctor's fee.

When a gun is fired at a wedding, care is taken that the shots shall be odd numbers. Three is safe, five and nine are also considered lucky.

About five years ago a woman left her child upon the shore that it might be taken away by the fairies, and her own infant restored. She was obliged, however, to take back the changeling after it had been exposed for some hours, as the *daoine beaga* never appeared. At this date a minister on the island has refused to baptize the children of a parishioner, because he swears that a woman has bewitched his cows, and abstracted the virtue from their milk.

Some houses are believed to be haunted by fairies, although it is only certain gifted individuals who can see them. In one cabin they were wont to sit in swarms upon the rafters, and had the impudence even to drop down now and again, and seize a potato out of the pot. Eventually they became such a nuisance that the tenant of the house (who was a *taishear*) determined to build a new dwelling and to abandon the old one. Unfortunately, when the new cabin was almost finished, he (materials being scarce) took a stone out of the haunted hut, with the result that all the fairies came along with it, so that his new home was as much infested as the old one had been.

At Mannal there is a little green hillock (which had probably been used to rest the coffin on, as it was being carried to the grave), but which was believed to possess magical properties. Not long ago, a stone lay upon the top, and fishermen were in the habit of turning the end of it towards any part of the horizon that they wished a breeze to come from. There is a story told about this hillock, which may be as well repeated in rhyme as in prose :—

* This old rhyme was given to me by Mr John Maclean, the Tiree Bard, who has written some songs which are very popular in the island.

At Mannal, in Tiree, may still be seen
A *cnoc gorm*, or hillock, round and green,
Such as the fairies lived in long ago
(A tale that may be true for all we know),*
And to this *cnoc* two men one day there came,
A sire and son—Macdonald was their name—
To fetch a stone that through the turf appeared,
And build it in a cottage they had reared ;
But when the stone that lay upon the top
The son had carried off it would not stop,
But to the *cnoc* came floating through the air,
And lay down in its old position there ;
A second time he tried, but all in vain,
The stone rose up, and hurried home again ;
A third determined trial he made, but still
The stone returned to the fairy hill;
And at the same self moment, strange to tell,
The stubborn youth turned fearfully unwell.
His muscles took the cramp, and lumps like eggs
Arose upon his arms, as well as legs,
He fell upon the ground in pain and fright,
And cursed and howled for help with all his might,
Nor did he quite recover from the shock
Until the stone was buried in the *cnoc*.
I wish that every ancient kirk and fort
And *cnoc* were built with stones of that same sort,
And that the wretch might suffer sharper pains
Who would destroy such valuable remains.

On a beautiful evening last autumn, when digging for relics amongst the rubbish that had been thrown from a pre-historic *dun*, or hill-fort, I happened to raise my head above the surface, and seeing a man passing with a fishing rod on his shoulder, asked him, by way of salutation, " Are you going to fish ?" This was an extremely unlucky question, probably aggravated by the grave-like quarter from whence it came, and the man, without answering a word, turned about and trudged home again. I have heard of a woman (who ought to have known better) putting the same question to her husband, who, on the instant, in his anger and vexation, smashed his fishing-rod on the ground.

But the glorious sun of education now shines in Tiree as elsewhere, and the fogs of superstition will, in the course of another

* Mr J. F. Campbell, in his Highland Tales, expresses the opinion that fairies had a real existence—that they were a small race of human beings, who inhabited these islands in distant pre-historic times.

generation, have vanished before it. There are already four Board Schools in the island, and there would be a fifth, were it not that the Ladies' Association, in connection with the Free Church, support a wretched seminary at Ballamartin, which affords the Board an excuse for neglecting its duty and getting a proper schoolhouse erected and permanent teacher appointed; but I believe the ladies have begun to see the mischief they are doing, and are to hand over their school to the Board without delay. The newspapers are withal beginning to circulate in the island, and the proceedings of the rebellious crofters in Skye are watched with special interest.

MR MALCOLM MACKENZIE AND THE BRAES CROFTERS.

THE reader will recollect that a few months ago Mr Malcolm Mackenzie, Guernsey, generously offered, through the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, to pay two years' arrears of rent for the Braes Crofters on condition that the proceedings raised against them in the Court of Session by Lord Macdonald should be at once stopped. This offer was not accepted by his lordship, and, therefore, Mr Mackenzie was not under any further obligation—legal or moral—in the matter. He has, however, generously chosen to make the people a donation of £100, to indicate his opinion of the manner in which they had been treated last year by the proprietor, and the hardship and inconvenience which they had in consequence endured. He decided to pay a whole year's rent of Ben Lee, so that the people might have time to stock it before it became a burden on them by the payment of rent. The consequence of this liberal act is, that the rent being an after-hand one, the crofters will possess Ben Lee for two years before they will have to pay any rent for it themselves, a most decided and substantial advantage to the poor people, after the petty persecution which they had to endure at the hands of their proprietor, and present representative of the great Macdonald chiefs. We take the

following account of the Editor's recent visit to the Braes from the *Free Press* of Saturday, the 24th of February last :—

VISIT OF DEAN OF GUILD MACKENZIE.

Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Inverness, who had been to the Braes of Portree this week as the representative of Mr Malcolm Mackenzie, of Guernsey, returned home last night. The Dean's visit and its character having become known in the Braes, the people gathered in large numbers to welcome him. On Thursday morning several of them came towards Portree to meet him, and by the time he was at Gedintaillear, the nearest township, he was in the midst of a large and jubilant crowd. In the course of his interview with the people, he explained that he was there as the agent of Mr Mackenzie, the gentleman who had offered to pay all their arrears if the proceedings against them were stopped ; but Lord Macdonald having refused that offer, there was no further claim on Mr Mackenzie. The Dean explained, however, that Mr Mackenzie strongly sympathised with the people in the position in which they were placed, and he was desirous of giving them help. He was to pay the first year's rent of Ben Lee, £74. 15s., and he (the Dean) had purchased a ton of first-class meal from Mr John Macdonald, Exchange, Inverness, which, along with certain sums of money, he was about to distribute among the more necessitous crofters. The Dean then went through the three townships for the purpose of ascertaining the condition of the people, particularly of the widow tenants, with the view of being enabled to distribute the meal and money among the most necessitous. Having satisfied himself as to their condition, he wrote out orders in favour of twenty-eight different persons, and made arrangements with a Portree gentleman who has taken a friendly interest in the people to give the meal to the parties presenting these orders. No one got less than half a boll, and many got a boll each. The widow tenants got most of the meal and nearly all the cash distributed, as, for want of stock to place on Ben Lee, they cannot get the full benefit of their share of the rent paid for it, and matters are thus fairly balanced. The people expressed their gratitude to Mr Malcolm Mackenzie and the Dean in the strongest terms, and hoped that both would long be spared to benefit their fellow-countrymen. They expressed their regret that, in an unguarded moment, they had authorised a reverend gentleman from Inverness (on that gentleman's own suggestion) to communicate with Mr Malcolm Mackenzie on their behalf. The Dean, on returning to Portree, called on Mr Alexander Macdonald, Lord Macdonald's factor, and offered him the Ben Lee rent. Mr Macdonald required a written offer. This the Dean formally gave, stating that, on behalf of Mr Malcolm Mackenzie, he tendered the sum of £74. 15s., being the rent of Ben Lee due by the Braes crofters at Martinmas 1883. This being a payment in advance, Mr Mackenzie conditioned a deduction of 5 per cent., with the view of distributing it among the crofters. The factor could not then give a definite answer, but he stated that an official reply would be sent in due time. The Dean then told Mr Macdonald that he had anticipated there might be some difficulty in their accepting the rent just now, and as he was determined to be relieved of the money, he had arranged with the people that morning to deposit the money in bank in the joint names of the factor and a crofter from each township (whom the people, at his request, had chosen). The Dean thereupon proceeded to the Caledonian Bank, Portree, and there deposited the sum of £74. 15s., payable to the order of Neil Buchanan, Peinchorrain ; Alexander Finlayson, Balmeanach (one of those convicted of assaulting Martin) ; William Nicolson, Gedintaillear ; and Alexander Macdonald, as factor for Lord Macdonald ; it

being expressly declared in the receipt that the money was for the purpose of paying the rent of Ben Lee, and for no other purpose. He at the same time instructed the bank-agent to intimate this deposit to these four gentlemen. The sum distributed by Mr Mackenzie in meal and money amounted to the value of £100.

It appears that some of the poorer Braes crofters have not yet been able to pay their arrears, and to a number of such persons a circular in the following terms has just been sent :—

"Macdonald Estate Office, Portree, 19th February 1883.

"Dear Sir,—I regret to observe that your part of the proposed agreement with Lord Macdonald about your becoming tenant of Ben Lee, in addition to your present holding, has not been fulfilled. I am much disappointed and surprised that this is the case after all that passed on the subject. I shall be ready to receive your rents here during the next three weeks. I regret being under the necessity of reminding you that, unless you pay your rents, you cannot hold your lands. I trust, however, you will be able to make payment, which will be more satisfactory to all concerned.

"Your obedient servant,
"ALEXANDER MACDONALD,
"Factor for Lord Macdonald."

The Crofters, it is said, complain bitterly that they are now under threat of eviction, while if the generous offer of Mr Malcolm Mackenzie had been accepted, Lord Macdonald would have had his arrears in full, and they would be for the present quite independent.

[In connection with the foregoing, the Rev. James Reid, Free Church Minister of Portree, addressed a letter to the *Daily Mail* of 2nd March, and other newspapers, from which we quote the following :—" Sometime ago the Braes crofters' dispute about Ben Lee was amicably settled. The people got back the hill at an annual rent of £74 15s. At a comparatively early stage of the contest Mr Mackenzie, Guernsey, appeared as the generous friend of the crofters and a lover of peace and goodwill between proprietors and their tenants, and offered to pay all past arrears of rent for the crofters, on condition that all legal proceedings against them should then cease. This generous offer was not accepted. Mr Mackenzie's sympathy was not, however, alienated from the people, nor his interest in their welfare at all diminished. In proof of this, Mr Mackenzie, of the *Celtic Magazine*, a true friend of the Highlanders, visited the Braes on Thursday last, and had the pleasure of arranging for the distribution of a ton of meal and some money among the widows and the more necessitous of the crofters, and of depositing in the Caledonian Bank, Portree, a full year's rent of Ben Lee (£74. 15s.) in advance; and all the generous outcome of the sympathy of Mr Mackenzie, Guernsey. To that gentleman the crofters feel deeply indebted for all his genuine interest in them, and they deputed me to offer him, through the press, their most grateful thanks, which I hereby do with very great pleasure indeed."]

OFFICE-BEARERS OF THE GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.—At the Annual Meeting for the election of Office-bearers of the Gaelic Society for 1883, the following were duly elected by ballot :—Chief, The Earl of Dunmore ; Senior Chieftain, Alex. Mackenzie, F.S.A. Scot., editor of the *Celtic Magazine;* second do., John Macdonald, merchant, Exchange ; third do., Alex. Macbain, M.A., Raining's School. Hon. Secretary, William Mackay, solicitor. Secretary, William Mackenzie, *Free Press* Office. Treasurer, Duncan Mackintosh, Bank of Scotland. Members of Council—Colin Chisholm, Namur Cottage ; Charles Mackay, contractor ; G. J. Campbell, solicitor ; John Whyte, Porterfield House ; A. R. Macraild, writer. Librarian, John Whyte ; Bard, Mrs Mary Mackellar ; Piper, Pipe-Major Maclennan.

ARCHBISHOP TAIT IN RANNOCH.

In the autumn of 1863, and again in that of 1865, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, then Bishop of London, and Mrs Tait, visited Rannoch for the benefit of their health. All the people in the district, high and low, resident and visitor, were charmed with the urbanity, homeliness, and truly Christian bearing of the distinguished pair; and although the visits they paid were short, the impression made by them on the people of Rannoch are still very vivid, and are not likely soon to fade away.

The Episcopal party put up at the only inn then in Kinloch-Rannoch; and there is a story told, seemingly on good authority, which well illustrates the pious and simple habits of the departed prelate. One day Mrs Tait brought the landlady to the Bishop's room to order dinner. When they entered, his lordship was engaged in reading the Bible. "What shall we have for dinner to-day?" asked his wife in her usual winning way. He raised his head, turned round, put his hands down, one on each knee, and looking so benevolently, said, "My dear, why are you so solicitous about what we shall have for dinner? I am sure our hostess will do her best to serve us; and we will be content with whatever she has to give."

At the instigation of a young lady whose aged husband then had the shootings of Craganour, somebody asked his lordship if he would hold a service in the schoolhouse of Kinloch on the following Sunday. He replied, "I have come to Rannoch not for preaching, but for the benefit of my health; but I shall consult my better-half about the matter." The result of this consultation was that intimation was sent through Rannoch that the Lord Bishop of London was to have morning service in the schoolhouse of Kinloch-Rannoch on the following Sunday; and this notice drew a good audience.

On the Sunday morning before service there was some difficulty as to how and where the Bishop was to get his surplice put on. The schoolmaster was away at his holidays, his dwelling-

house was locked up, and to walk up from the inn dressed in full canonicals was out of the question. A little, handy, facetious carpenter who then lived, and wrought at his trade, in the village, and who, on account of his having been across the Atlantic, was called "American John," came to the rescue. On being introduced as the most suitable "beadle" in the place, John, when the difficulty was broached to him, said, "Well, would your lordship like I should treat you as I should have done were we in the backwoods of America?" "Nothing would please me better," replied his lordship. So John, undertaking the business, led the Bishop into the schoolmaster's peat-house, there put on his surplice, etc., for him, and then remarked with great glee, "England and Scotland are united here to-day!"

The Bishop entered the school-house, and having read the morning service of the Church of England, preached with much acceptance from 1st Corinthians, 1. 23-24 verses—"But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God." The same day, by a curious coincidence, the Bishop of St Andrews drove up from Tummel-Bridge, and held an evening service in the school-room. The Anglican Bishop and Mrs Tait attended. And it was remarked by good judges, that, although a learned and accomplished man, Dr Wordsworth appeared very shaky when preaching in the presence of the Bishop of London!

When all the services of the day were over, the Bishop remarked to Mrs Tait: "The little man that attended me to-day in the peat-house has real Scotch humour in him; and I should like so much if he would go along with us to-morrow to Schiehallion." "By all means," said Mrs Tait, "and I will arrange about bringing him."

On Monday morning at ten o'clock, the following party started for Schiehallion, the Lord Bishop of London, and Mrs Tait, one on each side of "American John" teasing him, and Donald Kennedy, the police constable of the district in plain clothes walking behind them. As they walked along, peal of laughter followed peal from the joyous company. The Bishop evidently understood the true philosophy of life and well-being. With him there was a time for hard study, and a time for gravity

and devotion; and also a time for recreation and hilarious merriment.

Having reached Wester Tempar, they struck south from the county road, and were soon climbing Schiehallion. This mountain, steep, conical, bare and picturesque, rises to the height of over 3500 feet above sea-level, and 2800 feet above the level of Loch-Rannoch; and it is famed among men of science over the whole world, as the mountain selected by Maskelyne for making observations by the pendulum, or for determining the weight of the earth. The remarkably regular shape of the mountain, approximating in its main body to that of the earth, together with the homogeneous structure of the rock of which it is mainly composed, made him fix on Schiehallion, as, on the whole, the subject best adapted for making such experiments on; and this has invested what had always been the most unique and characteristic feature in the scenery of Rannoch with an interest peculiar to itself.

The Bishop had not proceeded very far in his ascent of the mountain when, to use John's expressive words, "he began to blow and pech, and say it was hard work." At length, coming to a green level spot, he stood and looked back. "John," said he, "I don't wonder although you Highlanders love your country. What a glorious sight of lake, imbosomed in green trees and herbage, and beautiful mountains near and far, and that fine river coming winding down the strath glittering in the sun like a long silver thread." "Yes, my lord," said John, "we love our country dearly. I was in America, and I came home for the love I bore to Rannoch." "Do all the poor people love Rannoch in the same way?" asked Mrs Tait. "Yes they do, ma'am," said John, "and if they could make a living at all they would not like to leave the place." "By-the-bye, John," said the Bishop, "I've observed a great many houses knocked down and in ruins here and there throughout Rannoch: will you explain to me what is the cause of that?" "Well," replied John, "I'm sure your lordship can explain better than I can how rams' horns blew down the walls of Jericho; it was also rams' horns that blew down so many walls in Rannoch." "Bravo! John," said the Bishop, "that's very good! I shall never forget your illustration of the walls of Jericho. But who is that nice young man you have taken along

with you?" "Well, my lord," replied John, "Donald Kennedy is his name, a nice well-behaved and intelligent lad, and worthy of a better situation than being our police constable; and I hope your lordship will do something for him." "Well, John," said the Bishop, "I may do something for him for your own sake, and specially as a small return for the lesson you have given me in theology." "Take out your note-book then," said John, "and mark down his name, so that you may not forget." The Bishop laughed, and with great good nature did what he was told.

The party then proceeded to climb, and after many a halt, and talk, and laugh, they at length reached the top of Schiehallion. His lordship and Mrs Tait were overjoyed; and "American John" gave them the names of every peak and loch, and lochlet and castle, to be seen all round from that commanding position. Thereafter they descended, and John was amply rewarded for the information and amusement he had afforded them; but curiously enough the Bishop gave nothing to the police-constable.

The Bishop and Mrs Tait left Kinloch in the course of a few days, and no more was heard of them for some time. At the end of three weeks, however, "American John" got a letter to say that the Bishop of London had secured a situation for Donald Kennedy, worth £100 a-year, with immediate entry. Donald went up to London, entered the situation, and continued to occupy it with great comfort till his death, which occurred two years ago.

"American John" died about three years ago. He was quite an original, and a general favourite in Rannoch. His great British hero was the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he placed above everybody else, and whose conversations with himself he delighted to recount to people frequenting his workshop. "The Bishop of London is *my* preacher," he would say; "Ah! he's a nice man. I told him so and so." "The Bishop of London, now the Archbishop of Canterbury, said so and so to me, and he is a pretty good authority!" Then he would turn to another subject, "This is how we used to do in the backwoods of America." "Ha! you know nothing: you were never out of Rannoch; I was in America, and know something." Peace be to John, and to his hero the Archbishop!

JOHN SINCLAIR, *Minister of Rannoch.*

THE *SCOTSMAN*, PROFESSOR BLACKIE, AND THE HIGHLAND CROFTERS.

IN a recent issue of the *Scotsman*, Professor Blackie published a letter, which we subjoin, setting forth his views on the present agitation and disturbance among the crofters in Glendale, Isle of Skye. This letter the *Scotsman*, as the special organ of the Scottish Landocracy, could not conveniently swallow, and in trying to dispose of it by a less dangerous process, it lost its head. It has done more; it has thrown away the semblance of any ingenuousness and fair-dealing which innocent people thought had yet remained to it.

Professor Blackie, speaking for himself and those who agreed with him, wrote—"Our sympathies lie emphatically with the law-breakers *in this case;*" that is, with those who had broken the law in Glendale; for he says immediately after, in the same paragraph of which the above quoted sentence forms a part—"We know that *this Glendale* outbreak is a mere sympton of a deeply-rooted social disease for which the land oligarchy and the Land Laws are answerable at the bar of eternal justice." The *Scotsman*, with characteristic unscrupulousness when dealing with an opponent, which no other publication in Scotland has yet attained to, twists this plain statement into a charge against Professor Blackie of sympathising "with law-breakers *as such.*"

The Professor further says, and says truly, "that there is no tyranny in Europe—nor even in Asiatic Turkey—practically more grinding than the tyranny which, under our present Land Laws, the lord of the soil, with his commissioner, factor, and ground-officer, *may*, in remote districts, exercise over the Highland crofters." How does the *Scotsman* deal with this carefully-qualified statement? "It is to be read," it says, "as stating that this grinding tyranny is practised." It certainly should have been both written and read to that effect as regards the conduct during the present century of many of the class referred to. Professor Blackie, however, does not go that length about any

lords of the soil, commissioners, or factors, but the *Scotsman* magniloquently declares, notwithstanding, that "it is a baseless calumny to say or to hint that landlords and factors are, *as a whole*, guilty of tyranny and oppression." The italics in these quotations are ours.

Who ever said or hinted any such thing as is here placed in Professor Blackie's mouth. Neither in his letter to the *Scotsman*, nor anywhere else, did he ever say anything of the kind. He has often, in our hearing, and to the knowledge of his unfair and unscrupulous accuser, said the very reverse. No one has written more warmly in favour of good landlords and considerate factors than he has done, and many good specimens of both are, happily, still to be found in the Highlands.

Enough has been said to show the nature of the attack so violently made upon him, but we may fairly ask what right has the *Scotsman* to assume to itself the position which it has done on the Highland Crofter Question? At any rate it is proper in the circumstances that we give a few reasons why it should not be for a moment listened to by any one who has the interest of the native population of the Highlands at heart, for its conductors show singular ignorance of the facts as to the position and interests of the Crofters, and it has never failed to malign and misrepresent them.

The *Scotsman* itself, conducted, as it is, under influences foreign to Scotland and Scotchmen, naturally tries to encourage proceedings in the Highlands, which would obliterate and destroy all traces of Celtic nationality; and, to accomplish this end, it delights in fostering a system by which the southern sheep farmer and the English sportsman monopolise the Highlands, and drive the native population out of the country, caring not whither they go.

While the paper in question has always proved itself the inveterate and uncompromising enemy of the Highland Crofters, this anti-Celtic feeling has, if possible, become more intensified in recent years.

In 1878 the *Scotsman* sent to the Highlands and Islands a "Special Commissioner" to describe the condition of the crofters, whose main purpose seems to have been, if we may judge by results, to misrepresent and vilify them; and he has taken little trouble,

before making his ignorant aspersions, to ascertain the facts. It is capable of proof that he described the whole of North and South Uist, Benbecula, and Barra—a district of country seventy to eighty miles long from north to south, and containing a population of 12,503 souls—without ever leaving the neighbourhood of Lochmaddy. The same state of things can be proved in the case of a wide district of the parish of Gairloch and other West Coast estates. The public were led to believe all this time that the "Special Commissioner" was giving the results of his personal experience, and of his own investigation into the circumstances and surroundings of the people! Were the conductors of the paper cognisant of these facts? We know that letters pointing them out were refused insertion by the Editor.

In February last the *Scotsman* sent another "Special Commissioner" to the West, to give its readers an impartial (!) account of the disturbances in the Isle of Skye, especially in Glendale. Those who knew anything about the subject at once saw, when this Commissioner's letters appeared, that they were little else than a badly-arranged hash made up from Sir John MacNeill's Report, the New Statistical Account for the parishes of Bracadale and Duirinish, and stale stories repeatedly told by the factor to ourselves, among others, before the "Special Commissioner" of the *Scotsman* ever visited the Isle of Skye. But this was not all! While he was supposed by the misinformed portion of the public to have derived his information from independent sources, he was actually found to be the guest of the factor for Glendale, from whose residence, at Edinbane, nearly thirty miles from Glendale—the district supposed to have been described—his letters were dated. Here the "Special Correspondent," sent by the *Scotsman* to Skye when the "Jackal" paid her visit to Glendale, actually found the "Special Commissioner" of his journal, presumably much to his disgust and annoyance; for the position of affairs had been discovered by the other representatives of the Scottish and English press who visited Skye on that occasion, and who, with many of the natives, naturally chuckled and sneered at the supposed impartiality of the information obtained and published by the *Scotsman* under such conditions. It may be stated that the "Commissioner's" recall soon followed the arrival of the "Special Correspondent" at head-

quarters, and it may be fairly surmised that there was some connection between the one event and the other. A few of the natives are wicked enough to say that some fat sheep had almost simultaneously disappeared from the district, but what became of them has not been clearly ascertained. It is, however, quite understood that no one but the owner is in any way responsible for their disappearance.

An exposure of the sources from which the *Scotsman* and a few other newspapers receive their Skye local correspondence might prove interesting, and we may yet feel called upon, in the interest of the people of Skye, to enlighten the reader on that subject.

May we not meanwhile fairly ask, Is this a paper which the Scottish people ought to accept as a safe guide on any question affecting the Highlanders? Its very name has become a misnomer in recent years, edited, as it is, by an English Catholic, under whose guidance the once renowned and brilliant *Scotsman* in spirit and objects, as well as in name, has become the violent antagonist of institutions the most highly cherished and revered by Scotsmen, and whose attacks upon these are only equalled by its ridicule of the Catholic Church, religion, and creed. It is impossible for any good Scotsman not to feel regret for the fall in recent years of a paper in which we all felt a natural pride from a position in which intellectual power and marked ability were its distinguishing characteristics, to one of mere common-place, in which it is principally distinguished by disingenuousness of argument and personal scurrility.

The support by the *Scotsman* of any one, under its present guidance, is the surest proof that he who secures it is no real friend of the Highlanders.

The following is Professor Blackie's letter on the Skye Crofters, referred to above, and published in the *Scotsman* of Wednesday, the 28th of February last:—

9 DOUGLAS CRESCENT, EDINBURGH, Feb. 27.

Sir,—As your columns have always been open to the statement of adverse views, and as your tone lately seems to run somewhat sweepingly against the opinions entertained by myself and many members of the Liberal party who have most practical acquaintance with the Highlands, I crave the liberty to state our view of the Skye Crofters' case with all succinctness. Our sympathies lie

emphatically with the law-breakers in this case, and we are strongly of opinion that the real guilt lies with the law-makers—that is, historically, the oligarchs of the soil and the British public, who, after the abolition of the clan system in 1746, made no recognition of the consuetudinary rights of the people in the land, and who, from ignorance or apathy, have allowed laws to remain on the statute-book the direct action of which, when not counteracted by kindly influences, is to override, overwhelm, and at last exterminate the best element of the local population. It is a matter of the smallest consequence, in our view, whether the case for the crofters in the present instance, be legally right or wrong. We know that this Glendale outbreak is a mere symptom of a deeply-seated social disease, for which the land oligarchy and the Land Laws are answerable at the bar of eternal justice. We know, and thousands can rise to testify to it, that there is no tyranny in Europe—nor even in Asiatic Turkey—practically more grinding than the tyranny which, under our present Land Laws, the lord of the soil, with his commissioner, factor, and ground officer, may, in remote Highland districts, exercise over the Highland crofters. With these convictions, we have no hesitation in saying that we regard the Glendale crofters as martyrs rather than criminals—not because they are legally in the right, or because it is in any case right to break the law, but because the law is radically wrong, and by its very nature instigates a healthy human conscience to the violation which it condemns. When the law is unjust, and the devil, so to speak, sits as God's vicegerent on a local throne, it is nothing wonderful that rebellion should break out, and that the rebels should in such cases be not seldom the very select and elect of the land. Such rebels were the Milanese, who revolted against the Austrian rule in Lombardy, and drew out their lives sorrowfully in the dark cells of Moravian prisons. Such rebels were our gallant forefathers—the men who fell at Rullion Green, Aird's Moss, and Bothwell Brig, and shed their blood to purchase for us liberty to breathe on our own Scottish soil, and to read our own Bibles without Anglican dictation. Whatever deeds of blood were perpetrated during the whole seven-and-twenty years of Charles II. and his pig-headed successor were done with the sanction of the law; and on a smaller and less bloody field the extirpation of the noble race of mountain peasantry that inhabited the once populous Highland glens was done with the sanction of law. The law was always in favour of the men who had the power ; never in favour of those whose natural weakness made them an easy prey to the ambition, cupidity, or indifference of their superiors. The law could always be used to enrich the few and to impoverish the many. Laws were made with solemn show and executed with unsparing severity, to preserve the game, but never to preserve the people. This is our view of the matter. Instead, therefore, of hastily blaming these unfortunate people, let us go to the root of the evil, and not, like quack doctors, treat a skin disease with external lotions and superficial appliances, when the only cure lies in reforming the whole habit of social life, and sending a strong current of fresh blood through the veins. Let us unite heart and hand for a radical reform of all landlord-made law ! This is my programme ; and I am ready to stand by it, though it should rain laws from the statute-book as thick as pike-staves upon the land. Land Law reform is the only banner under which the Liberal party can hope to gain glorious victories at the present hour ; and, if they should fail to see their opportunity, and timidly take counsel from law cunningly confused with right, and from a political economy which confounds well-being with wealth, the Tories may act more wisely. They are not the worst landlords in the Highlands, to my knowledge ; and if God in his providence should only send us a second Lord Beaconsfield there is no saying what

they might be educated to do. I subjoin a more succinct expression of these sentiments in verse :—

THE SKYE CROFTERS.

A loud voice blames the men who break the law ;
I rather blame who made the laws to break,
Who pressed the yoke so close upon the neck
Of the hard-driven beast, and rubbed the raw,
That in a fretful fit it kicked the board
And tossed the rider. Blame your want of skill,
Blind oligarchs, and your uneven will
To maim the peasant and to arm the lord.
Woe unto you, the grasping crew who join
Wide field to field, and house to house, that you
May live sole lords of earth, and rack and screw
The poor to trick forth Mammon's gilded shrine !
God is not mocked, whose bolt their head shall smite
Who stamp His name on Might and call it Right.

JOHN STUART BLACKIE.

THE PERTHSHIRE CONSTITUTIONAL.—This newspaper, so long and so well conducted by Mr J. Watson Lyall, now better and more widely known as proprietor and editor of Lyall's "Sportsman's Guide," has recently changed hands. The paper, plant, and property have been purchased by Mr Thomas Hunter (the acting editor of the paper for several years back) and by the commercial manager of the publishing department, under whose joint management, we have no doubt, the *Constitutional* will fully maintain its old reputation as a first-class county paper and literary critic.

A HISTORY OF ROB ROY.—Mr A. H. Millar, F.S.A., Scot., of the *Dundee Advertiser*, has just completed a history of Rob Roy, and it is to be issued immediately. The *Athenæum* of Saturday, 17th February, says :—"That the author has made use in it of many of the documents and letters in the collections of the Duke of Argyll, the Duke of Montrose, the Duke of Athole, and Sir Robert Menzies. Many mythical stories which have long been in circulation regarding Rob Roy have been discarded, and the incidents in his career are for the first time placed in proper chronological order. The part which he played in the Jacobite Rebellion in 1715 is carefully explained. A *fac-simile* reproduction will be given of an unpublished plan of the battle of Glenshiel, the use of which the Duke of Marlborough has granted." Mr Millar is already well known in the literary world as the author of "Traditions and Stories of Scottish Castles," and a "Life of Queen Mary." There is no subject of more interest to Highlanders than the famous Rob Roy, of whom a really authentic history has long been desiderated, and Mr Millar is well qualified and has had special facilities to do him justice. The work is to be illustrated by Mr D. Small. The book may be ordered from this office. Price, 3s. 6d., by post, 3s. 9d.

CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.—A series of papers on this interesting subject, by Mr Alexander Macbain, M.A., will be commenced in our May issue.

HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

SIR,—As a Cameron, interested in the history of my race, perhaps you will permit me at this stage of your account of the Clan to give you a few traditions that refer specially to this period, of which you are writing.

These traditions are valuable, as each item in them is confirmed by the different histories of those stormy times. First, however, let me correct two mistakes in your last issue. You say at page 150 that Donald, son of Ewen Allanson, left two sons, both of whom succeeded respectively to the estate of Lochiel, after the death of their grandfather. Now, instead of two sons, Donald Mac Eoghain left three sons, the youngest being Ian Dubh, or, as he was commonly called, "Ian Dubh Dhruim-na-Saille," his grandfather having given him that place as a "gabhail" or "gavel."

Though Ian Dubh did not succeed to the chiefship, yet he is historically the most important of the three brothers, as his son Allan became chief of the clan in his boyhood, and was the progenitor of all the chiefs from that time to the present day.

The "Sliochd Ian Duibh" sept held Druim-na-Saille until about thirty years ago, when Dr Ewen Cameron, who had served in the East Indiaman "Earl of Balcarres" died suddenly in his prime, leaving a widow—Miss Margaret Kennedy of Lianachan—and an infant son, who immediately thereafter left the place. I believe this son is still in life. My mother's great-grandfather, Allan Cameron, or "Mac Ian Duibh," as he was called, occupied this Ian Dubh's house in the '45, and at it Prince Charles gave forth the counter proclamation offering £30,000 for the head of King George. Over the ford in front of this old historic house Prince Charles led his army across the River Fionna-lith. My grandmother was born in this house, and when my grand-uncle, Dr Donald Cameron, returned to Lochaber, having retired from the Navy after the Peninsular War, he was never called by the people Dr Cameron. It was always "An Doctair Mac Ian Duibh" thus

emphatically declaring him the representative of that sept. The chief, of course, had an older patronymic, although in reality he was, and is, the real "Mac Ian Duibh."

Again, you say that Donald, son of Ewen Allanson, was the progenitor of the family of Earrachd; whereas Ewen was the name, as is proven by their patronymic of "Sliochd Eoghain 'ic Eoghain" unto this day, as his brother John of Kinlochiel's descendants are known as "Sliochd Ian 'ic Eoghain."

These remarks, however, are only by the way—the subject of this letter being emphatically—

Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe 'Chuir an Ruaig air Mac-an-Toisich.

Eoghain Beag Mac Dho'ill 'ic Eoghain succeeded his grandfather as chief of the Clan Cameron. He never was married, unless, indeed, he was handfasted according to the custom of the time to the lady who was the mother of his son—his only child. The lady was the daughter of Macdougall of Lorne.

This happened when Ewen was very young, and the lady's father concealed his resentment until Ewen was chief. He then, on some plausible pretence, got him to visit him, when he imprisoned him in Inch-Connel Castle, in Eilean-na-Cloiche, Lochow. He was slain there by one MacArthur, whilst his clansmen, headed by his foster-father, Mac 'ic Mhartinn of Letterfinlay, were trying to effect his escape.

His son, "Donull Mac Eoghain Bhig," was in his father's charge from his infancy, and was sent secretly to a tailor's wife, in Blar-na'n-Cleireach, or Lundavra, to be nursed, from which circumstance came the name of "An Taillear Dubh," by which he was known all his life. We find him named Donald, probably for his grandfather, and tradition says that he was brought up by Maclachlan of Coiruanan, hereditary standard-bearer to Lochiel, who became his foster-father.

The boy grew up to be a brave and wise man, famous for his powers of sarcasm and ready wit, but more so for the skill with which he wielded his battle-axe, the great weapon of the warriors of Lochaber. From this distinguishing qualification came his sobriquet of "Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe," which has clung to him through the ages.

It is said that when John of Kinlochiel and Ewen of Earrachd murdered their chief, "Donull Dubh Mac Dho'ill 'ic Eoghain," they thought the chiefship and estate would fall into their own hands, but in this they were sorely disappointed, for the widow of the youngest of their three nephews gave birth to twin sons. The eldest was, of course, at once proclaimed chief, whilst the youngest, who was Tanaistear, fell heir to the "gavel" of Druim-na-Saille, and became the ancestor of the Camerons of that branch.

Tradition says that the mother of these twin boys was a Mackintosh, and that she hated the clan of her spouse with a great hatred.

As the mother of young Lochiel she went to live in one of the homes of the chief, "Eilean na'n Craobh," and it is there that we find "Donald," or rather "Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe," first appearing prominently in tradition.

The "Taillear" hated the Mackintoshes, and nothing pleased him better than to wield his axe against them on the battle-field.

He, in return, was hated by the Mackintoshes, especially by Ian Dubh's widow, and by John of Kinlocheil, and Ewen of Earrachd, the sons of the second wife of Ewen Allanson, Marjory Mackintosh, said by some historians to be daughter of Lachlan Badenoch, and not of Duncan Mackintosh, as is said in the Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, quoted by you on this head.

On the first occasion in which the "Taillear Dubh" appears in tradition as a hero he must have been a young man. There had been a skirmish with the Mackintoshes, in which many of them were slain. The "Taillear" was the person deputed to carry the tidings to the lady at "Eilean na'n Craobh," a task which many a brave man would shrink from, knowing the strong nature and the Mackintosh proclivities of the lady. The "Taillear" went fearlessly, and walked straightway into her presence, battle-axe in hand. The lady cried out sternly, "Thig a nuas, a Thaillear, ach fag do thuagh shios" (Come in, tailor, but leave your axe without), to which the young warrior responded,

"Far am bi mi fhein bi' mo thuagh" (Where I will be my axe will be).

"Ciamar a chaidh an latha?" (How did the day go?) asked the lady.

"Oh!" cried the tailor, "gheibheadh tu bian cait air da pheighinn agus rogha is tagha air planc" (You could get a cat's skin for twopence, and pick and choice for a plack). On hearing this, the lady in a rage threw the infant heir into the fire, and in a moment the "tailor" lifted his battle-axe above her head, crying—"A bhean a rug an leanabh tog an leanabh" (Woman who gave birth to the child, lift the child) which she instantaneously did.

There was then a council held among the clan as to what was to be done with this unnatural mother, for it was not thought safe to leave their young chief in the hands of one who had proved so unworthy of her position.

They decided, therefore, to send the lady back to her own people, as she had forfeited all right to be considered a member of the Clan Cameron. The manner in which this resolution was carried out was as follows:—She was placed on horseback with her face to the animal's tail, and so driven within the boundary line of the Mackintosh domains. She was accompanied by a few Mackenzies who had come from Brahan Castle to assist the Camerons in that day's battle.

The Mackenzies were afterwards rewarded by getting land on the estate of Lochiel, and their descendants are in North Ballachulish to this day. It would fill a book to tell of the feuds between this alien race and "Sliochd a Ghamhna Mhaoil Duinn," which was the patronymic of the Camerons of Onich, who were descended from an illegitimate son of a Mac-Sorlie of Glen-Nevis. The clan also resolved not to leave the infant chief to the guardianship of his grand-uncles of Kinlochiel and Earrachd. He was, therefore, sent to Mull, probably to the widow of his uncle, Donald Dubh, who was a lady of the Duart family. "Donull Mac Eoghain Bhig" or "Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe" went meantime to reside with his grandmother, Lady Grant of Grant, from which place he was in the course of time called by a party of his clan, that he might protect them from the oppression of Kinlochiel and Earrachd, who were acting in a most autocratic manner towards them.

The "Taillear" became again their leader in battle, and it is said that in every field in which he fought against the Mackintoshes he was victorious. So successful was he that the people

began to suspect that he had a fairy origin, and that a special charm was upon him. He was not only famous for his use of the "axe," but was fleet-footed as the mountain deer, which stood him in good stead on one occasion. He was out hunting, and accidentally fell into the hands of the Mackintoshes. They were quite jubilant over his capture, and longing to see his blood shed.

"Had I fallen into your hands like this what would you do with me?" asked the Mackintosh of his captive.

"I would at least give you a chance for your life, and if you could get free I would let you," replied the "Taillear."

"Then I shall do so with you. You will not have to say you outstrip the Mackintosh in generosity," exclaimed the chief. He then formed his men into a ring, with the "Taillear" in the centre, saying, "Men, present your arms, and if he rushes upon you it will but make an end of him the quicker."

The "Taillear" began to wield his battle-axe, as if trying to make an opening here and there, by which he could escape. He threatened to break the circle at different points, and at length his quick eye saw where the men were beginning to be off their guard, and, making a sudden dash, he sprang from what seemed the arms of death. He ran as fast as his fleet feet could carry him, pursued by his enraged enemies, the foremost among them being their chief. At last the "Taillear" came to a broad ditch which he leaped lightly, and got safe across. The Mackintosh leaped after him, but fell into the mire. The "Taillear Dubh" raised his axe above his head, and said to the floundering chief, "Dh'fhaodainn, ach cha dean mi." "I might, but I will not." The Mackintosh, pleased with the generosity of his foe, waved his men back from the pursuit, and the "Taillear" gave him his hand and pulled him out of the ditch.

The place where this happened is not far from the banks of the Caledonian Canal at Gairlochy. The spot where he made the leap is to this day called "Leum an Taillear," and the ditch, though now filled up, still bears the name of "Lochan Mhic-an-Toisich."

Mucomer was the scene of his last battle with the Mackintoshes, and on the evening of that day he was seen climbing the mountain side at Coilleros, where there runs a stream

known as "Ault-gormshuil," called after the celebrated Lochaber witch of that name. The "Taillear Dubh" was never seen in Lochaber again. All sorts of surmises were made about his disappearance. Some said he was murdered by command of the young chief, Ailean MacIan Duibh, who had now returned home. The enemies of the "Taillear Dubh" had made the young lad believe that he wanted to be chief himself; that he was stealing the hearts of the people with that intention; and that he asserted his being the child of a lawful marriage, and therefore not illegitimate. It is said that the chief believed these tales, and consented to the death of his relative. When he, therefore, disappeared, there was great indignation among his friends, who believed him to have been murdered.

Those who believed in his fairy origin thought now that he had gone back to his people, having fulfilled the work given to him to do. Others said that, being tired of fighting, he had retired to some Monastery, and that he was seen in the district of Cowal.

So great a favourite was this brave and unselfish man among his people, that their indignation waxed so hot against their chief as to make him again leave the country. The clan believed that he had consented to the murder of their hero; therefore, he did not feel safe among them, and he retired to Appin until their fury would abate.

Now comes a page of this history that proves truth to be stranger than fiction. After the fate of this brave man had been enveloped in darkness for centuries it is now accounted for, and made clear; and it is proved that the "Taillear Dubh" did seek safety in Cowal, where he married and left a family, and we find at the present day one of his descendants in the Reverend Dr Taylor, Professor of Church History in the Edinburgh University. The name of Taylor evidently came from "Cloinn an Taillear"—"The Children of the Tailor"—referring of course to the sobriquet of "Donull Mac Eoghain Bhig."

Without knowing that any tradition existed in Lochaber about their ancestor, the Taylors of Stratheachaig knew that he was named "Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe," that his real name was "Donald Dubh," and that he was the offspring of a chief of Lochiel. On one of the oldest tombstones of the family the "Tuagh" or "battle-axe" is carved—not the more modern, long

handled, prettily designed Lochaber axe, but the old, deadly-looking one, having a short handle, with a rope attached to it, and which was the axe always used by the leaders in battle, a specimen of which is in the hands of Mr Colin Livingston, Fort-William. The Maclachlans of Strath-Lachlan were said to be descended from the Camerons, and to be related to the Maclachlans of Coiruanan, and that may have been the link that led him to that district for safety; or it may have been that his maternal grandfather got the Earl of Argyll to give him a holding there.

The "Taillear Dubh" was in special danger from the families of Earrachd and Kinlochiel, as in defence of the absent chief he had been the cause of the death of these veteran relatives, who were playing into the hands of their kinsmen, the Mackintoshes. Ewen of Earrachd was murdered at Inverlochy, where the opposing parties of the clan met in council; John of Kinlochiel was beheaded at Dunstaffnage by order of the Earl of Argyll, whom the "Taillear Dubh" got to espouse the quarrel through the influence of his grandfather, Macdougall of Lorne. When "Allan Mac Ian Duibh" returned again to take the power into his own hands and reign, he came to understand that his relative, "Donull Mac Eoghain Bhig," *alias* "Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe," had always been his best friend. He heard of how he had saved him from his heartless mother, and had watched over his interests through all the years of his absence. Then he was sorry that he had blamed him wrongfully, and to make amends, as well as to please his offended clan, he paid the memory of the brave man the compliment of placing him in his coat of arms as supporter on either side, with his battle-axe held up conspicuously. There he remains still, and his name lives in the songs, proverbs, and traditions of his native land; and next, perhaps, to the great Sir Ewen, he is their ideal warrior and hero. His name awakens their pride and their affection; and as long as there is a Cameron in Lochaber, or Gaelic spoken, there the name of "Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe" will be remembered.

I am, &c.,

MARY MACKELLAR.

A RUN THROUGH CANADA AND THE STATES.

By Kenneth Macdonald, F.S.A., Scot.

V.—Toronto.

Between four and five in the afternoon we made a short stoppage at the city of Kingston, at one time the capital of Upper Canada, a city which is of peculiar interest for a Highlander, as the home of Evan MacColl, the Bard of Loch-Fyne, a poet whose works are read by Highlanders all over the world; and not only himself a poet, but the father of Mary MacColl, the talented authoress of "Bide a Wee," a collection of poems by the daughter in no way inferior to those which have come from the father's pen. At this time it was my intention to pay a visit to Kingston on my return journey, but this intention I was unfortunately not able to carry into effect. I had wished to make the acquaintance of the bard, but I discovered in Toronto that, at the only time I could have paid a visit to Kingston, he was in another part of Canada. The railway line passes to the rear of Kingston, so that I was not able to see much of the city; but the fact that next to Halifax and Quebec, it is one of the strongest fortified places in the Dominion, makes it interesting to the visitor. Its fortifications, however, I did not see, and of course cannot describe, except by borrowing from sources which are equally available to my reader as they are to me.

About eight in the evening I parted with my friend Mr Fraser, who had to travel by a branch line, and thereafter by steamer on Lake Ontario to reach his destination; and for the remainder of my journey to Toronto, which occupied nearly three hours, I roamed about from seat to seat, and car to car, seeking the American of the books—the man who would talk on the slightest provocation, or none at all—but I did not find him. About 11 P.M. Toronto was reached, and within ten minutes afterwards, while I was attending to my baggage, I was made aware, by loud cheering in another part of the Depöt, that a special train which had been coming after us the whole day, had arrived, bearing the Marquis and Marchioness of Lorne, who were then just after setting out on their tour to British Columbia.

The day had been an unpleasant one—perhaps the most unpleasant during my whole tour—rain having poured in torrents during the greater part of it, and I was glad to reach my snug quarters in the Walker House, where, after supper and a bath, I slept the sleep of the weary. In the morning I devoted an hour to the examination of a map of the city, and made myself as familiar as a stranger can by means of a map with the various tramway routes. This done I sallied forth to make myself practically acquainted with the city; and following a habit which I can recommend to anyone who wishes to get quickly familiar with a large city, I stepped on the first street car I encountered, and from it, after a while, I transferred myself to another, and still another, until in the course of a very short time I traversed a considerable part of the city, and made myself familiar with the situations and directions of the principal thoroughfares.

The city is situated on the shores of Lake Ontario, about thirty miles from its western end. The portion of the city next the Lake is situated on rather low ground, but the ground rises with a gentle slope, until a few miles from the Lake shore the top of a gently sloping ridge is reached, from whence the visitor can look down upon the city, and see it stretched like a panorama below him. The site was chosen in 1793 by Governor Simcoe, the first Governor of Upper Canada. At that time the name of the future city was York, and the predecessors of the men who now proudly call Toronto the "Queen City of the West," knew their town as "Muddy York," and one of them described it as "fitter for a frog or beaver meadow, than a habitation for human beings." The Governor, however, was far-sighted enough to see that the situation of the city as a commercial centre would more than compensate for the natural defects of its situation, and the marvellous progress which Toronto has made in the 90 years which have elapsed since its first houses were built, justifies the wisdom of its founder. When the site was chosen it was little better than a marsh, and the swampy ground gave rise to agues and fevers to such an extent that the settlement of the city was very much retarded in its earlier years. Another circumstance contributed to retard its progress. This was the great European war at the end of the last century, and the beginning of the present, which, by destroying the men who might otherwise have become

emigrants, prevented the natural growth of the colony. Nearly thirty years after its foundation it had less than 1400 inhabitants, but soon after it began to grow more rapidly, and in 1856 it had a population of over 40,000. In 1859 the seat of the Government was removed from Toronto to Quebec, and this tended to reduce the population somewhat, but since that time the city has advanced with marvellous strides, and its population now amounts to about 90,000; or, if Yorkville, a suburb on the north of the city, is included, to about 100,000. At the time of my visit, a vote was taken in Yorkville on the question whether they should unite with the city of Toronto, when, by a large majority, the inhabitants declared for union, so that now Yorkville is actually a part of the city of Toronto.

When the site of the city was chosen by Governor Simcoe, the only inhabitants were two families of Indians. Ninety years is not a long period, even in the history of an American city, yet I did not wholly realise the comparatively brief space in which Toronto has grown to its present size, until in course of conversation with Mr Harman, the City Treasurer, he informed me that his grandfather, who was one of the earliest settlers in Toronto, had seen Indian wigwams on the site where the Grand Trunk Railway Station now stands. The present name of the city is more modern even than the city itself. York became Toronto during the Governorship and at the instance of Sir John Colborne. The derivation of the later name is somewhat obscure, one opinion being that it is derived from the Mohawk Dr-on-do "trees on the island," another that it is derived from an Indian word meaning "place of meeting." Between the two opinions I cannot decide. The name has a pleasant sound, and both parties are agreed that it is an old and an Indian one.

The principal street of the city is King Street, which runs east and west, almost parallel to Lake Ontario, and at no great distance above it. It is a fine spacious street, and on each side is lined by magnificent buildings which would do credit to any city, either in the old or in the new world. The street is already built upon for a distance of three miles, and it is being rapidly extended at both ends. Next in importance, if not, indeed, equal to it, is Yonge Street, which, beginning at Front Street, nearer the Lake than King Street, and parallel to it, runs northwards, in-

tersecting King Street, and dividing the city into two almost equal parts. When I asked in Toronto the length of Yonge Street, the reply was "30 miles," and this is substantially true, for buildings extend all along the line of Yonge Street to Holland Landing, to which it leads. Apart from its great length, Yonge Street is historically interesting, for it dates back to the days of Governor Simcoe, who fixed upon the site of the city. The Governor seems to have been one of the most clear-sighted men who ever ruled Canada, and in 1794 he opened up the road, now known as Yonge Street, as a portage from Lake Ontario to Lake Simcoe. By this means he shortened and cheapened the route to Mackinaw, then the great depot of the fur trade. On the opening of this route, the North-West Fur Company, which was established by Frobisher and Mactavish of Montreal in 1782, and which in 1796 employed 2000 hands, instead of sending their supplies by the River Ottawa by canoes, sent batteaux by the St Lawrence. These were carted across the portages (one of which was Yonge Street), and delivered their cargoes in Mackinaw at a saving of £10 to £15 per ton.

What curious visions this history brings up! Who, now travelling in Canada in a Pullman car, or Palace steamboat, remembers that at a comparatively recent date the whole commerce of Canada was carried on by means of the birch-bark canoe or the large batteau, and yet so it is? The birch-bark canoe, which might be anywhere between 9 and 30 feet in length, was navigated along the Canadian rivers and lakes where they were navigable, and when the navigation came to an end, the cargo was unloaded, and carried on the backs of the voyageurs to the next navigable water, the canoe being carried in the same way. This was called the portage. At the end of the portage, the canoe was launched, the cargo laden, and the water journey resumed. In this way hundreds of miles of country were traversed, and thousands of tons of merchandise transported. Prior to the opening up of the route from Lake Ontario to Lake Simcoe by the road which is now Yonge Street of Toronto, the Great North-Western Depot of the Fur Trade was reached by canoe; but with the opening up of this route the larger class of boat known as the batteau came to be used. The batteau is a large flat-bottomed skiff, sharp at both ends, about 40 feet long, and 6

to 8 feet wide in the middle, and capable of carrying about 5 tons. When these reached the end of the navigable water, they were either dragged by means of ropes by men and oxen up the shallow rapids, or were unloaded, and carted across the portages. They were provided with masts and lug sails, an anchor and four oars, and a crew of four men and a pilot. Their draught of water, with 40 barrels of flour on board was only 20 inches, and as they could not be capsized in the excitement of a rapid, and were able by their light draught to creep along shallow waters, they were found in many cases preferable to the canoe, when considerable quantities of goods had to be transported. These clumsy-looking, but very serviceable, vessels were for many years transported along the route, part of which now forms one of the busiest thoroughfares in Canada. By-and-bye the batteau was to some extent replaced by the larger Durham boat or barge, which held its own until both were superseded by the railway and steamboat. The birch-bark canoe still retains very much of its own place in the further away districts of the new world, where the backwoodsman will set out alone on a journey of several weeks duration with his canoe. During the day it will transport him along the rivers and lakes, and at night it forms when turned over, his protection from rain and dew.

But to return to Toronto. Like most other Western cities, it is yet in its timber age. The streets are paved with wooden blocks where they are paved at all; the footways are formed of planks, many of them very fine pieces of timber from fifteen to eighteen inches in width; and the curb and gutters are formed of the same material. Away from the business part of the city, many of the houses are entirely built of timber, and the roofs are covered with shingles.

Everywhere throughout the city there are magnificent public and private buildings. The residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, fronting Simcoe and King Streets, is designed in the modern French style of architecture. The walls are of red brick, relieved with Ohio cut stone dressings, with galvanised iron cornices painted to imitate stone. This material is apparently found suitable to the climate of Ontario. The main building is three storeys in height, and has a Mansard roof in which part of the third storey is situated. In the centre of the building, as seen from Simcoe Street, there rises a tower 70 feet high, finished

with a handsome wrought iron railing. The main building has a frontage to King Street of about 90 feet, and the kitchen wing, which is two storeys high, about 100 feet more. The main entrance is under the tower facing Simcoe Street, and is covered by a handsomely carved porch supported on clusters of Corinthian columns. The whole building, though somewhat ornate in detail, has a substantial appearance, and until its full extent is seen might be mistaken for the residence of a wealthy merchant, rather than the official residence of the Governor of a large Province. Perhaps the most beautiful building in Toronto, however, is the Osgoode Hall, which is named after the Hon. Wm. Osgoode, the first Chief Justice of Upper Canada. This building I only saw the outside of during my first visit to Toronto, but on my return I was taken through the whole of the interior by Colonel Denison, the Stipendiary Magistrate of Toronto. The building is of the classic style, and the Central Hall is one of the most beautiful I have seen. The building contains Court-rooms and offices for the Superior Law Courts of the Province, and it also contains a very fine Library. In the various parts of the building there are portraits of the Judges who have from time to time occupied seats on the bench of the Supreme Court, and if I recollect aright a fine portrait of Lord Dufferin, the most popular of Canadian Governors General.

One of the first buildings which the visitor to Toronto will observe, is Saint James's Cathedral. This is the principal Episcopal church in the city, and it is the fourth church which has occupied the same site, the last one having been burnt thirty or forty years ago. It is of early English architecture, and is beautifully executed. About 10 years ago the tower, which is 150 feet high, was completed. The spire, which is 306 feet high, is said to be the highest in America. The clock, which took the first prize at the exhibition of Vienna, was presented to the Dean and Church Wardens on Christmas eve, 1876. The movement of the clock is the largest in the world, except that of Westminster. It plays the Cambridge chimes on the smaller bells every quarter of an hour, and strikes the hour of the day on the largest bell. During the day the noise of the street traffic to a considerable extent drowns the chimes, but at night, the sweet tones of Saint James's are heard over a large portion of the busiest part of the city.

After an hour spent in going through the streets, I called upon Mr Hugh Miller, to whom I carried two letters of introduction, one from his relative, Mr Cumming, Allanfearn, and the other from the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*. From Mr Miller I received a warm welcome, as every person hailing from the capital of the Highlands does. Forty years ago he left Inverness and settled in Toronto, and he has been witness to the many changes which have taken place in the latter city in that period during which it has grown from a town of 14,000 inhabitants to its present size. Through Mr Miller I made many new acquaintances in Toronto, from all of whom I experienced the greatest kindness. I was desirous before going further West to know something of agriculture in the Province of Ontario, and the advantages which that province offers to emigrants, and having informed Mr Miller of this, he accompanied me to the office of the Immigration Department, when Mr Spence, the secretary, not only supplied me with a pile of literature on the subject, but afforded me information which no book supplies. Ontario, while it has no prairie land to give free grants of to settlers, has advantages of its own to offer to immigrants. It has many cities and towns, and a great portion of its land has been settled and under cultivation for a long time. The farmers are, as a rule, well to do, and an immigrant without means of stocking land of his own can obtain employment for himself and his family, on terms which will enable him, while gaining valuable experience, to save money, while he lives in a manner which, when compared with the life of an agricultural labourer at home, is comparative luxury. After a few years spent in this way the servant may, if he prefers to remain in Ontario, obtain a grant of land in the unsettled part of the province, and although his agricultural pursuits will be interfered with for a time by the timber on his land, he will find a market for the wood at a price which will more than compensate him for his labour in cutting it. The land which has not yet been taken up in Ontario is comparatively poor, and if the intending farmer is not able with his own capital, and what he can borrow, to purchase a clear farm, his better course is admittedly to go West, where, with the experience he has gained, he will be able, if he is industrious and intelligent, to make for himself a comfortable home.

K. M'D.

(To be continued.)

THE ROYAL COMMISSION AND THE HIGHLAND CROFTERS.

A ROYAL Commission to inquire into the condition of the Highland Crofters has just been granted by the Government. When the writer of these lines first suggested the appointment of this Commission, as far back as 1877, the idea was generally considered ridiculous, but it is now an accomplished historical fact. The Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, on the 17th of October 1877, asked Mr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., while addressing his constituents in the Music Hall, Inverness, the following question, amid the general laughter of the audience :—

> Keeping in view that the Government has graciously considered the reputed scarcity of crabs and lobsters, and of herrings and garvies, on our Highland coast, of sufficient importance to justify them in granting two separate Royal Commissions of Inquiry—will you, in your place in Parliament, next session, move that a similar Commission be granted to inquire into the present impoverished and wretched condition and, in some places, the scarcity of men and women in the Highlands; the cause of this state of things; and the most effectual remedy for ameliorating the condition of the Highland Crofters generally?"

Mr Fraser-Mackintosh made the following reply, which, with the question, will be found in the local papers at the time :—

> A Member of Parliament had a certain power, and only a certain power. Now, the question which was here raised was a very large one, and he did not think that he would have the slightest chance of getting such a Commission as was referred to, unless the Government was prepared for the demand beforehand, and unless the request was strengthened by a general expression of feeling in its favour throughout the country. If Mr Mackenzie, who had written an able article on the subject, which had attracted great attention, and others with him, could by petition, or by deputation to the Prime Minister, pave the way for a motion, he would be very glad to make it. His moving in the matter without adequate support would hamper and hurt the laudable object Mr Mackenzie had at heart.

Since that date the question has never been lost sight of, and influential Highlanders extended their support in public and in private to pave the way for action in the House of Commons. The Gaelic Society of Inverness soon after petitioned Parliament in favour of a Royal Commission of Inquiry. Towards the end of 1880 a public meeting, held in Inverness, and presided over by Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., petitioned in favour of it; the Fede-

ration of Celtic Societies took the matter up; the Gaelic Society of Perth; the Highland Law Reform Associations of Inverness and Edinburgh got up large meetings, and petitioned Parliament; Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P.; Dr Cameron, M.P.; Mr Dick Peddie, M.P.; Sir George Campbell, M.P.; D. H. Macfarlane, M.P.; and others, kept the question before the House of Commons and the country; and, on the 22nd of February last, Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., got up a Memorial, signed by twenty-one Scottish Members of Parliament, to the Home Secretary, which was forwarded, accompanied by the following letter:—

5 Clarges Street, W., 23rd Feb. 1883.

DEAR SIR WILLIAM,—I have never taken up your time by letter or interview before in reference to the state of the crofter and rural population of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, but now feel constrained to do so.

It is upwards of two years since I presided at a public meeting at Inverness, where the position was discussed, and enquiry desiderated. A notice on the subject was put on the paper of the House by me in the summer of 1881, and again early in 1882. A formal resolution praying for inquiry by Royal Commission was tabled. I was, however, never lucky enough to get a first place for the discussion, and I have failed for any night open prior to the ensuing Easter Recess.

In these circumstances, feeling very unhappy at the present state of matters, and believing that many of my poor countrymen are looking to me for Parliamentary assistance, I beg to represent to you as strongly as I can that—

1st. The people themselves desire such inquiry; and on this I may refer to a curious petition presented by me on Wednesday from Glendale, to all appearance the true and unprompted views of the crofters.

2nd. The public in Scotland by numerous meetings and otherwise show that they concur.

3rd. The press of Scotland, from the *Scotsman* downwards, may be said to be unanimous.

4th. The landlords generally, and officials in the disturbed districts are not averse; and

5th, and lastly, I have felt it my duty within the last two or three days to ascertain the mind of the Scottish members. There are seven members of Government, and one incapacitated, reducing our number for present purposes to 52. Several are not in town, but two are known to have publicly expressed themselves in favour of inquiry, viz., Mr Dick Peddie and Mr William Holmes. Of those to whom I have appealed, 21, including several Conservatives, have signed the memorial enclosed. Seven, though they hesitated to sign, have expressed their approval of inquiry. I have only found four decidedly hostile.

I may, therefore, assure you that a large majority of the unofficial Scottish members are favourable; and this, coupled with what I have said in the preceding four articles, should satisfy the Government no longer to delay.

For my own part, I could not have believed that so soon after the meeting at Inverness in December 1880 the agitation should have gone to such a pitch.

I am as clear as any one that the law should be upheld, yet it will be imprudent

to delay till every legal point be adjusted. I fear new ones will be constantly cropping up.—Yours faithfully.

C. FRASER-MACKINTOSH.

To Sir W. Vernon Harcourt, M.P.

The Memorial, with its signatories, is as follows:—

To the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

We, the undersigned Scottish members of the House of Commons, while fully recognising the necessity of vindicating the authority of the law, consider that, under existing circumstances, it is most important that a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the condition of the crofter and rural population of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland should be granted by the Government without delay.

C. FRASER-MACKINTOSH.	S. WILLIAMSON.
GEORGE ANDERSON.	FRANK HENDERSON.
CHARLES CAMERON.	R. W. COCHRAN-PATRICK.
T. R. BUCHANAN.	G. ARMITSTEAD.
G. CAMPBELL.	JOHN C. DALRYMPLE HAY.
J. STEWART.	CLAUD ALEXANDER.
ANDREW GRANT.	JAMES ALEX. CAMPBELL.
ROBERT FARQUHARSON.	ARCHIBALD ORR-EWING.
ALEX. H. GORDON.	G. BALFOUR.
J. W. BARCLAY.	S. D. WADDY.
	PETER M'LAGAN.

22nd February 1883.

The seven members referred to in Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's letter to Sir William Harcourt, as hesitating to sign, were, we understand, Mr Pender (Wick Burghs); Sir Alexander Matheson, Baronet (County of Ross); Sir Donald Currie (County of Perth); Mr Parker (Burgh of Perth); Mr Bolton (County of Stirling); Mr Campbell (Ayr Burghs); and Mr Dalrymple (County of Bute). Those distinctly opposed to any inquiry were—Sir T. E. Colbroke (County of Lanark); Sir H. Maxwell (County of Wigtown); Mr E. Noel (Dumfries Burghs); and Mr Preston Bruce (County of Fife).

Lord Colin Campbell (County of Argyll) has since intimated that had he been asked he would have signed the Memorial to Government. None of the others were seen, as they were either out of London or absent from the House.

It will be noticed, we believe, with very general regret and surprise, that not a single Northern Member of Parliament, except Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, has signed the Memorial. If any proof were wanted that inquiry was looked forward to by the northern landlords with disfavour, and, in some instances, with

dismay—though they feel that it has now become necessary—it would be found in this significant fact. It should also convince the Government of the necessity of making the Royal Commission really effective by placing men upon it who will counteract the landlord opposition and aristocratic influence, which will certainly have to be met in the course of the inquiry on every point where the facts are likely to tell against the landlords and their agents. Unless the other side is strongly represented, so as to meet, on something like equal grounds, the power, wealth, and influence of those whose conduct has made this inquiry necessary, the Royal Commission had better never to have been granted. It will only prove the commencement in earnest of an agitation on the Land Question, the end of which no one can predict.

Considering the stage which the question has now reached, we think we are justified in reproducing what Mr Fraser-Mackintosh writes to us on the 5th of March. He says, alluding to the question put to him by the writer in the Inverness Music Hall, and already referred to—"I see that you put the question very broadly in 1877, and you are therefore alone entitled to the full credit of initiating the movement." The reader will not be surprised if, in these circumstances, we shall watch the composition of the Commission, as well as its proceedings throughout, with more than ordinary interest.

A. M.

THE ETHICS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

III.—What is Rent?

Relative to the subject of these papers there is an activity of thought, combined with an indefinable feeling that something must be done, which no one is able to understand, and which can only be described by the trite French expression, "It is something in the air." This, indeed, is no less true of the physical world than it is of the world of mind, for with adverse seasons, potato blight, and cattle epidemics, it may well be said "it is something in the air." Events are, therefore, likely to solve the

knotty points of economic science more than the speculations of philosophers. Still, as these speculations appertain to fundamental doctrines which influence human thought and action, in the most important social and economic relations, it is all the more necessary to expose and eliminate error. Legislative attempts at a practical compromise of existing difficulties may effect some temporary relief, but such legislation cannot be of an enduring nature, unless it proceed upon sound fundamental principles.

The space at my disposal in these pages does not admit of such a full examination of the much controverted subject of rent, as its importance, as well as its abstruseness, demands; but without imposing too much upon the good nature of the Editor, or upon the patience of the reader, I may be able to review the discussion so far as to present, in brief outline, what appears to me to produce the confusion of thought regarding it.

I have already called attention to the fact that there are *two principles* of productive industry—the agricultural and commercial —and that the one is *inverse*, whilst the other is *direct*. I have also defined land as natural power, as a correction upon the definition of the utilitarian school, who refer to it as natural monopoly. In taking an ethical view of the subject, the importance of a correct definition must appear, as it leads the mind to consider it in the higher and more important relationship of power to freedom, justice, and equality. Following the example of Adam Smith and his adherents, who place all exchangeable value in labour, I was obliged to give a brief analysis of that subject, and in doing so I was able, at all events, to show that those who place exchange value in utility, materiality, demand and supply, and such like, could not give a logical and intelligible explanation of the phenomena of trade and commerce.

It still remains, however, to be shown how the labour theory of value can explain how an acre of land in the City of London is worth £100,000, whilst another on a Highland mountain side, which neither spade nor plough has tickled into a smiling harvest, is worth only a few shillings, but still possessing exchange value, as proved by the fact that it pays rent. This is the unsolved problem of economic science, and before we can accept Mr George's "remedy," or Mr Russell Wallace's "land nationalisa-

tion," we ought to solve the difficulty, if it is within the compass and comprehension of the human intellect to do so.

In his "History of Civilisation" Buckle mentions the nature of the difficulty, and, as Mr George refers to the passage and has made it the groundwork of his eloquent book, "Progress and Poverty," I quote it:—

"Thus far as to the different ways in which climate and soil affect the creation of wealth. But another point of equal, or perhaps of superior, importance remains behind. After the wealth has been created, a question arises as to how it is to be distributed; that is to say, what proportion is to go to the upper classes, and what to the lower. In an advanced stage of society this depends upon several circumstances of great complexity, and which it is not necessary here to examine. But in a very early stage of society, and before its later and refined complications have begun, it may, I think, be proved that the distribution of wealth is, like its creation, governed entirely by physical laws; and that those laws are, moreover, so active as to have invariably kept a vast majority of the inhabitants of the fairest portion of the globe in a condition of constant and inextricable poverty. If this can be demonstrated, the immense importance of such laws is manifest. For, since wealth is an undoubted source of power, it is evident that, supposing other things equal, an inquiry into the distribution of wealth is an inquiry into the distribution of power, and, as such, will throw great light on the origin of those social and political inequalities, the play and opposition of which form a considerable part of the history of every civilised country."

In a foot note he adds—

"Indeed, many of them are still unknown; for, as M. Rey justly observes, most writers pay too exclusive an attention to the production of wealth, and neglect the laws of its distribution. In confirmation of this, I may mention the theory of rent, which was only discovered about half a century ago, and which is connected with so many subtle arguments that it is not yet generally adopted, and even some of its advocates have shown themselves unequal to defend their own cause. The great law of the ratio between cost of labour and the profits of stock, is the highest generalisation we have reached respecting the distribution of wealth; but it cannot be consistently admitted by any one who holds that rent enters into price."

It will be seen from this quotation that rent is the disturbing element, or unresolved factor, in proportionals, which in free industries are capable of being applied in accordance with a perception of the mind as to some law of distributive justice. Now, if this disturbing element were eliminated, or resolved into some other proportional, or that part of it which cannot be so resolved regarded as an *accruing residuum* belonging to the state, or to society, capable of being ascertained and appropriated, it seems to me that the Rule of Three might be applied to political economy.

It must be explained here to the uninitiated that the rent of land, or, rather that part of the rent of land, which is the subject of perplexity, is what accrues to the landlord over and above the interest upon his expenditure in reclaiming land, building steadings, dykes, and all other ameliorations. Ricardo defined it as a charge made for the use of the indestructible powers of the soil, or, in other words, its germinating property. Both landlords and socialists place value (money value) in this and fight over it. Still further, working upon this notion, he propounded a theory of rent which has been seized upon by materialists, and which Stuart Mill, by a common custom of utilitarians, calls *the law* of rent; for their theories, it should seem, must be regarded as fundamental laws. The ordinary reader, in Scotland particularly, where the will of the landlord is almost the only recognised law of rent, will be very curious to know what this law is. Well, here it is.—

"It is only, then, because land is not unlimited in quantity and uniform in quality, and because in the progress of population land of an inferior quality, or less advantageously situated, is called into cultivation, that rent is ever paid for the use of it. When, in the progress of society, land of the second degree of fertility is taken into cultivation, rent immediately commences on that of the first quality, and the amount of that rent will depend on the difference in the quality of these two portions of land. When land of the third quality is taken into cultivation rent immediately commences on the second, and is regulated, as before, by the difference in their productive powers. At the same time the rent of the first quality will rise, for that must always be above the rent of the second, by the difference between the produce which they yield with a given quantity of capital and labour. With every step in the progress of population which shall oblige a country to have recourse to land of a worse quality, to enable it to raise its supply of food, rent on all the more fertile land will rise."

The absurdity of this theory must be apparent to every practical farmer, for on every large farm, as well as in every large field, there are varieties of soil of different degrees of fertility. The first tithing that was farmed, or used agriculturally, in England, probably contained all the varieties of soil, of conformation, and of scenery which the aspect of an English county presents at the present day; and yet with no scarcity of land of the same quality round about, the people must have paid rent to the superior, whether sovereign or subject. These *varieties* which render nature so beautiful, and so well adapted as a habitation for man, in producing corn, trees, grazings of all sorts, and cover for fowls,

are by Ricardo termed "gradations," and the misuse of words is very apt to produce confusion of thought.

Land of a low degree of fertility may be raised to a high degree by the application of labour, lime, phosphates, and manures. Besides, in the progress of society, as we know from history, the descent has often been towards deeper and more fertile soils, such, for instance, as the marshes of Lincoln, many of the swamps of Scotland, and in India and on the Continent to the deep and fertile soils of banks and deltas of rivers. Are the free lands in the Western States of less fertility than land in the neighbourhood of New York, or the free lands of Manitoba than lands in the neighbourhood of Montreal? But if situation accounts for rent, what then becomes of the indestructible powers of the soil; but what is the value of any theory of rent which leaves out the ground rent of town lands and rent of mines? The reader must see that to ask these questions is to refute completely the theory as to gradations of soil and descent to lower soils.

At this stage, however, I shall not detain the reader by further illustrations to show the absurdity and falseness of this delusive and pernicious theory which places value in land apart from human labour; but will proceed to show the confusion and uncertainty which an adherence to it produced on so great a logician as Stuart Mill, and by-and-bye we shall examine the dangerous conclusions to which it led Mr Henry George. Mill says:—

"This theory of rent, first propounded at the end of last century by Dr Anderson, and which, neglected at the time, was almost simultaneously re-discovered, twenty years later, by Sir Edward West, Mr Malthus, and Mr Ricardo. It is one of the cardinal doctrines of political economy; and until it was understood, no consistent explanation could be given of many of the more complicated industrial phenomena.'

This confident and dogmatic tone pervades the whole of Mill's writings; and yet, with his great command of sophistical argument, he makes such admissions of failure that the subject is made contemptible. In the sequel to this declaration, he says:—

"It is not pretended that the facts of any concrete case conform with absolute precision to this or any other scientific principle. We must never forget that the truths of political economy are truths only in the rough. . . . . This constitutes a law of rent, *as near the truth as such a law can possibly be;* though, of course,

modified or disturbed in individual cases, by pending contracts, individual miscalculations, the influence of habit, and even the particular feelings and dispositions of the persons concerned."

The reader will be disposed, I think, to agree with me in the opinion that *a law* which is subject to so many modifications, and requires so many apologies, may be as good in the breach as in the performance.

Without further discussion of the question, it is quite sufficient to mention that *this* political economy, of which it is a cardinal principle, and of which the reader hears so much out of the mouths of landlords, politicians, and public journalists, consists of vicious theories of population, values, and *law of rent*, propounded by Malthus, Ricardo, and Mill, which result in a complete subversion of the fundamental principles laid down and explained by Scotland's greatest philosopher.

As a distinguishing feature of this controversy, it is not a little remarkable that those who are ranged against the utilitarian school, and are adherents of Adam Smith, should not only be distinguished by great power of intellect, but also imbued with a deep sense of the evident order and design of nature, combined with a hopeful view of man's better destiny in the world, and a broad sympathy with labouring and suffering humanity. Of these the most eminent are Dr Chalmers, Dr Whewell, and the the brilliant-minded Frenchman, Frédéric Bastiat, whose early death was a great loss to the science, for he left only a few sentences on the subject of rent. Dr Chalmers discussed the theory fully and conclusively, as I think, although Mill passes him over on this point, whilst he quotes him on another of no importance (the consideration of a general glut) where he was more vulnerable. Dr Chalmers refers the theory to a cause which lies at the root of many of the fallacies and confusions connected with land. He says :—

"The real cause of rent is the more strenuous competition of labourers and capitalists, now more numerous than before, and this cause, assigned by Dr Smith, ought not to be superseded, as if it were a distinct and different cause, by that which, in fact, is but a consequence, from itself. *This inversion of the truth has led to vicious conclusions* in political economy ; and as is the effect of every false principle, it has mystified the science."

Having thus far briefly reviewed the debateable ground between two schools of economists, regarding the most important

part of it, in its social and political aspect, I shall delay to a future occasion the further examination of the question.

As I have cited so many eminent authors who are opposed to this theory, and seeing that Mr Henry George bases his whole argument upon it, I consider that he makes a very bold assertion when he says :—

"And in accepting the law of rent, which, since the time of Ricardo, has been accepted by every economist of standing, and which, like a geometrical axiom, has but to be understood to compel assent, the law of interest and law of wages, as I have stated them, are inferentially accepted, as its necessary sequences."

By-and-bye we shall see the value of Mr George's geometrical axioms and arithmetical proportionals ; but in the meantime it is quite sufficient to assert, as a matter of fact, that the most eminent thinkers amongst European economists reject the Ricardian theory, and that hardly any American of note accepts it as a scientific truth.

Guernsey. MALCOLM MACKENZIE.

(To be continued.)

Literature.

SCOTTISH MYTHS: NOTES ON SCOTTISH HISTORY AND TRADITIONS. By ROBERT CRAIG MACLAGAN, M.D. Edinburgh : Maclachlan and Stewart.

WHAT Dr Charles Mackay has done for Gaelic etymology, Dr Maclagan has set himself to do for the mythology of the Gael. And he has succeeded to his heart's content ; not only has he drawn our noble heritage of myth into contempt, but he has done more—he has dragged it through the mire. We do not know whether to laugh or to weep over this bad book, a book bad both in style and matter. In the first place, the work is a string of notes, more or less disconnected, without chapters or headings of any kind, yet containing an index, which we found very useful in turning up words to see the different etymologies given at various points in the book for the same word. Again, the work, purporting to be by a scientific man, is thoroughly unscientific. Its history is untrustworthy, save when he quotes ; his ancient geography is much at fault—the catuvelauni on the Thames are classed together with the Miati of Mearns quite indiscriminately. The author does not know the rudiments of mythology, and as to the science of language, he knows absolutely nothing of its principles. With him, truly, consonants count for nothing, and vowels for very much less. His use of the Greek language, for example—for he seriously brings our ancestors from

Thrace and other such places, and his frequent references to the Greek lexicon of Damm, tend to drive the reader to dwell with peculiar emphasis on that author's name. The book deals chiefly with two points—the ethnology and myths of Scotland. From the confused mass of indigested material presented us, we pick out the following *facts*:—"The invaders of Britain were of various nationalities—Belgian Gauls, Germans, Thracians, &c. Their descendants came to use the language spoken by their Celtic mothers in Alba and Erin; while much of their tradition was derived from their foreign forefathers." And hence it is that Dr Maclagan can lay nearly every language in Europe under contribution to unravel the difficulties of Celtic myths and names. The Roman soldiers—especially the Batavi and Tungri, who turn up at every odd corner in the book, why, we cannot say—mingle with the Scottish natives. Hence "the Scots were illegitimate, the Picts claimed their mother's position in society, the Attecotts, carrying their feelings to a natural conclusion, disliked their fathers, and were called after the two Greek words atta, father, and kotos, hatred;" while the derivation of the name Scots is from the Greek word skotios, "illegitimate," duly found in Damm! Dr Maclagan takes this unpatriotic view of his ancestors for a deep scientific reason; that reason is the phallic worship. Like every beginner in mythologic science, he has a craze for some unity of explanation, and this unity he finds not in the solar worship, of which he says little, but in the phallic worship, by which he explains all sorts of traditions, customs, relics, and names. In fact he reduces every proper name to either a bowl, cup, bell, pillar, altar, pole, or cross; or else to terms signifying love, lust, or wantonness with their physical and other mental concomitants. Even his own name of Maclagan he spares not; it means the son of the bell, and hence its phallic connection. Poor St Fillan may well turn in his grave! The root of the name Fillan is phallos, and is seen besides in Fal (lia fal), catuvelaunos, Valentine, &c. St Columba fares no better; his name evidently comes from Latin columna, a pillar, and hence the sequel. To these derivations we might add hundreds of others equally wild and preposterous; on such principles, or rather such want of principles of philology, any name can be derived from anything, provided the linguistic net is cast wide enough. And, as a consequence, double and even triple derivations are calmly offered us from which to take our choice; sometimes this happens inadvertently. The great Welsh King Cunedda, who lived about the end of the Roman occupation, is identified with Cnaeus Agricola, who lived three hundred years before, for, as he naively puts it, "Cnaeus requires little ingenuity to make it Cunaethus!" No, indeed! Yet in another place this Cunedda is obliviously derived as from "dog-shore," *conu-aot!* He connects Arthur somehow with Agricola; both their names mean "farmer," and they fought much the same battles, he holds. But we have said too much of this book. We protest against such crude and immature workmanship being foisted upon us under the honoured name of "Scottish Myths."

MR SELLAR'S TRIAL.—A full report of Sellar's trial in 1816 will be issued by A. & W. Mackenzie, publishers of the *Celtic Magazine*, in a few days. This will give the public an opportunity of judging the whole question for themselves. It has become so rare that it is scarcely possible to procure a copy of it.

THE

CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

No. XCI. MAY 1883. VOL. VIII.

CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.

BY ALEXANDER MACBAIN, M.A.

I.

THE field of Mythology, strictly defined, embraces the fabulous events believed in by a nation and the religious doctrines implied in these. But the term is for convenience' sake extended so as to include the kindred subject of folk-lore. Now folk-lore includes all those popular stories of which the fairy tales of our nursery are a good illustration, and where the religious element implied in Mythology is absent. The term Celtic Mythology, in these papers, is understood, therefore, to include the popular traditions and legendary tales of the Celts, the fabulous actions and exploits of their heroes and deities, the traditions of their early migrations, their fairy tales, and the popular beliefs in regard to the supernatural world. The scope of the discussion will include an introductory paper or two on the general principles of Mythology—its cause and spread, and the connection of the Mythology of the Celts with those of the kindred nations of Europe and Asia.

CHARACTER OF MYTH.

"There was once a farmer, and he had three daughters. They were washing clothes at a river. A hoodie crow came round, and he said to the eldest one, '*'M-pos-u-mi*—Will you marry me—farmer's daughter?' 'I won't, indeed, you ugly

brute; an ugly brute is a hoodie,' said she. He came to the second one on the morrow, and he said to her, '*'M-pos-u-mi*—Wilt thou wed me?' 'Not I, indeed,' said she; 'an ugly brute is a hoodie.' The third day he said to the youngest, '*'M-pos-u-mi* —Wilt thou wed me—farmer's daughter?' 'I will wed thee,' said she; 'a pretty creature is the hoodie.' And on the morrow they married.

"The hoodie said to her, 'Whether wouldst thou rather that I should be a hoodie by day and a man at night; or be a hoodie at night and a man by day?' 'I would rather that thou wert a man by day and a hoodie at night,' says she. After this he was a splendid fellow by day and a hoodie at night. A few days after he got married he took her to his own house.

"At the birth of the first child, there came at night the very finest music that ever was heard about the house. Every one slept, and the child was taken away. Her father came to the door in the morning, and he was both sorrowful and wrathful that the child was taken away.

"The same thing, despite their watching, happened at the birth of the second child; music—sleep—and stealing of the child. The same thing happened, too, at the birth of the third child, but on the morning of the next day they went to another house that they had, himself and his wife and his sisters-in-law. He said to them by the way, 'See that you have not forgotten something.' The wife said, 'I forgot my coarse comb.' The coach in which they were fell a withered faggot, and he flew away as a hoodie!

"Her two sisters returned, and she followed after him. When he would be on a hill-top, she would follow to try and catch him; and when she would reach the top of a hill, he would be in the hollow on the other side. When night came, and she was tired, she had no place of rest or dwelling. She saw a little house of light far from her, and though far from her, she was not long in reaching it.

"When she reached the house she stood deserted at the door. She saw a little laddie about the house, and she yearned after him exceedingly. The house-wife told her to come in, that she knew her cheer and travel. She lay down, and no sooner did the day come than she rose. She went out, and as she was going from hill to hill, saw a hoodie, whom she followed as on the day before. She came to a second house; saw a second laddie;

pursued the hoodie on a third day, and arrived at night at a third house. Here she was told she must not sleep, but be clever and catch the hoodie when he would visit her during night. But she slept; he came where she was, and let fall a ring on her right hand. Now, when she woke, she tried to catch hold of him, and she caught a feather of his wing. He left the feather with her, and went away. In the morning she did not know what to do till the house-wife told her that he had gone over a hill of poison, over which she could not go without horse shoes on her hands and feet. She gave her man's clothes, and told her to learn smithying till she could make horse-shoes for herself.

"This she did, and got over the hill of poison. But on the day of her arrival, she found that her husband was to be married to the daughter of a great gentleman that was in the town. As festivities were in progress, the cook of the house asked the stranger to take his place and make the wedding meal. She watched the bridegroom, and let fall the ring and feather in the broth intended for him. With the first spoon he took up the ring, with the next the feather. He asked for the person who cooked the meal, and said, 'that now was his married wife.' The spells went off him. They turned back over the hill of poison, she throwing the horse-shoes behind her to him, as she went a bit forward, and he following her. They went to the three houses where she had been. These were the houses of his three sisters; and they took with them their three sons, and they came home to their own home, and they were happy." *

Such is a good specimen of the folk-tale, and the folk-tales are merely the modern representatives of the old Mythology—merely the detritus, as it were, of the old myths which dealt with the gods and the heroes of the race. In the above tale we are in quite a different world from the practical and scientific views of the 19th century; we have birds speaking and acting as rational beings, and yet exciting no wonder to the human beings they come in contact with; supernatural spells whereby men may be turned into animals; a marriage with a bird, which partially breaks these spells, and the bird becomes a man for part of the day; supernatural kidnapping, ending in the disappearance of the man-bird; and pursuit of him by the wife through fairy

* Abridged from Campbell's West Highland Tales, vol. 1, p. 63.

regions of charms and spells and untold hardships—a pursuit which ends successfully. It looks all a wild maze of childish nonsense, unworthy of a moment's serious consideration ; it would certainly appear to be a hopeless subject for scientific research; for what could science, whose object is truth, have to do with a tissue of absurdities and falsehoods? But this view is a superficial one, though it is the one commonly held. On looking more deeply into the matter, we shall find that after all there is a method in the madness of Mythology, and that the incongruous mass of tales and broken-down myths that make up a nation's folk-lore is susceptible of scientific treatment. Science first attacks the problem by the method of comparison ; it compares the myths and tales of one nation with those of another, with the view of discovering similarities. The outlines, for example, of the tale already given, exist not merely in one or two more tales in our own folk-lore, but can also be traced over all the continent of Europe, as well as in many parts of Asia. The outline of the tale is this—The youngest and best of three daughters is married or given up to some unsightly being or monster, who in reality is a most beautiful youth, but who is under certain spells to remain in a low form of life until some maiden is found to marry him. He then regains his natural form, though, as a rule, only partially; and the newly-married pair have to work out his complete redemption from the spells. But, just as he is about to be free from the spells, the curiosity or disobedience of the wife ruins everything; he disappears, and then follows for the wife the dark period of wandering and toil, which can be brought to an end only by the achievement of tasks, generally three in number, each hopelessly beyond human powers. The husband, who meanwhile has forgotten, owing to the nature of the spells upon him, all about his wife, is on the eve of marrying another, when the last task of all is accomplished by the persevering courage of the wife. The spells then leave him for ever, and happiness reigns in the household ever after.

There are in our Highland folk-lore one or two versions of this same tale. The story of the "Daughter of the Skies," in Mr Campbell's book, is one variation. Here the hoodie-crow is replaced by a little doggie, and the wife's disobedience is clearly brought out, while the supernatural machinery—the magical

scissors and needle, for example—is much more elaborate. The tale also is found in Norway; in the Norse tale, "East of the Sun and West of the Moon," the hero appears at first as a white bear, who, on his marriage with the heroine, becomes a man by night. She must not, however, see him, for light must not fall on his body or else he at once disappears. But the wife, instigated by her mother, steals a sight of him by lamp-light, with the consequence that he awakes and vanishes. Then follow her trials, pursuit, and recovery of him. The beautiful Greek tale of Psyche and Cupid is but a variation of the same myth. Psyche, the youngest of three royal daughters, incurs the wrath of Venus, who sends Cupid to inspire her with love for something contemptible; as Titania, in Shakespeare, is made to fall in love with the transformed weaver, Bottom. But Cupid, captivated by her beauty, falls in love with her himself, conveys her to a secret cave, and visits her only at night, under strict charge of her not attempting to see him by any light. Her jealous sisters persuade her that she is married to some ugly monster, and she accordingly determines to disobey his injunctions, and inspect him by lamp-light. In so doing, she allows in her admiration of his beauty, a drop of hot oil to fall on his shoulder, and he awakes, and escapes. She suffers woes untold in her pursuit of him, being finally a slave in the household of Venus, who treats her very cruelly. But, of course, she recovers her lost lover at long last. And, again, in India, in the old religious books of the Brahmins, is a somewhat similar tale—the story of Urvasi and Pururavas, the main features of which are the same as the Gaelic and Greek tales already given. To the English reader, the well-known tale of "Beauty and the Beast" will at once occur as an exact parallel to all these. And, if we take the myths where the heroine is the loathly monster, we shall find an equally wide distribution. We have the Hindu tale, where the Princess is disguised as a withered old woman; the Loathly Lady of Teutonic Mythology; and the Celtic story of Diarmad's love for the daughter of the king of the Land under the Waves, who appears first as a hideous monster, and becomes, on approaching Diarmad, the most beautiful woman ever seen.

Thus, then, we have traced the same myth among nations so widely apart as the Celts and Hindus, while, intermediate between these, we found it among the Greeks and Teutons. And some

myths are even more widely distributed than that; the tale of the imprisoned maiden and the hero who rescues her from the dragon or monster appears among all the nations of Europe as well as among many of the nations of Asia. Hence, from India in the East, to Ireland in the West, we may find a great mass of mythical tales common to the various nations. And this being the case, it may plainly become a matter of scientific enquiry, first, What the cause of these peculiar myths and tales can be? and, secondly, What the significance is of their wide distribution?

Cause of Myth.

The cause and origin of these myths have puzzled philosophers of all ages, and it is only a generation ago when the first unravelling of the difficult problem really took place. In olden times their origin was set down to the well-known faculty of invention that man possesses; they were mere inventions and fictions, mostly purposeless, though some were evidently intended for explanations of natural phenomena or of historical events, and others again for the conveyance of moral truth. There were practically two schools of myth-explainers; those who regarded myths as mere allegories or parables, and from them extracted codes of moral obligation and hidden knowledge of the mysteries of nature; and, again, those who, so to speak, "rationalised" the myths—that is to say, those who explained myths as exaggerated real events. Some of these explained, for example, Jupiter as king of Crete in the pre-historic times; and, again, the giant that Jack killed, according to such explanations, was not necessarily far exceeding the natural limit of six or seven feet in height, for the only point to notice was that he was a big burly brute of little sense, overcome by the astuteness of a much lesser man. But this theory gets into grave difficulties when it grapples with the supernatural and the supranatural; in fact, it fails ignominiously. And as to the allegorical theory, while it has no difficulty in explaining Jack the Giant Killer as merely the personification of the truth that power of mind is superior to power of body, that theory is completely wrecked in explaining the myths of Jupiter and the gods generally. No allegory can explain most of these myths, especially the older myths; while the different explanations given by different "allegorizers" of

even the simplest myths point to a fundamental error in this theory. Now, it must not be supposed that both allegory and real events had no share in the formation of myths; they were, indeed, most potent factors in the later stages of Mythology, and must have existed all along as a cause for myth. Another theory may be noticed in passing as to the origin of myths in regard to the deities and cosmogony of the world. It may be called the "degradation" theory, and the principle of it is this: As all languages were supposed by theologians to be descendants of the original Hebrew tongue spoken in Eden, so the Mythology of all nations must be more or less a broken-down remembrance of the Hebrew religion and philosophy, first imparted to man in the Garden of Eden. The stoutest supporter of this view is Mr Gladstone. He goes so far as to hold that distinct traces of the Trinity can be found in Greek Mythology, and he consequently resolves Zeus, Appollo, and Athena into the three persons of the Trinity! Supposing for a moment that this theory of the degradation of myth was true, or, indeed, that our only explanation was either or both of the other theories, what a mass of senseless wickedness and immorality much of the deservedly admired Greek Mythology would be? Such theories would argue equal wickedness in the race from whose fancy such inventions sprung: for the Greek Olympus is very full of rapine, paricide, and vice. Yet the Greeks were neither an immoral nor degraded race, but far otherwise. It is this dark side of a nation's Mythology that has puzzled and shocked so many philosophers, and made shipwreck of their theories as to the origin of myths.

With the rise of the science of language and its marked success, all within this century, a complete revolution has taken place, not merely in the case of philology itself, but also in the kindred subjects of Ethnology and Mythology. The methods adopted in linguistic research have also been adopted in the case of Mythology—first, all preconceptions and national prejudices have been put aside; then a careful, even painful examination and comparison of languages have been made, to find laws of interchange of sounds; a consequent discovery of the relationships between languages has taken place; and lastly, a discussion as to the origin of language is thus rendered possible. Exactly the same methods have been employed in the elucidation of

myths, with a success that, on the whole, is gratifying. In so airy and fanciful a subject, results of such strict scientific accuracy cannot be obtained as in the kindred science of language. And a good deal of harm has also been done, even with scientific methods, by pressing some theories of explanation too far. Some Mythologists, for example, are too apt to reduce every myth to a myth about the sun, and hence the evil repute of the "solar myth" theory. But this is merely a good theory injudiciously used; it does not alter the fact of the importance in Mythology of the sun worship.

GLENQUAICH.

[THE Breadalbane Clearances were effected on an extensive scale; and Glenquaich, rendered classic by the genius of Sir Walter Scott in "Waverley," probably suffered more by this scourge than any other locality in the district. These evictions were the work of John, second Marquis of Breadalbane, who died at Lausanne in 1862, and his factor, Wyllie, a name, speaking from experience, that is redolent of unhallowed memories to the honest, well-to-do Breadalbane settlers in Canada.]

I well remember when this lonely glen
Was thickly peopled with a race of men
Whose sires from foe were never known to turn,
Who fought and won with Bruce at Bannockburn;
(Alas, at Flodden and Culloden too!)
In Egypt, India, Spain, at Waterloo,
Or wheresoe'er their country called them forth,
Aye ready were the brave sons of the North;
Their gallant deeds will never cease to be
The brightest page in British history.

Forgotten this to their descendants dear,
Harsh rule their lot and cruelties severe;
Alas! from homes their father's swords had won,
Were driven forth from much-loved Caledon,
From all held sacred forced like brutes away,
The young, the stalwart, and the old and gray,
By lordling's whim and crafty factor's sway.

Evicted thus were Albyn's sons of fame,
Their lands are teeming now with sheep and game!
How sad and lonesome this once happy glen,
Where, oh Glenquaich! have gone thy gallant men?

Doomed on whom falls the heartless factor's frown,
Oh, God, arise and crush such tyrants down!

DUNCAN MACGREGOR CRERAR.

New York.

THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

V.

XIII. EWEN CAMERON, was called "Eoghainn Beag" to distinguish him from his grandfather, Eoghainn MacAilein, who, as we have seen in our last chapter, outlived Donald, his eldest son (Eoghainn Beag's father), for many years. Eoghainn Beag, in consequence, succeeded his grandfather as thirteenth chief of the clan, but nothing is known of his short and apparently uneventful career, except the manner in which he met his death in early life. When quite a young man he became acquainted with a daughter of Macdougall of Lorne, by whom he had a son, "Domhnull MacEoghainn Bhig," better known as "Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe," afterwards one of the most celebrated warriors of the clan, and whose career was well described by Mrs Mary Mackellar in our last issue.

The cause and manner of the death of the chief is thus described:—"Being in his younger years much enamoured of a daughter of the Laird of Macdougall, he found the lady so 'complisant' that she fell with child to him. Her father dissembled his resentment and artfully drew Lochiel to a communing in Island-na-Cloiche, where, having previously concealed a party of men, he made him his prisoner, upon his refusing to marry her, and shut him up in the Castle of Inch-Connel, in Lochow, a freshwater lake, at a good distance from Lochaber, to which his friends could not have easy access, on account of the difficulty of providing themselves with boats. As soon as the news came to Lochaber, his clan resolved to hazard all for his relief, and, having made the necessary preparations, his foster-father, Martin MacDhonnachaidh of Letter-Finlay, chief of the MacMartins, an ancient and numerous tribe of the Camerons, put himself at the head of a numerous party, and soon made himself master of the castle. Lochiel was then playing at cards with his keeper or governor, named MacArthur, and was so overjoyed at his approaching delivery, that, observing him much alarmed at the

noise made by the assailants, he over-hastily discovered the design for which he paid dear. For the villain [MacArthur,] to satisfy his own and his master's resentment, immediately extinguished the lights, and thrusting his dirk or poniard below the table, which stood between them, wounded him in the belly. His deliverers, in the meantime, rushing into his apartment, carried him to their boats, where, the night being cold, he called for an oar to heat himself with exercise, but upon stretching his body, he became first sensible of his wound, which soon after proved mortal. His party having landed and put him to bed returned to the castle, and, in revenge of his death, dispatched MacArthur and all the men that were with him." * Ewen Beag and his followers refused to attend a Royal Court held at Inverness in 1552, when a commission was granted to the Earls of Huntly and Argyll against the Camerons and the Macdonalds of Clanranald, who proceeded to Lochaber against them, but the result is involved in obscurity. Ewen died about this time; but whether he was captured and executed under Huntly's commission, has not been ascertained. It is, however, placed beyond dispute that he must have died before 1554, for in that year Queen Mary granted to George, Earl of Huntly and Murray, the nonentry dues of all the lands belonging to "the *deceased* Ewin Camroun, *alias* Littil Ewin, Captain of the Clancamroun, and also the marriage of his brother and heir, Donald Dow, or other lawful heir."†

Leaving no legitimate issue, he was succeeded by his brother,

XIV. DONALD CAMERON, commonly known as "Domhnull Dubh Mac Dhomhnuill," who is found on record in 1564. In that year Queen Mary granted to "Donald Cameroun, the son and heir of the deceased Donald Cameroun or Alansoun of Locheill, the five pennylands, called Lettirfinlay, of the old extent of 40s.; the five pennylands, called Stronnabaw, of the same old extent; and the five pennylands of Lindalie, of the old extent of 50s., all of which were formerly held by them of the deceased George, Earl of Huntlie, by whom the lands were forfeited."‡ The Earl of Huntly had been convicted and forfeited for high treason in the previous year for his opposition to the Queen during her visit to Inverness. On that occasion Donald Cameron of Lochiel joined

* Memoirs of Lochiel, pp. 33-34. † *Origines Parochiales Scotiae.*
‡ *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, Vol. ii., Part ii., p. 177.

her Majesty against the forces of the rebellious Earl, arriving too late to meet her at Inverness, but just in time to take a part with his followers in the battle of Corrichy. His lands had been forfeited with those of the Earl, who was Lochiel's superior, but on application they were restored as a reward for his personal loyalty on this occasion, and the faithful services previously rendered by him since he had assumed the chiefship of his clan. The charter differed from the previous one, insomuch that it was changed from a blench few into a ward, but, according to the family chronicler, ennobled with all the immunities and privileges that the Earl and his predecessors formerly enjoyed.

Donald was murdered, during a violent dispute that broke out among the clan towards the end of Queen Mary's reign, by some of his own kinsmen, the chief instruments of his death being his uncles, Ewen, progenitor of the Camerons of Erracht; and John, the founder of the family of Kinlochiel, both younger sons of Ewen Allanson, twelfth chief, who was executed, as we have already seen, with Donald Glas Macdonald of Keppoch, at Elgin, in 1547.*

According to the "Memoirs," he was married to a daughter of the Laird of Maclean, by whom he had a posthumous son, who succeeded his father. Here the author of the "Memoirs" is undoubtedly in error. If this Donald Dubh was really married, he does not appear to have left any issue. And, according to all the authorities, as well as the current traditions of the country, he was succeeded as chief by his infant nephew, son of Ian Dubh or Black John, a third son of Donald, the eldest son of Ewen Allanson, twelfth chief, by Anne Grant of Grant. This young chief was

XV. ALLAN CAMERON, generally described in contemporary records as Alan "Mac Ian Duibh," but sometimes as Alan "Mac Dhomhnuill Duibh," the latter applied to him, it seems, as the patronymic of the clan. This will account for the error into which the author of the "Memoirs" has fallen in calling him the son of "Donald Dubh," his predecessor in the chiefship, while in point of fact he was Donald's nephew, and direct progenitor of the present head of the house of Lochiel. His granduncles, Erracht and Kinlochiel, took possession of the estate, on the pretence that

* See p. 156, where the progenitor of Erracht is erroneously called Donald.

they were acting as Allan's natural guardians, but it was feared by the more immediate friends of the young chief that his life was not safe from his grasping relatives if he should remain in Lochaber. They, therefore, had him removed to Mull, to be brought up and cared for under the charge of his mother's relations, the Macleans of Duart. During his absence the clan was governed by his uncles, but Gregory informs us that, they having made themselves obnoxious by their insolence and tyranny, Donald Mac Eoghainn Bhig, "the bastard son of a former chief," was brought forward by a party in the clan to oppose them. The Laird of Mackintosh, taking advantage of these dissensions, invaded the Cameron territory, and forced Erracht and Kinlochiel to enter into a treaty regarding the disputed lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig, which was considered very disadvantageous to the Camerons; and the feeling displayed by the clan when the terms of this treaty became known was so strong that the uncles, who entered into it, were compelled to repudiate it, and to prepare at once for an immediate attack on the Mackintoshes. To strengthen themselves in the expedition against Clan Chattan, they attempted a reconciliation with Donald Mac Eoghainn, better known as "Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe," and arranged a meeting with him and some of his followers at the Castle of Inverlochy, where Ewen of Erracht was murdered by some of Donald's followers, and John of Kinlochiel was compelled to leave the district; but the latter was afterwards apprehended by the Earl of Argyll, at the instance of Donald the Bastard, and executed at the Castle of Dunstaffnage. Allan of Lochiel was then called home, when, induced by false reports of evil intentions alleged to be entertained towards him by Donald Mac Eoghainn, he consented to have him put to death,* an act so strongly resented by the clan, with whom Donald was a great favourite, that Allan himself was obliged to leave Lochaber for a time, until, while resident in Appin, he nearly lost his life in a local broil, the clan invited him home, and, about the year 1585, he again assumed command of his clan.†

* Allan was told on his return that not only was Donald Mac Eoghainn Bhig responsible for the death of Allan's uncles, but that he was guilty of the more criminal design of depriving Allan himself of his life and fortune, "upon pretence that he was no bastard, but the son of a lawful marriage."

† Gregory, *Highlands and Isles*, pp. 228-229.

When Allan first returned to Lochaber he was about seventeen years of age. The broil which had nearly cost him his life in Appin is thus described at length in the "Memoirs:"—"The Laird of Glenurchy, predecessor to the Earl of Breadalbane, chosing to hold a Baron court in that neighbourhood, Lochiel went thither to divert himself, and there, accidentally meeting with one Macdougall of Fairlochine, a near relation of the bastard, he challenged him upon some unmannerly expressions which he had formerly dropped against him with relation to that gentleman's death. But Macdougall, instead of excusing himself, gave such a rude answer as provoked Lochiel to make a blow at him with his sword, and some of the bye-standers, willing to prevent the consequences, seized and held him [Lochiel] fast. While he made a most violent struggle to get loose, one of his servants, happening to come up at the same time, fancied that he was apprehended by Glenurchy's orders, whom he foolishly suspected to have designs upon his life. This put the fellow into such a rage that he had not patience to examine into the matter; but, encountering with Archibald, Glenurchy's eldest son, whom the noise of the bustle had drawn thither in that unlucky juncture, he barbarously plunged his dagger into his heart. The multitude, upon this, turned their swords against the unhappy fellow, but he, with his dirk in the one hand, and his sword in the other, defended himself with that incredible valour, that it is likely he would have escaped by the favour of approaching night, if he had not, as he retreated backward, stumbled upon a plough that took him behind and brought him to the ground, where he was cut to pieces. No sooner had the enraged multitude dispatched the servant than they furiously rushed upon the master, who, though he received several wounds, had the good fortune, after a vigorous and gallant defence, to make his escape, wherein he was much assisted by the darkness of the night, which covered his retreat. The news of this, and several other adventures, made his clan impatient to have him among them. All their divisions were now at an end, and their chief was of sufficient age and capacity to manage his own affairs, so that he was welcomed to Lochaber with universal joy."

Allan was a brave chief. He made several raids into the Mackintosh country, carrying away with him large booties on those occasions. In the quarrels which then raged so hotly between the Earls of Moray and Huntly, Lochiel joined the

latter, and guarded the Castle of Ruthven for Huntly, while he attempted unsuccessfully to repair it. This involved Lochiel in constant feuds and sanguinary conflicts with the Mackintoshes, but he generally succeeded in getting the best of them, and was often able to carry a rich spoil from the enemy's country to his own.

In a letter by Robert Bowes to Lord Burleigh, dated the 23rd of September 1591, describing what the king, who was then at Perth, was doing, he mentions, among other things, his Majesty's attempt to appease the quarrels and slaughters which then daily occurred between the Earl of Huntly and the lairds of Grant and Mackintosh, with others, in which the lairds of Lochaber and Cameron had "killed XLI. of Macintoyshes men, and XXIII. tennants of Grant, and hurt the Larde of Balendalough." Soon after this Lochiel again defeated the Mackintoshes on their own lands of Badenoch, with a loss of fifty men.

An indenture was entered into between Huntly and Allan Cameron of Lochiel, dated 6th of March 1590-1, by which the latter became bound to assist Huntly against all his enemies, particularly the Mackintoshes and Grants; while the Earl, on the other hand, engaged to reward Allan to his entire satisfaction, and promised him that he should enter into no agreement with his own opponents which did not also include Lochiel. In terms of this agreement, Allan Cameron fought with Huntly at the battle of Glenlivet, in 1594, where, at the head of a few of his clan, he performed signal service against his old enemies, the Mackintoshes, whom "he defeated, and pursued with great eagerness, and did Huntly such services as merited a different reward from that which he afterwards got," an account of which, with the remaining portion of Allan's career, must be held over for our next.

(To be continued.)

NEW GAELIC PUBLICATION.—Mr Neil Macleod, one of the best and sweetest of living Gaelic bards, has a selection of his Poems and Songs in the press, under the title of "Clarsach an Doire." The work will be issued immediately by Messrs Maclachlan & Stewart, Edinburgh, and A. & W. Mackenzie, *Celtic Magazine* Office, Inverness.

THE GLENDALE CROFTERS.

THE result of the trial of the Glendale crofters has been in strict accord with the expectations of all who have studied the long and sorrowful story of which this is the latest chapter. The Judges are obliged to act upon statutes framed by a class in their own interests; and in the present instance it was hardly possible for them to be more lenient than they have been. It is beyond their Lordships' province to rise to the region of equity; and the administrators of the law in Scotland have never been known to violate its letter, except, perhaps, where they had to deal with a statute passed in the interest of temperance or to give the farmer a title to destroy the rabbits feeding upon his crops. Then, as in that queer case from Kelso the other day, the statute is apt to kick the beam in the interest of the public-house; and nobody needs to be told how the Court of Session drove more than the proverbial coach-and-six through the Rabbits Bill, and made of no account the law that had been newly enacted at Westminster for the protection of the farmer. All these things are duly noted by the public, and the sentence passed on the crofters has this moral disadvantage attaching to it that nobody thinks any the worse of the poor men who are now in prison. They were loudly cheered as they left the dock; their families will be well seen to—in spite of the *Scotsman's* sneers at their friends—while they remain in custody; and they will be certain to get a warm welcome from the public when the day of liberation arrives. It does not seem to be a desirable thing that the moral sense of the community should be excited in favour of men who have been sent to jail. Either that moral sense or the law with which it conflicts must be defective. In the present case we do not believe that the feeling of the community can be said to be at fault. If any one wishes to become fully acquainted with the facts that account for the feeling, let him procure the handsome volume that has just been issued under the title of "The History of the Highland Clearances."* Its author, Mr A. Mackenzie, F.S.A. Scot., who fills the office of Dean of Guild at Inverness, is singled out, along with Professor Blackie, by the Edinburgh organ of the Parliament House and the Whig oligarchy for special reprobation. Our contemporary, in its impression of yesterday, assails him with great violence and in language which strikes us as perilously near libel. It says he is responsible for putting the Glendale men in prison, and that he will leave them to pay the penalty now that they are reaping the fruit of the advice that he and his friends have given. Mr Mackenzie will probably never dream of making legal reprisals upon his culminator; nor has he the slightest occasion to be ashamed of the work for which he is so bitterly abused by the *Scotsman*. He has the satisfaction of knowing that his efforts to deliver the crofters from that condition of poverty to which they have been reduced by a system of legalised spoliation and robbery have not been in vain, and that they are now on the eve of leading to most important results. It is this fact, doubtless, that explains the increasing acerbity of the organ of the so-called political economists and of the legal pedants at Edinburgh. It is terribly annoyed to see a Royal Commission granted, and still more, perhaps, to discover that in spite of all its prophesying the people of this country have arrived at the decided conclusion that the crofters are the victims of a huge injustice, and that their grievous wrongs must be redressed. Mr Mackenzie's book places it beyond all doubt that, when they have not been cruelly evicted after the gentle manner of the Sutherland Clearances, where the mother in childbed and the

Published at the office of the *Celtic Magazine* in Inverness, by Messrs A. & W. Mackenzie.

aged grandparents unable to rise from their chairs have been lifted out on to the road-side, while the dwelling in which they had spent their life was reduced before their eyes to ashes, the Highland peasantry have been systematically deprived of the grazing ground, without which it was impossible for them to make a comfortable living. In this way a pretext has been manufactured for the lying allegation that their country is not able to support them, and that the only alternative is expatriation. This is the grand outstanding fact illustrated on every page of the record. The poor people have been driven from the good ground on which they made a good living to bad ground on which nobody could live; they have been ousted from their peaceful glens and thrown like weeds upon the sea-shore; and then overcrowding has been urged as an excuse for the process of depopulation. The entire system is one worthier of despotic Russia than of constitutional Britain. It makes our blood run cold to read of the enormities that have been perpetrated, which the law has ever been ready to screen, and the *Scotsman* to vindicate with its pretentious philosophy and its affected reverence for a law to which it has always rendered abject submission except when it was mulcted in damages for defaming Mr Duncan M'Laren. In that case it took leave to speak of the law in terms which it would no doubt deem most flagitious were they employed by the Glendale crofters to-day. We observe that Mr Mackenzie has been called to account by Mr Thomas Sellar, a son of the Duke of Sutherland's old factor, for reprinting what Donald Macleod wrote in his "Gloomy Memories" about Mr Sellar's case. We cannot help thinking that Mr Thomas Sellar has been ill-advised. He may make matters worse so far as his family name is concerned; we do not see how he will be able to improve them. Mr Mackenzie has taken the proper course. He will immediately issue a reprint of the full report of Sellar's trial, which took place in 1816. This will give the public an opportunity of judging the whole question for themselves. The report has become so rare that it is scarcely possible to procure a copy of it. The surviving friends of Mr Mackid have no reason to regret the resurrection of this trial. It will throw a lurid light on the story of the Highland evictions; and it will probably do a public good by intensifying the determination of the public that the impending inquiry must be a reality and not a sham.—*Leader, Greenock Telegraph.*

THE GLENDALE CROFTERS.—The Glendale Crofters, as is well known, were convicted of a technical Contempt of Court for Breach of Interdict—the Judges dealing with the law and the facts in their own case—and sentenced to two months imprisonment. The Editor of the *Celtic Magazine* visited them in Calton Prison, Edinburgh, on the 6th of April, and intimated to them, as he had done at a meeting of friends on the previous evening in the Royal Hotel, Edinburgh, that he had succeeded in collecting a sum of £20 among Inverness friends to aid in the maintenance of themselves and families during their incarceration. The men expressed themselves extremely grateful for the interest taken by outsiders in their case, and requested Mr Mackenzie to intimate to their friends that they are more comfortable in prison than they could have possibly anticipated; that every official was as considerate as the regulations would allow; and that they had nothing but good to say of everyone connected with the prison. They were all in the same room, and were provided with the best bedding and a fire, while their food was regularly sent in to them three times a day from a restaurant. They asked Mr Mackenzie to request their friends at home not to commit any act which would bring odium on those who sympathised with them outside, and that they should keep strictly within the law. John Morrison—the eldest of the three—had been complaining, but he was fast recovering, and the others were in excellent health and spirits. Believing as they did that the circumstance was not accidental, they were much delighted at the enlivenment of their evenings by frequently hearing the bagpipes in the neighbourhood playing familiar airs, an arrangement by their Edinburgh friends of a remarkably considerate and delicate nature.

THE ETHICS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

IV.—WHAT IS RENT?—*(Continued.)*

THE appearance of Mr George's book, "Progress and Poverty," marks an era in the development of thought on the subject of land in English-speaking countries, not on account of any scientific merit which it possesses, but because it appeals most powerfully to an already awakened public conscience, roused into activity by a sense of injustice and inequality, which could only arise by the existence of privilege and unequal laws. This feeling is not confined to countries like the United Kingdom and India, with their teeming populations; but it also extends to the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and the Australian Colonies.

Only for its wide circulation, and for the large share of the public attention which his book has commanded, it would be hardly necessary to notice Mr George's discussion of what he calls "The laws of distribution," but as rent forms the main subject, or problem, of which he professes to have given a scientific solution, I shall make a brief digression in order to show how completely he fails to explain the phenomenon of *natural* rent, and how an adherence to Ricardo's theory seems to have mystified him, and led him to a dangerous conclusion.

I may remind the reader that, in a former paper, I pointed out how the landlord, as such, could not find a place in my classification of values, nor in an equation of justice according to Aristotle's formula of distribution. For the same reason, as I shall subsequently show, natural rent cannot become a term in proportionals, but, strange to say, Mr George not only gives a *law* of rent, but he makes it also a term in *his laws* of distribution, while he finishes up by proposing its confiscation.

To any one who has a proper conception of what law is, especially natural law, it must appear evident that the reason for confiscation is that a thing is unlawful. This inconsistency of reason, or argument, is hardly more remarkable than Mr George's method of dealing with profit and interest:—

"Thus, neither in its common meaning, nor in the meaning expressly assigned to it in the current political economy, can profits have any place in the discussion of the

distribution of wealth between the three factors of production. Either in its common meaning, or in the meaning expressly assigned to it, to talk about the distribution of wealth into rent, wages, and profits, is like talking of the division of mankind into men, women, and human beings." [Shakespeare divided mankind into men, women, and children.]

"Yet, this, to the utter bewilderment of the reader, is what is done in all the standard works. After formally decomposing profits into wages of superintendence, compensation for risk and interest—the net return for the use of capital—they proceed to treat of the distribution of wealth between the rent of land, the wages of labour, and the profits of capital.

"I doubt not that there are thousands of men who have vainly puzzled their brains over this confusion of terms, and abandoned the effort in despair, thinking that as the fault could not be in such great thinkers, it must be in their own stupidity. If it is any consolation to such men they may turn to Buckle's 'History of Civilisation,' and see how a man who certainly got a marvelously clear idea of what he read, and who read carefully the principal economists, from Smith down, was inextricably confused by this jumble of profits and *interest*. For Buckle (vol. I., chap. II., and notes), persistently speaks of the distribution of wealth into rent, wages, *interest*, and profits."

In my last article, I quoted in full the passage referred to, chiefly with a view to point out that Ricardo's theory is the bone of contention. Buckle does not mention interest as a term, for the very good reason that he regarded, like all others, interest to be included under the more general and comprehensive term, profit. The gist of the passage is expressed in the following sentence :—

"The great law of the *ratio* between the cost of labour and the profits of stock, is the highest generalisation we have reached respecting the distribution of wealth, but it cannot be consistently admitted by any one who holds that rent enters into price."

But, to show further how grossly Mr George misrepresents Buckle, who appears to have been as clear upon the subject of which he treats as Mr George is confused, I shall give one more quotation. In the third volume, p. 336, he says :—

"But what is more remarkable still, is, that their author (Hume,) subsequently detected the fundamental error which Adam Smith committed, and which vitiates many of his conclusions. The error consists in his having resolved price into three components, namely, wages, profit, and rent, whereas it is known that price is a compound of *wages and profit*, and that rent is not an element of it. This discovery is the corner-stone of political economy ; but it is established by an argument so long and so refined, that most minds are unable to pursue it without stumbling, and the majority of those who acquiesce in it are influenced by the great writers to whom they pay deference, and whose judgment they follow."

It must be clear to everyone that the ratio must be between wages and profit, and not between wages and interest. Even if

Mr George could change the terminology of political economy, he cannot alter our ordinary apprehension of things. To substitute the word interest for the word profit will not make business men keep their books differently, or make us believe that two things which are essentially different in their operations can be otherwise described than under their proper names. Interest, as everyone knows, is what is paid for the use of money, and the ordinary rate in every country depends on the average rate of profits. We can even conceive of wealth to become so abundant, and so generally diffused among all classes in a country, as to render borrowing unnecessary for productive purposes, and yet there would be profits, and a ratio between wages and profits.

The author of "Progress and Poverty" devotes eight chapters to the discussion of what he terms the "Laws of Distribution," and professes to propound a law of wages, a law of interest, and a law of rent, and to crown these with a geometrical certainty he devotes a chapter to the "correlation and co-ordination of these laws."

"The laws of the distribution of wealth are obviously *laws* of proportion, and must be so related to each other that any two being given, the third may be inferred."

As an example of *this* law of proportion, he says :—

"To fix Dick's share at 40 per cent., and Harry's share at 35 per cent., is to fix Tom's share at 25 per cent."

Proportion is a *rule* of ratios, and on this side of the Atlantic there are usually three terms given in order to ascertain a fourth. We do not say, as 40 is to 35, so is 25 to the whole, because that would be absurd. If the produce be *divided* in three shares it is no longer a question of ratio. But Mr George himself, conscious that there was something wrong, remarks :—"In truth, the primary division of wealth is *dual*, not *tripartite*." Then, as the Rule of Three does not fit in with the argument, this new light on economic science is to be explained by a tripartite proportional!

But the cause of Mr George's confusion is, I think, to be explained on the supposition that he mistakes the properties of a triangle for the properties of proportionals, and, perhaps, this is the reason why he adopts the term tripartite. Now, we know that the three angles of any triangle, taken together, are equal to two right angles; and that, two angles being given, we know the remaining angle ; or, one angle being given, we know the sum

of the other two angles. So, in like manner, if we know Tom's and Dick's shares we know Harry's ; or, if we know Tom's share we know the sum of Dick's and Harry's.

What is this but to say what Adam Smith said, namely, that the price of produce was divided between wages, profit, and rent?

But the generalisation to which Buckle refers, as the most advanced step in political economy, is a *ratio* between wages and profits of which rent does not form a component part. This fact is of the highest significance, but it cannot be explained on Ricardo's materialistic theory of rent arising from a resort to lower gradations of soil, upon which Mr George depends for his deductions. Although this is not the place to discuss it, I may so far anticipate as to suggest that the converse of this theory is the true one. Rent, or that increase of value of the superficies which accrues to the landlord over and above the labour bestowed upon the ameliorations, arises from the increase of population, and from this greater density of population there is a *residuum*, arising from the conjoint action of society, which reverts on the land, over and above the average remuneration of individual labour. This evidently does not enter into price, nor fall a burden upon anyone. Therefore, the increase in the value of the superficies of land evidently follows a law of increase of population, as we clearly see in the growth of towns, and this increase graduates from a focus, or centre—being highest where the pressure is greatest—and diminishes outward as the squares of the distances increase. This applies to agricultural land as well, for land in the vicinity of large towns bring a higher rent than those at a greater distance of the same quality. We also find that with the increase and greater density of population, there is a corresponding increase in the expenses of the government of society, both municipal and imperial. Then this phenomenon of increasing rent, which accrues to the landlord, and does not enter into price, acquires overwhelming significance, inasmuch at it points to a law of *design* in connection with human society in a state of civilised organization, in the pursuit of peaceful industry; for the Great Designer, who placed the coal and iron, the silver and gold, and all other utilities in the earth, in their due proportions, would seem to have provided a fund for the revenue of the Soverign for the civil and moral government of man, whilst leaving to each individual workman the full fruits of his own labour. Such a law of increase

would seem to form a connecting link, as it were, between the moral and physical world.

Taking this view of the subject, it will be easily seen that this residuum could not form a term in proportionals or follow a law of distribution, and I have already shown that the theory of gradations of soil is not true in fact, even in respect of agricultural land, whilst it leads to the pernicious conclusion that value resides in materiality apart from human labour. This belief has vitiated Mr George's argument, and led him to a dangerous conclusion.

Having so far indicated my own line of thought, I shall now proceed to examine briefly the manner in which he formulates his laws of distribution.

It has already been pointed out that Mr George has completely misapprehended the idea of ratio, as explained by Buckle, and the way in which he regards profits and interest shows a want of familiarity with commercial pursuits.

"The harmony and correlation of the laws of distribution, as we have now apprehended them, are in striking contrast with the want of harmony which characterises these laws as presented by the current political economy."

Then he contrasts, in tabulated form, what he makes out to be the current statement with "the true statement," which latter, it is needless to say, is his own, and with the discussion of which I am for the present only concerned.

"Rent depends on the margin of cultivation—rising as it falls, and falling as it rises.

"Wages depend on the margin of cultivation—falling as it falls, and rising as it rises.

"Interest (its ratio with wages being fixed by the net power of increase which attaches to capital) depends on the margin of cultivation—falling as it falls, and rising as it rises."

"In the current statement the laws of distribution have no common centre, no mutual relation; they are not the correlating divisions of a whole, but measures of different quality. In the statement we have given, they spring from one point, support and supplement each other, and form the correlating division of a complete whole."

In the name of science, and under cover of misapplied and delusive words, more incoherent nonsense was never pawned upon an intelligent public. What is the common centre of this tripartite proportional? The gradations of soil, it should seem, must now become "the margin of cultivation," and Mr George includes in this margin of cultivation the ground rent of rapidly increasing towns in the West.

To show the flimsy artifice of substituting interest for profit it is only necessary to call attention to the enclosed qualification of "its ratio with wages being fixed by the net power of increase which attaches to capital." What is the power of increase, but profit? But apart from verbal criticism, I deny that rent depends on the margin of cultivation anywhere, and assert that increase of rent everywhere depends on the increase of population. I deny that wages (actual) depend on the margin of cultivation, and assert that they depend upon freedom of labour in a state of development of industry and the proportion of labourers to the amount of work required. I deny that interest correlates and co-ordinates with rent. Interest, in every country, depends upon, and is an index of, the average rate of profits. To say that rent rises as wages fall is not true, because both rent and wages have been rising together in the United Kingdom, although not in the same ratio. To say that rent rises as interest falls is true, but it is evident that this depends upon increase of population and increase of wealth, and not upon "the margin of cultivation," for that margin has been stationary whilst rents were rising and interest falling. There may be a coincidence, but the cause assigned is an inversion of the truth. However, if the "laws of distribution," as defined by Mr George, "spring from one point (let us suppose it to be the margin of cultivation, or rent) support and supplement each other in *harmonious* correlation and co-ordination, what more do we want? What must strike everyone as strange is, that after constructing this harmonious, tripartite law of distribution, Mr George should proceed to confiscate one of the sides which spring from one point, supplement and support, and correlate and co-ordinate with, one another:—

"I do not propose either to purchase or to confiscate private property in land. The first would be unjust; the second, needless. Let the individuals who now hold it still retain, if they want to, possession of what they are pleased to call *their* land. Let them continue to call it *their* land. Let them buy and sell, and bequeath and devise it. We may safely leave them the shell, if we take the kernel. ***It is not necessary to confiscate land, it is only necessary to confiscate rent.***

. . . . . .

"What I therefore propose as the simple, yet sovereign remedy, which will raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty, give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it, afford free scope to human powers, lessen crime, elevate morals and taste and intelligence, purify government, and carry civilisation to yet nobler heights, is—*to appropriate rent by taxation.*"

The confiscation of rent is a much simpler "law of distribu-

tion" than to find a ratio in a tripartite proportional, but it has the disadvantage of being attended with great practical difficulties.

It would, however, be ungenerous not to admit that Mr George's book contains expositions on population, on wealth, on labour and capital which are original and striking, whilst, by his eloquence, he has made a subject of more than ordinary dryness to general readers one of absorbing interest, and has thus contributed to its discussion by the working classes, who are more deeply affected by existing abuses of power than any other.

The evil does not consist, however, as Mr George leads the reader to suppose, in any inequality in the incidence of taxation, nor yet in any supposed virtue in the inherent qualities of the soil, so much as in moral causes—the restraints upon human freedom, and the infraction of an evident law of nature, by the operation of a vicious principle.

To the mind of the humblest workman who reads these pages, the idea of confiscation must appear unjust, and he must regard with repugnance a measure of state which, to say the least of it, would involve the innocent with the guilty. To confiscate conveys the idea of punishment, and to my mind it would be as just to confiscate 3 per cent. consols as the rent of persons who came by property through the operation of national law. In respect of agricultural land, the labour that has been incorporated with it in reclaiming it from forest, flood, and marsh, may be regarded as the kernel, and the *solum* is more like the shell. To suppose that a fiscal revolution, which should appropriate that part of rent which forms the scientific difficulty of political economists, in lieu of other taxes, would effect such a social millenium as Mr George pictures in his glowing style is quite illusory, for it would not amount to probably more than ten shillings per head of the whole population, as tithes and other local taxes which now fall on the land, would have to be paid out of the imperial exchequer. Yet it must be allowed that such a reform in our fiscal system, brought about by gradual steps, would have great advantages; but, under the present dual tenure, such a change would only tend to aggravate the evil, as the cause lies deeper, and is more insidious than any burden of taxation.

It is, therefore, not to the confiscation of rent, or to its appro-

priation by taxation, that we must look for a remedy. We must rather look for it in the enjoyment of perfect freedom and justice. By the divorcement of all ethical considerations from political economy it has been turned into the worship of Moloch and the philosophy of the devil—the aim and definition of which is confusion of thought and action. Freedom first and political economy after. It is not the confiscation of rent by the State, but its proscription, demanded by the united voice of a free people, as an elemen of tyranny and oppression, which displaces population, saps our industries and enables landlords to live as idle parasites upon the labour and capital of others. The right of usuriously lending land ought not to be delegated by the State to any private subject. Land, being natural power, this privilege confers sovereign right upon the subject, by which he is enabled to extend his bounds, from a lust of power, in order that he may exercise tyranny and oppression. The exercise of such a right is incompatible with the enjoyment of perfect freedom, the want of which, in all countries, and in all ages of the world, has been the fruitful cause of oppression, poverty, and crime, producing wars, revolutions, anarchy, and bloodshed.

Fortunately for England, her freehold system preserved her from the fate of less favoured nations, but she herself is now suffering in her agricultural industry, aye, and in the political independence of her farmers, through the operation of class-made laws, by which freeholds have been engrossed into large estates, not for legitimate industry, but to gratify a vulgar passion for power. To my ears, and no doubt to the ears of all lovers of constitutional liberty, that fine expressive old English word freehold possess a charm; and it is to be regretted that Dr Russell Wallace has not used the words "resumption" and "freeholder" instead of "Nationalisation" and "occupying owner." The gradual resumption of the land-tax (which is synonymous with the rent of political economy), and the prohibition to lease or sub-let land would meet all the requirements of perfect freedom and justice. Thus far, but very little further, every friend of progress, every good citizen, every man who is in sympathy with the rights of labour, ought cordially to support, and to canvas at every hustings, the programme of the Nationalisation Society.

Guernsey. MALCOLM MACKENZIE.

THE CROFTER ROYAL COMMISSION.

REFERRING in our last issue to the fact that not a single Northern Member of Parliament signed the requisition presented to Government, asking for a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the grievances of the Highland crofters, we wrote :—"If any proof were wanted that inquiry was looked forward to by the northern landlords with disfavour, and, in some instances, with dismay—though they feel that it has now become necessary—it would be found in this significant fact. It should also convince the Government of the necessity of making the Royal Commission really effective by placing men upon it who will counteract the landlord opposition and aristocratic influence, which will certainly have to be met in the course of the inquiry on every point where the facts are likely to tell against the landlords and their agents. Unless the other side is strongly represented, so as to meet, on something like equal grounds, the power, wealth, and influence of those whose conduct has made this inquiry necessary, the Royal Commission had better never to have been granted. It will only prove the commencement in earnest of an agitation on the Land Question, the end of which no one can predict." We are still of the same opinion, and the sequel will assuredly prove that we were right in our predictions.

But how have the Government acted? They have appointed a Commission which has been universally condemned by every Association, every individual, and by almost every newspaper throughout the country that advocated its appointment. In that condemnation, after the most full and careful consideration, and fully alive to the serious responsibility involved in such a step, we are compelled to join; and we do so with the greater reluctance from the high respect which we entertain for all the members of the Commission as individuals, apart from the duties which in this case they have been called upon to perform. Nothing will satisfy the public short of making the cruel evictions of the past impossible in future in the Highlands by giving the people a permanent interest in the soil they cultivate. That a recommendation to that effect can emanate from a Royal Commission com-

posed as this one is, is scarcely conceivable. Nor is it to be expected that they can rise so far above the common failings of humanity as to be very anxious to procure evidence which will lead to legislation in that direction. Are Sir Kenneth Mackenzie and Lochiel, for instance, at all likely to recommend the modification of their present rights of property, or the abolition or material curtailment of deer forests, from which they and their class derive a great portion of their revenues? If they do so they will prove themselves more than human. But no one would complain if their position and interests as proprietors were counter-balanced on the Commission by the presence of such true representatives of the crofters, as Sir Kenneth, Lochiel, and the Chairman are of the landlords and their class interests.

If any evidence were wanted to place it beyond question that the Commission was one-sided and antagonistic to the interests and claims of the crofters, it would be found in the fact that its composition has been generally commended and approved by the *Scotsman*, the *Northern Chronicle*, and the *Inverness Courier*, three newspapers whose position in the past has been one of strong and long-sustained antagonism and misrepresentation of the Highland peasantry, and, at the same time, of powerful and steady support of their oppressors and their cruel conduct.

As if the approval of these three landlord organs, and the general disapproval by actual condemnation in distinct terms, or complete silence, of all the other newspapers in the country, were not sufficient, we find another distinguished authority, on the same side, Mr Donald Macdonald, Tormore—whose factorial reign in the Isle of Skye, and especially in Glendale, had so much to do in finally securing for us the Commission of Inquiry—declaring in a letter, published in the *Northern Chronicle*, and in the *Scotsman*, of the 11th of April, that its composition was, in all respects, "unexceptionable;" for, he continues, "I am confident the result [of the Inquiry] will not only prove beneficial to my worthy, but misguided, fellow-islesmen, but will also vindicate many sorely-maligned proprietors and factors from the charges made against them by untruthful outside agitators, not to speak of others, who, while personally conversant with local conditions, have not scrupled to throw out inferences which no view of the facts can justify."

With a testimonial like this, and from such a quarter, it would be a pure waste of space to say another word on the composition and character of the Royal Commission to inquire into the grievances of the crofters in the Highlands and Islands, composed, as it is, of four landed proprietors, one lawyer (who is also a landed proprietor's son,) and the Professor of Celtic in the University of Edinburgh, who never exhibited any special interest in, or so far as known, paid any special attention to, the subject of the inquiry, and whose time, in the opinion of many of the subscribers to the Celtic Chair Fund, would have been far better and more consistently employed in the necessary preparation for the important duties of his Chair.

The nature of the Commission makes it all the more necessary that evidence be brought forward from the crofters' side, and no effort should be spared to secure that it is forthcoming. It is, however, much to be feared, that the Societies and individuals who would have seen that this was done, had the composition of the Commission given general, or even partial satisfaction, will lose heart, and accept what many believe to be the inevitable, without any effort to put forward the best witnesses ; and that the crofters themselves will not give evidence unless they are encouraged to do so, and, at the same time, assured that no evictions or petty persecutions will follow, from laird or factor, in consequence of their telling the truth. It is only by a carefully conducted cross-examination that all the facts can be expiscated, and unless Counsel is admitted in the interest of the crofters for that purpose, the evidence obtained by the members of the Commission will, we fear, prove of little value. Let us, however, now that we have secured the Commission, make the best of it; and, if it fails to give satisfaction, the people, by a more powerful, legitimate, and persistent agitation, will still have the remedy in their own hands.

A. M.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION is officially stated to meet at Dunvegan, ten miles from Glendale, on the 15th of May, and at Broadford, in the other end of Skye, on the following day. John Macpherson, the leading and most intelligent man in Glendale, now in prison, is one of the witnesses to be put forward by the Glendale crofters, but his sentence does not expire until the day on which the Commission is to meet at Dunvegan. It is, therefore, physically impossible that Macpherson can be present. Apart from this, those who know the district, and the nature and extent of the grievances of the people of Glendale, are satisfied that a searching and complete inquiry, which should be in the Glen itself, would take, not one day, but the greater part of a week !

THE HIGHLAND DRESS.

By J. G. Mackay.

III.—Highland Arms.

Fir aigeannach, mheamnach,
Le glas-lann an ceanna-bheart,
'S i sgaiteach gu barra-dheis,
'S i ana-barrach geur,
An taice ri targaid,
Crios breac nam ball airgeid,
'S an dag nach robh cearbach
Gun tearmunn nan sgéith
Le'n gunnacha glana,
Nach diultadh dhaibh aingeal
Spoir ùr air an teannadh
Gu daingeann nan gleu
Gu cuinnsearach, biodagach,
Fùdarach, miosarach,
Adharcach, miosail,
Gu misneachail, treun.

The armour of the Highlanders formed such an important part of their attire that it may very properly be treated under this heading. Before the passing of the Disarming Act, they seldom laid aside their arms of defence, and never appeared abroad without their military weapons.

The Highlanders adhered as fondly to their own peculiar style of weapons as they did to their dress. We have the authority of Tacitus and Herodian for saying, that they were in their time, A.D. 207, exactly the same as was in use in 1745 (with of course an improvement in the manufacture), viz.:—long broadswords, "Pagiones" or daggers, corresponding with the Highland dirk, and small round shields. Coats of mail seem to have been little used among them; they relied more on their own strength and dexterity than on any defensive armour, which they considered an encumbrance, if not an indication of cowardice. At the battle of the Standard, 1138, Malise, Earl of Strathern, a Gaelic chief, remonstrated with the Scottish King against his designs of placing his squadrons of Norman auxiliaries, who were clothed from head to foot in steel, in the front

of the battle. "Why," said he, "will you commit yourself so confidently to these Normans? I wear no defensive armour, yet none of them will go before me this day into the battle."

In Tytler's "History of Scotland," the following account of their arms is given from *Etheld-redus de bello Standardi:*— "They were armed with long spears pointed with steel, swords, darts or javelines (the *Sgian dubh*), and made use of a hooked weapon of steel, with which they made hold of their enemies (the Lochaber axe), and their shields were formed of strong cowhide." This corresponds exactly with the arms mentioned in the poems of Ossian. In Cath Loduinn, Duan I., we have the following graphic description :—

Glac-sa sgiath t'athair a'd 'laimh
Tha cruaidh mar charraig nan cos
Thilg Suaran a shleagh gu grad
Stad as chridh i an sean chraoibh Loduinn
Tharruing na suinn ri cheile
Le'n lannaibh a' beumadh còmhraig;
Bha cruaidh a' spealtadh air cruaidh,
Lùiriche fuaim agus màile;
Ghearr Mac Luinn na h-iallan uallach;
Thuit an sgiath bhallach san làraich;
Chaisg an righ a làmh gu h-ard,
Le faicinn sàr Shuairain gun airm;
Thionndaidh a shuil fhiadhaich 'na cheann
Agus thilg e lann air làr;
Tharruing e cheum mall 'on t-sliabh
Fonn òrain a' tuchadh 'na chliabh.

At the celebrated battle on the North Inch of Perth, fought in the year 1396, between two parties of the Clan Chatain, the arms used were precisely the same as mentioned by Ossian. Andrew Wyntown, who wrote about 1400, speaks of "the Wyld Wykkyd Helandmen" thus—

At Sanct Johnstone beside the Frevis
All thai entrit in Barreris
Wyth bow and ax, knyf and sword
To deil amang thaim thair last word.

The historian, John Major, who wrote in 1512, thus describes their arms:—"They use a bow and quiver, and a halbert well sharpened, as they possess good veins of native iron. They carry large daggers under their belts; their legs are frequently naked

under the thigh; in winter they carry a mantle for an upper garment."

John Taylor, the water poet, who made a tour in Scotland in the year 1618, says—"Their weapons are long bowes with forked arrowes, swords and targets, harquebusses, muskets, dirks and Loquhabor axes." In a Satirical, by William Clelland, on the Expedition of the Highland Host, 1678, we have the following amusing description of the Highland officers:—

With brogues, trues, and pirnie plaides,
With good blew bonnets on their heads,
Which on the one side had a flipe
Adorned with a tobacco pipe,
With dirk, snap work, and snuff-mull,
A bagg which they with onions fill;
And as their strick observers say,
A tupe horn filled with usquebay,
A slasht out coat beneath their plaids,
A targe of timber, nails, and hides,
With a long two-handed sword
As good's the country can afford.
Had they not need of bulk and bones
Who fight with all these arms at once?

The Highlanders being naturally a bold, active, and hardy race, they were trained from their infancy to the use of their weapons, and studied lightness and freedom in their dress and accoutrements more than artificial defence. A man of physical weakness or incapacity was looked upon with pity and contempt, while a person guilty of cowardice was shunned with the utmost abhorrence.

Martin gives a most interesting description of the customs prevalent in the Western Isles in his time. He says:—

"Every heir or young chieftain of a tribe was oblig'd in honour to give a publick specimen of his valour, before he was own'd and declared governor or leader of his people, who obey'd and followed him upon all occasions. This chieftain was usually attended by a retinue of young men of quality, who had not beforehand given proof of their valour, and were ambitious of such an opportunity to signalize themselves.

"It was usual for the captain to lead them, and to make a desperate incursion on some neighbour or other that they were in feud with; and they were oblig'd to bring by open force the

cattel they found in the lands they attack'd, or to die in the attempt. After the performance of this atchievement, the young chieftain was ever after reputed valiant and worthy of government, and such as were of his retinue acquir'd the like reputation. This custom being reciprocally us'd among them, was not reputed robbery, for the damage which one tribe sustain'd by this essay of the chieftain of another, was repaired when their chieftain came in his turn to make his specimen ; but I have not heard an instance of this practice for these sixty years past."

The formalities observed at the entrance of these chieftains upon the government of their clans were as follows:—

"A heap of stones was erected in form of a pyramid, on the top of which the young chieftain was plac'd, his friends and followers standing in a circle round about him, his elevation signifying his authority over them, and their standing below their subjection to him. One of his principal friends delivered into his hands the sword wore by his father, and there was a white rod delivered to him likewise at the same time. Immediately after, the chief Druid (or orator) stood close to the pyramid and pronounced a rhetorical panegyrick, setting forth the ancient pedigree, valour, and liberality of the family, as incentives to the young chieftain, and fit for his imitation.

"It was their custom, when any chieftain marched upon a military expedition, to draw some blood from the first animal that chanced to meet them upon the enemy's ground, and thereafter to sprinkle some of it upon their colours. This they considered as a good omen of success. They had their fixed officers, who were ready to attend them upon all occasions, whether military or civil. Some families continue them from father to son, particularly *Sir Donald Macdonald* has his principal standard-bearer and quartermaster. The latter has a right to all the hides of cows killed upon any of the occasions mentioned above, and this I have seen exacted punctually, though the officer had no charter for the same, but only custom. They had a constant sentinel on the top of their houses, called the *Gockman*, or, in the English tongue, *Cockman ;* who was obliged to watch day and night, and at the approach of anybody to ask, *Who comes there ?* This officer is continued in Barray still, and has the perquisites due to his place paid to him duly at two terms of the year.

There was a competent number of young gentlemen called *Luchk-tach* (Luchd-taic) or *Guard de corps*, who always attended the chieftain at home and abroad. They were well train'd in managing the sword and target, in wrestling, swimming, jumping, dancing, shooting with bow and arrows, and were stout seamen.

"Every chieftain had a bold armour-bearer, whose business was to attend the person of his master night and day to prevent any surprise, and this man was called *Galloglach;* he had also a double portion of meat assigned him at every meal. The measure of meat usually given him is call'd to this day *Bieyfir (Biadh-fir)*, that is a man's portion, meaning thereby an extraordinary man, whose strength and courage distinguish'd him from the common sort.

"Before they engaged the enemy in battle, the chief Druid harangu'd the army to excite their courage. He was plac'd on an eminence from whence he address'd himself to all of them standing about him, putting them in mind of what great things were perform'd by the valour of their ancestors, raised their hopes of victory and honour, and dispell'd their fears by all the topicks that natural courage could suggest. After this harangue, the army gave a general shout and then charged the enemy stoutly. This in the antient language is call'd *Brosnichiy Kah (Brosnachadh Cath) i.e.*, an incentive to war. This custom of shouting aloud is believed to have taken its rise from an instinct of nature, it being attributed to most nations that have been of a martial genius: as by Homer to the Trojans, by Tacitus to the Germans, and by Livy to the Gauls."

William Sacheverell, Governor of the Isle of Mann, who was employed in 1688 in the attempt to raise the "Florida," one of the Spanish Armada lost at Tobermory a century previous, gives an account of the dress and arms of the Highlanders as he saw them in Mull at that time, which is well worthy of being given in full. He says—"During my stay I generally observed the men to be large-bodied, stout, subtile, active, patient of cold and hunger. There appeared to be in all their actions a certain generous air of freedom, and contempt of those trifles, luxuries, and ambitions which we so serviley creep after; they bound their appetites by their necessities, and their happiness consists, not in having much, but in coveting little. The women seem to have

the same sentiments with the men, though their habits (their dress) were mean, and they had not our sort of breeding; yet in many of them there was a natural beauty and graceful modesty which never fails of attracting.

"The usual outward habit of both sexes is the Pladd; the women's much finer, the colours more lively, and the squares larger than the men's, and put me in mind of the ancient Picts. This serves them for a veil, and covers both head and body. The men wear theirs after another manner, especially when designed for ornament; it is loose, and flowing like the mantles our painters give their heroes; their thighs are bare, with brawny muscles; Nature has drawn all her strokes bold and masterly; a thin brogue on the foot, a short buskin of various colours on the leg, tied above the calf with a striped pair of garters; a large shot pouch in front, on each side of which hangs a pistol and dagger; a round target on their backs, a blue bonnet on their heads; in one hand a broadsword, and a musket in the other. Perhaps no nation goes better armed, and I assure you they will handle them with bravery and dexterity, especially the sword and target, as our veteran regiments found to their cost at Killecrankie."

The Highlanders were at all times noted for the rapidity of their movements; on account of their being so lightly clad and light of foot, they were sometimes employed in the Scottish wars to act along with cavalry, one between each horse; and we are informed that they kept pace with the horses in all their movements, let them go ever so quickly, and they did terrible execution. The soldiers of Mackay's regiment, in the wars of Gustavus Adolphus, acted as auxilliaries to the cavalry in the same manner.

The author of "Certayne Manners," already quoted, says:—"They have large bodies, and prodigious strong; and two qualities above all other nations: hardy to endure fatigue, cold, and hardships; and wonderfully swift of foot. The latter is such an advantage in the field that I know of none like it, for if they conquer no enemy can escape them, and if they run even the horse can hardly overtake them. There were some, as I said before, that went out in parties with the horse."

Their mode of fighting was characteristic of themselves: they

marched boldly and resolutely up to the enemy till within shot, when they halted and discharged their muskets or arrows, as the case might be, then, drawing their claymores, with one sudden cry they rushed on the enemy before he had time to recover from the discharge ; such was the rapidity and fury of the onslaught that the most disciplined troops rarely, if ever, could stand before them, and once the claymores were among them the day was decided. Their onset was so terrible that even Dr Johnson admits "that the best troops in Europe could with difficulty sustain the first shock of it, and if the swords of the Highlanders once came in contact with them their defeat was inevitable."

After firing, the muskets were thrown to the ground, as they rarely fired a second volley, and, on many occasions, they even stripped themselves of their plaids and jackets, and fought in their shirt-sleeves, as at Blar-na-leine—a battle fought between the Frasers and Macdonalds in 1544, and also at Tippermuir, Sheriffmuir, and Killiecrankie. Many writers would have us believe that they fought with nothing on but their shirts, but the stupidity of such an assertion must be plain to any one who chooses to think of it. This idea arose from the fact of those who stripped themselves, as mentioned above, being dressed in the feileadh-beag and shoulder plaid ; and the latter being wrapped round the shoulders, would encumber the arms and hinder them in the use of their weapons; whereas, if they had been dressed in the belted-plaid, it, being fastened on the left shoulder, and hanging loosely behind, left the arms perfectly free. This was the very purpose for which the belted-plaid was intended; for, while it left them perfectly free in the use of their arms, it afforded them sufficient covering for camping out, and was convenient to carry.

Martin gives a most minute description of the mode of fighting, and completely explodes the idea of their stripping to their shirts. He says—"The antient way was by pitched battles ; and for arms some had broad two-handed swords and head pieces, and others bows and arrows. When all their arrows were spent they attacked each other, sword in hand. Since the invention of guns they are very early accustomed to use them, and carry their pieces with them wherever they go ; they likewise learn to handle the broadsword and target. The chief of each

tribe advances with his followers, within shot of the enemy, having first *laid aside their upper garments*, and after one general discharge they attack them sword in hand, having their targets on their left hand (as they did at Killecrankie), which soon brings the matter to an issue, and verifies the observation made of them by some historians, *Aut mors Cito, out Victoria læta.*"

The wisdom of throwing aside their muskets and plaids may be questioned, and it is certainly not in accordance with the modern ideas of warfare; but where everything depended upon lightness and rapidity of motion, the advantage of being free from incumbrance is plain. The reason given by themselves is, that after the muskets were discharged they did not require them at the time, as they never fired a second volley; if they were victorious, they could easily pick them up again, and if killed they had no further use for them. It can easily be imagined that fiery and passionate men like the Highlanders would ill brook the idea of peppering at the enemy at a distance, or being shot like so many pheasants at a *battue*, with such a trusty and decisive weapon as the claymore in their hands; they always considered that the musket was a weapon for little men and cowards.

(To be continued.)

ARGYLL EVICTIONS.

Written on board the steamer "LORD OF THE ISLES" *during a trip to Inveraray.*

THOSE straths and glens, with waving ferns, where sheep and lambs now stray,
Could muster at the pibroch sound, to forage or to fray,
Five thousand of the bravest men, e'er stood in rank and file,
To do the bidding of their chief, or die for old Argyll.

Alas! where are those heroes now, uprooted from the soil!
Some driven off to other lands, some to our towns to toil.
Now, should the "Fiery Cross" go round, by vale or mountain steep,
Those straths and glens might well resound—"Put red coats on your sheep."

Great God on high, whose mighty eye looks down on all below,
Whose ear is open to the cry, the patriot's cry of woe,
Why should Thine own eternal laws, who did creation plan,
And formed us like Thy very self, man like his fellow-man,

Be broken by a selfish few, who claim the lion's share,
And drive poor mortals from the soil, while there is room to spare;
Ho! spirits of the mighty dead breathe down upon your bones,
Till ghastly hosts, with martial tread, shake parliaments and thrones.

Arise, ye sons of noble sires—awake, shake off your slumber,
Blow Freedom's spark until it fires, and rolls in awful thunder
From end to end of Britain's Isle, from platform and from press,
Till Lords and Commons grant just laws, and cruel wrongs redress.

Greenock. W.O.C.

THE HIGHLAND CLEARANCES.*

WITH certain modifications Mr Mackenzie might have prefixed as a motto to his "History of the Highland Clearances," recently published, the famous invocation with which the Iliad opens :—

> "Achilles' baneful wrath resound, O, Goddess that imposed
> Infinite sorrows on the Greeks, and many brave souls loosed
> From breasts heroic ; sent them far to that invisible cave
> That no light comforts ; and their limbs to dogs and vultures gave."

The fierce anger of the Grecian chief let loose the dogs of pestilence and defeat upon his army, so that by troops to death they went. The havoc of war is, however, in most cases soon mended, and its miseries soon covered with a fresh and kindly sward. It was not generous rage, which may glance in the bosom of even a wise man, that moved our Highland chiefs to perpetrate upon their people the revolting deeds chronicled in the painful pages of this very interesting book. Their motive was of a different stamp. Our chiefs had fallen out of sympathy with their people—they mingled with the foreigner and learnt his ways. The old language was lost, the old ways with their rude simplicity became distasteful, became offensive to them as peat reek to a city-bred man. Then the old rent was not sufficient to meet the demands of life in the capital, to meet the cost of equipages, horses, dogs, and worse. Greedy capitalists were at hand to whisper in the ear of impecunious pleasure-loving lairds that the glens, if their inhabitants were removed, would bring more money. The factor, with an eye to save himself trouble, rejoicing in the thought of having gentlemen farmers for his companions, instead of being under the necessities of attending to the little and irritating details which arise from the circumstances of a multiplied crofter life, said amen to the dangerous suggestions of greed. The voice of the serpent, subtle to deceive, was heard, and the glory of the chiefs shook its wing and left the land. But there were other chiefs of a different mould to whom the tempter came with appeals, not to their own per-

* By Alexander Mackenzie, F.S.A. Scot. Inverness: A. & W. Mackenzie.

sonal necessities, but with bright descriptions of the good that should accrue to the people themselves, and to the country generally, by their transportation across the sea to the West, or to the shores of their own seas at home. This is notably true of the Sutherland family, whose doings figure so largely in the mournful record to which Mr Mackenzie has anew and so powerfully directed the attention of the public, now so thoroughly educated by Irish Land Acts and otherwise in such matters. It will be matter of everlasting regret to thousands that the Sutherland shield was permitted to be stained by the dirty hands of men whom oceans of ink cannot wash clean. It was the misfortune of Sutherland that the Duchess-Countess lost both her parents, when but a child, and that she was brought up in "Babylon," far away from the Zion of her ancestors. As an orphan, and as the sole surviving representative of a proud and honoured name, the interest excited in her among her people was intense. This interest was kindled into a flame of devotion to her person and her rights, when Sutherland of Forse, in Caithness, endeavoured to secure the Earldom to himself as the male heir; but the "grey mare proved the better horse," and Forse had to be content with his plain name and house. The county of Sutherland was ablaze with joy at the victory of their infant Countess. The Reay country caught the enthusiasm, and Rob Donn sang, in glowing terms, the virtues of the young lady's forefathers, congratulated her on the good fortune which made her the heir of their fame, honour, and wealth. Alas! circumstances, which are detailed in the "Highland Clearances," connected with the noble lady's education and married life, made it impossible for her to understand the people who poured out such an abundance of affection around her when in her cradle her position was threatened, and continued to reverence her until love and reverence and trust were extinguished in the fires that consumed their pastures while still legally their own, and finally the huts which their own hands had reared. Pride in the history of a family hoary with an antiquity lost in the far off times, was changed into hatred bitter as gall and wormwood. Yet this Duchess and her noble husband wished to do well, and would have done well had they but taken some trouble. Their liberality was unbounded, yet they were hated by the vast majority of the inhabitants of their Highland county.

More than £200,000 were spent, and yet, when the Countess died, a preacher, a man of a different kidney from those timid preachers whom Donald Macleod indignantly holds up to scorn, gave expression to the prevailing feeling when he said in the pulpit that "the Countess was in heaven if the *oppressors of the poor go there!*" Cursed be the system that could produce a state of feeling among a Highland population that could applaud such a terrible sentence in a funeral sermon. Covetousness and the "dismal science" put on the garb of philanthropy, told the good lady that the people who would have died for her were ignorant, vicious savages who, many of them, had "never heard the name of Jesus," who lived upon the warm blood of their live cattle tempered with nettles. She believed the slander, and the darling of Sutherland became its execration. The great slanderer himself was punished when, in his old age, at Wick, during an election contest, he was met by a long procession headed with a sheep, painted in Sutherland tartan, on a raised platform many feet high, and with a miniature cottage with smoke oozing through its tiny roof. It is said that he broke his heart. If he did his own was not the first or the second that he broke.

One of the saddest things in this book is the abject cowardice of the parish ministers, the natural leaders of the people, when as yet there was no dissent and no newspapers in the North worthy of the name. Passive obedience was their favourite doctrine. Right enough, but should *they* be passive while their flocks were being torn and scattered. I can understand why Rob Donn should have said bitterly, and in severe terms :—

Is e meas ministeir sgìreachd
Bhi na chriosduidh mar fhasan, &c., &c.

If the ecclesiastical struggle of Scotland in this century shall have no other fruit than the severance of the connection between the Patron and the Church, it deserves the thanks of the country. The minister is now free to speak without fear, if he has a tongue to use. The effect of his silence when he should have spoken has been very great in various ways, which cannot be more particularly referred to here. But let us not be too severe even on men who stood by and said nothing when "the flesh of their people was eaten, and their skin flayed from off them." Their

position was a trying one, there was no public opinion to back them up if they stood in the breach, no members of Parliament to put questions to bring to light the obscure works of cruelty. Some even of those mentioned in no friendly terms, lived to regret their past indifference, were roused to take the side of the weak as against the strong, and right manfully suffered in the cause of truth and liberty. It is but simple justice to the memory of the Mackenzies of Tongue and Farr to make this addition and modification to the scathing denunciations wrung from the proud, indignant, and suffering heart of Macleod. We shall, perhaps, too, be more charitable in judging those simple and isolated country ministers, to whom the great Lord was the "breath of their nostrils," if we call to mind that the authoress of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the unflinching advocate of the slave, who, perhaps, more than any other individual, was responsible for the terrible civil war in the blood of which slavery was washed away, was so fascinated with the bewitching beauty of the humanities of Dunrobin, that she took the side of Loch, as against Donald Macleod and Hugh Miller. We have reason to believe that Macleod led her to see that the "Sunny Memories of Sutherland" had a North side where there were in abundance memories that were not sunny.* But we should not be surprised if the power and worth which blinded the judgment of a Republican, who won her fame by pleading the cause of the outcast, should also have prevented the Sutherland ministers, as a whole, from winning the glory of martyrdom in an unpopular cause.

But this book is not without testimonies from the pulpit in behalf of the victims of a misguided land policy. The name of Sage is still green in the hearts of a very few who still remember him and the tragic sorrows which brought down his grey hairs in sorrow to the grave. For generations to come his name will be remembered, far and wide, by the descendants of the dispersed of Kildonan. In incisive, characteristic speech, full of truth and power, Dr Kennedy shows that the oppressor need expect no quarter from his keen claymore, any more than the heretic or the innovator, who tampers with the form of worship which nourished

* It may be stated as a fact of considerable interest, in connection with the Clearances, that Mrs Beecher Stowe's defence of Loch and the Sutherland family has has been suppressed in the later editions of her "Sunny Memories."—Ed. *C. M.*

the great Fathers of the North. Long may his bow abide in strength, though sometimes its arrows may pierce a friend as well as a foe. It is pleasing to know also that the tongue of the greatest prose writer in Gaelic did not allow—aristocrat though he was in his sympathies—the deeds of the landlord to pass without strong protest; and that, in this respect, he was seconded in wise, sagacious, and patriotic sentences by Dr Maclauchlan, who, but for ill-health, would not be silent at the present time—pregnant as it is with hope for the down-trodden.

No doubt, too, many other brave words were spoken which are forgotten. To our own knowledge, Norman Macleod of Trumisgarry, fearlessly acquitted himself in North Uist, in connection with the madness of the tyrant there. Mr Macleod had the rare grace of being better at suffering than at speaking, of being more at home in applying at all hazards his principles than in expounding them. But, unfortunately for his fame, Uist has not produced a Donald Macleod. Perhaps he is coming. But enough on this point. To many who think that a minister has nothing to do with the social comforts of the people, and that their opinion on such questions is of no more value than a shepherd's on navigation, it will be more interesting to know that Mr Mackenzie has given us in his volume the deliberate judgment on the Highland Clearances of some of the most distinguished men of the century, not only in our own country, but abroad. Here are the opinions, not of excited priests, but of Generals, literary men, scientific men, philanthropists, editors, statesmen, and even of hard-headed, cool political economists. The chorus of their song is an unqualified condemnation of the treatment which our Highland peasantry received on the soil that in part at least was by right their own. Indeed, we gather from some remarks in this book that it is now beginning to dawn on the landlords themselves that they have been guilty of a huge blunder in expatriating so many of their tenants. We hope this is true. Could they be induced to take the same pride, the same interest in their tenants as an officer does in his regiment, the land question would not be so difficult to solve.

We have said that the deeds of suffering recorded in this book were allowed by those in power because they believed they

would be productive of good to the landlord, to the evicted, to those who were not banished, and to the country at large. Has this anticipation been realised? Is the manhood of the Celts who still remain of a higher order? Do we look in vain now for the poverty to which the produce of an ebb tide is a sad necessity? Is the eye never offended and the feelings wounded by mud cabins, where we must reach the hearth over a pavement of dung formed by the beasts which share the same room with their owner? Is the wealth of the country so much increased by the profit of sheep and deer that the rates are not oppressive? Is the land blessed with happiness, with content? Is there the absence of those materials which furnish the agitator with the elements of his dangerous power? If we could believe that the sufferings of the past have resulted in a nobler life to the crofters who still exist, or in the amelioration of their external condition, so that they have enough to eat and to put on, then, though a sympathetic tear would naturally fall on the sufferings involved in the transition to the new and happier state of things, one should not complain, but rejoice that the blood of the fallen has enriched the soil for those who survive. If this were the fruit of the social changes in the Highlands, which are now in everybody's mouth, we should no more find fault with the pain which accompanied them than we should with the pain of a surgical operation. Have we this consolation? The question seems absurd enough in presence of the condition of many parts of the country at this moment, when the cry of hunger, the most terrible of all cries, is heard in various parts of the land. It is obvious, then, that the new system, with its consolidation of farms, whether for the butcher or the sportsman, has not brought plenty to the land. It is a curious fact, though not surprising to those who understand the question, that at this moment those portions of the Highlands where the old custom of combining arable land and pasture prevails, are at the present moment the most contented and prosperous. This seems to be the case even where the antiquated run-rig system obtains, and it is a startling commentary on the worth of the prophecies by which our modern improvers justified their conduct and soothed their consciences. We have hunger on the very skirts of our deer forests, and plenty

in those remote spots where the shadow of the despised middle ages still rests.*

But then our Mollisons tell us, amid the plaudits of Whig editors, that all would be well, but for the laziness of the inhabitants. It seems the men won't fish, and the women don't earn their 12s. a day like the women of the East. Now comparisons are odious. It may be perfectly true—indeed, it is true—that an average West Highland fisherman is neither so daring nor so successful a fisherman as those, say, of Buckie. It takes some generations to make a thorough-bred fisherman as it takes to make a thorough-bred gentleman, or anything else that is thorough-bred. The Buckie men were not forced from the hills, from following sheep, to be manufactured into mariners. The Highlanders were, and the wonder is that they can do what they do in the sea-faring line. Let it be remembered, too, that for a long time there was no market for fresh fish. Be it not forgotten that the Highlander has not the means to furnish himself with boats of the strength and capacity of the East Coast boats. In more places than one the Highlander has acquired the skill and courage needed to make a good fisherman. But he need not be lazy though he is not at home on the rolling billow. The Celtic women, too, though they can't earn 12s. a day, work as hard as their more fortunate sisters of another tongue. Dragging kelp is not a lazier job than cleaning fish. The Jew is not lazy, but when he was a slave, his ears were dinned with the cry, "Ye are lazy," while his back smarted under the lash of his very lazy, but very cruel, accuser. Make the Celt independent, secure him from being robbed of his own by arbitrary power, and if he does not change the face of the little spot of nature assigned to him, then let him give place to those who will. But if the Celt is lazy is it not possible that the position he is placed in by those in power is justly chargeable with responsibility for this detestable vice? No man would be very active if so situated that his activity would not be rewarded, that the fruit of his industry might at any

* *Vide* a powerful paper on the Highlands by John Rae, in the *Contemporary Review* for March. Mr Rae's paper deserves and will reward the most careful study. It is gratifying to see a disciplined intellect like Mr Rae's taking up, and with much effect, the cause of the poor, and earning for itself the blessing of him that was ready to perish. The crofters have now found a fit audience, for they have found tongues to speak for them which will compel even the deaf to hear.

moment be seized by another. Such is the position of the majority of our crofters. Those of us who hold that a grievous and foolish wrong has been done, in the name of progress and goodwill to men, to the Highlands by the proprietors, are supposed to hold that there should be no change. The charge is absurd. What we hold is that the changes in question have been brought about in such a way as to aggravate the old evils, such as overcrowding, which made change necessary. Our population, we are told, is as large as ever. Granted. What does this involve? No one will venture to say that the population has the same amount of land as before, so that the assumption means overcrowding of a terrible kind somewhere—an overcrowding which can never be far removed from squalor, wretchedness, and famine.

Now, this state of things must not be allowed to continue. Either let us go on to weed out the inhabitants of the coast, as we did that of the inland valleys, or else let them have land enough to call forth their highest physical and intellectual energies.

We have been looking at this question from the peasants' point of view, but from the landlords' point of view a mistake has been made. His rent is not what it might have been, any more than the comfort of his peasantry. We know a small township on the estate of Clyth which, in the early part of the century, being regarded as "fit only for beasts," was let for £7. The same ground is now let for more than £200! This increase was the result of the labour of evicted crofters from Sutherland, who were allowed to settle on the dreary waste referred to. These "barbarous" crofters trenched, drained, fenced, and built their huts with the extraordinary result mentioned.

Then where is the *influence* of the lairds as leaders of men? Is it not heard also on all hands that the soil which is tilled does not yield what it once yielded. Then, though the Duke of Argyll tells us that sheep are real reclaimers of land, is it not known that the pasture on which they feed is fast deteriorating? This is even made an excuse now for deer forests. Verily, it is a hard task to untie the knot which has been made. That task is to raise the status of the crofter. It is pleasant to see Lady Cathcart recognising this duty. With a higher status, with more land, the crofter will acquire that self-respect and independence which

will lead him to educate his children in such a way as to foster in them a spirit of enterprise which will make them seek their fortunes anywhere rather than remain in misery at home.

It may possibly be right that the Highland peasantry should disappear. It may be for the good of the nation. But if so, we hope the nation herself will look into the matter, as indeed, she is doing. The decision must not be left in the hand of the individual landlord. Even the Red Indian is now protected in his poor rights, and, if only for the sake of artistic variety, what remains of an old race should not, without good reason, be allowed to vanish or live in abject, hopeless poverty. A crofter's life must be a hard one, but with fair-play, with security, with wise guidance and careful instruction by his superiors, it is infinitely preferable to the life of myriads in our great cities. This view strongly impressed itself on my mind when my duties as a missionary brought me into close contact with many of the slums and wynds of Edinburgh. There is a possibility of success in the towns, which cannot be found in the country, but there is a possibility of sinking to a lower depth. I have often met Highlanders in those *one-roomed* houses in the city to which Mr Bright referred in terms which must have given a shock to those who think that there is nothing but progress to be seen among us, and in my heart I wished them, and their puny children, away in the worst huts in the Lews. The savour of a Highland hut, at once a byre and a home, is fragrant as the smell of Lebanon compared to the savour of many of those places where thousands in our cities live. Cities are a necessity, and in them we must look for the noblest specimens of humanity, but they breed a rottenness, physical and moral, which will end in death, unless a fresh stream of healthy, rural manhood shall constantly flow into and purify their seething corruption. Surely the source of this stream is to be found in a well-conditioned peasantry removed from the corrupting influence of wealth on the one side, and on the other from the enfeebling effects of a despairing poverty.

Now, it is clear that despair, conscious or unconscious, is of necessity the familiar friend of many of our crofters. There is at present no chance for him to rise at home in the social scale. Everything above him is too high for him to aspire to, and so,

perhaps, he wrings his hands, and does not do what he might do. Thus our cities have a much higher interest in the land question than that of mutton. They need strong men of sound limb, and high character, as well as mutton. Under a better system of land tenure they would have more of both and of a higher quality. At the same time the small farmer who cultivates his own farm is more to be envied than his son who goes into the town. Only a small minority can ever rise above the condition they were born in. We need take no account of them in thinking of what is for the general weal of the majority, who are and will be doomed to physical toil. But toil on the hillside is preferable, under right conditions, to toil in the factory. Said a learned advocate once to me—"Weed out your crofters, and send them to the cities." (His oldest son, a fine boy of ten, was playing at the time on the heather hy his side). "Sir," I said to him, "you know city life, you know the circumstances of the artizan, and his labourers. Suppose, now, you were under the hard necessity of choosing for your son, there, an average crofter's life, or that of a working man in a large town, which of the stern alternatives would you prefer?" My gifted and philanthropic friend was silent for a moment, and then replied with warmth, "I should choose the croft rather than the mill for him." Quite so. At the same time there will always be a surplus which must leave their homes, and the better off they are at home, the better fitted will they be to benefit themselves and the new places they go to. I trust that in the coming struggle in behalf of an oppressed, but still noble race, our true Highland lairds—alas, that they, too, should have been so much cleared out—will distinguish themselves by a genuine love of country and kin.

Mr Mackenzie deserves the best thanks of the community for drawing attention, in his able book, to the past sufferings of the Highlands, and to the social condition which has directly sprung from them.

A. C. SUTHERLAND.

SELLAR'S TRIAL.—Mr Mackenzie of the *Celtic Magazine* has issued his promised reprint of "The Trial of Patrick Sellar." It is a very curious document indeed, and illustrates the fact that considerable progress in the way of a pure adminis tration of the law has been effected in Scotland since the year 1816.—*Christian Leader.*

Correspondence.

MR PATRICK SELLAR AND THE SUTHERLAND CLEARANCES.

The following correspondence, which explains itself, will, just now, prove interesting. It was crushed out of our last issue:—

HALL GROVE, BAGSHOT, 2nd March 1883.

SIR,—As an executor, and the eldest son of the late Mr Patrick Sellar, I have to address you with reference to a book recently published by you, and entitled "The History of the Highland Clearances."

In that book you reprint as authoritative and trustworthy the letters of Donald Macleod. These letters—originally published, as it would appear, in or about the year 1840, in the *Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle* (a newspaper which at no time was of any authority in Scotland, and then was in its last days)—contain false and calumnious accusations against my father—accusations which you reproduce as if they were true.

No reader of your book could suppose from its contents that, as the fact is, every article of Macleod's accusations had been embodied in the indictment preferred against my father at the trial in April 1816, when he was declared to be completely exonerated by the unanimous verdict of a Scottish jury of 15 men, in whose verdict the presiding Judge expressed his "entire concurrence." The whole of the malicious and baseless accusations preferred against my father—the identical accusations made long subsequently by Macleod—fell at once to the ground for want of evidence to support them, when brought to the test of a judicial enquiry.

But, further, you publish in Macleod's fifth letter, also as authoritative and trustworthy, a letter from the Sheriff-Substitute, Mr Robert Mackid, to Lord Stafford, dated 30th May 1815, containing a series of similarly false and malicious accusations against my father. Mr Mackid's accusations, which led to the trial of April 1816, where they were found to be baseless, led also to an action being brought by my father against him, and that action only ended by the abject submission of the defendant and by his writing a letter of retractation and regret, of which the following is a copy:—

"DRUMMUIE, 22nd September 1817.

"Sir,—Being impressed with the perfect conviction and belief that the statements to your prejudice, contained in the precognition which I took in Strathnaver, in May 1817, were, to such an extent, exaggerations as to amount to absolute falsehoods, I am free to admit that, led away by the clamour excited against you, on account of the discharge of the duties of your office, as factor for the Marchioness of Stafford, in introducing a new system of management on the Sutherland estate, I gave a degree of credit to those mis-statements of which I am now thoroughly ashamed, and which I most sincerely and deeply regret. From the aspersions thrown on your character, I trust you need not doubt that you are already fully acquitted in the eyes of the world. That you would be entitled to exemplary damages from me, for my participation in the injury done you, I am most sensible; and I shall, therefore, not only acknowledge it as a most important obligation conferred on me and on my innocent family, if you will have the goodness to drop your lawsuit against me, but I shall also pay the expenses of that suit, and place at your disposal towards the reimbursement of the previous expenses which this most unfortunate business has occasioned to you, any sum you may exact, when made acquainted with the state of my affairs—trusting to your generosity to have consideration to the heavy expense my defence has cost me,

and that my connection with the unfortunate affair has induced me to resign the office of Sheriff-Substitute of Sutherland. I beg further to add, that in case of your compliance with my wish here expressed, you are to be at liberty to make any use you please of this letter, except publishing it in the newspapers, which I doubt not you will see the propriety of objecting to.—I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

"ROBERT MACKID.

"Addressed to Patrick Sellar, Esq., of Westfield, Culmaily."

This letter is formally recorded in the Books of Council and Session at Dornoch, and the original was inserted in open Court, in the Sheriff Court Books of Sutherlandshire, and registered as a "probative writ," on November 13th, 1817, and you can refer to it accordingly. Mr Mackid paid the costs of the action against him and substantial damages, and he also resigned his office of Sheriff-Substitute.

I put it to you whether, in common fairness, and even supposing you could justify the reproduction under any circumstances of these calumnies of Mackid and Macleod, you were not and are not bound to give your readers some indication that those identical calumnies were, every one of them, the same which had been long before disproved in a Court of Law, and to make them aware that Mackid had abjectly retracted in writing his share of the calumnies, while Macleod's were stale reproductions, five-and-twenty years after the events, of what at the utmost certain witnesses had professed themselves at the preliminary examination to be ready to state, but which they could not sustain an oath at the trial.

It is not easy to conceive that you can have been ignorant of the record of the trial, or of the retractation by Mackid of the accusations contained in his wicked letter of the 30th May 1815. Nor is it easy to understand for what cause you have reproduced those disproved calumnies against a dead man—calumnies, holding up to public execration one whose accusers had collapsed at the touch of legal investigation, and who had been legally proved to be, and (as appears from the evidence given at the trial), was absolutely innocent of the charges preferred against him.

I now ask you what reparation you are prepared to make for your reproduction of these false and wicked calumnies, holding myself free to take such course in the the matter as may seem proper after I learn your decision?—Yours faithfully.

THO. SELLAR.

Alexander Mackenzie, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., Editor of the
Celtic Magazine, Inverness.

"CELTIC MAGAZINE" OFFICE,
INVERNESS, March 5th, 1883.

SIR,—I am in receipt of your favour of 2nd inst. You can scarcely expect me to reply to it in detail, keeping in view its last two lines.

I may, however, say that the objects I had in view are set forth in the preface to my book, and that it could not possibly have been meant to damage anyone.

I was acquainted with the result of Mr Sellar's trial in 1816. Macleod states it, and the book contains it. I am now preparing a new edition of the trial for the press, so that the public may be in possession of all the facts of the case. It would have been printed ere now were it not that my copy of it wants a few leaves, and I am waiting for a complete one which is to reach me to-morrow.*

I was not aware of the existence of Mackid's letter, which you quote, or I would certainly have printed it in a foot-note, and I will do so yet if the work goes into a second edition; for I have no personal feeling in the matter.

* Since published, with Introductory Remarks, and can be had free, by post, from the *Celtic Magazine* Office, for 13 postage stamps.—ED. *C. M.*

That Macleod's letters were to be reproduced in my "Highland Clearances" was advertised for months; and I happen to know that members of your family were aware of the fact. It therefore seems somewhat curious that you or some of them did not call my attention to Mackid's letter. When you consider that, according to the conditions declared in the letter itself, it was not to appear in the newspapers at the time, it was not a document which was at all likely to be much known, except to those more immediately concerned.

You would have noticed that some sentences in Macleod's book have been left out, and others considerably toned down in my work.

The great facts of the Sutherland Clearances, as described in Macleod's book, and fully corroborated by other writers, are as true historically as those of the massacre of Cawnpore, and I cannot understand how any one, however closely interested, can expect that such a chapter in the History of the Highlands, with its various lessons, can be permitted to fall into oblivion.

Your father was acquitted of the specific charges brought against him in Court; but the object of my book is to make it impossible that a law should be allowed to remain on the Statute-Book which still permits the same cruelties to be legally carried out in the Highlands as were carried out in Sutherland during the first half of the present century.

I am of opinion that I have, in all the circumstances of the times in which we live, simply done my duty in re-publishing so much of Macleod's book. If I am wrong in this opinion I must prepare myself for the consequences of my error. Meanwhile, and in view of your threat, I cannot enter into any further personal correspondence on the subject. With all respect,—I am, sir, yours faithfully,

A. MACKENZIE.

Thomas Sellar, Esq., Hall Grove, Bagshot.

THE LATE MRS HELEN MATHESON OR BELL.—On the 7th April, and almost under the shadow of the house in which, eighty-four years ago, she was born, the grave closed over the remains of Mrs Helen Matheson or Bell, the last survivor of a family which once exercised no small influence in the North. Her father was Colin Matheson of Bennetsfield, the acknowledged chief of his clan, and once the proprietor of the valuable estates of Bennetsfield, and the two Suddies. Her mother was Grace, daughter of Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston, while her maternal grandmother was a daughter of James Grant of Rothiemurchus. This connection of the Bennetsfield family with that of Rothiemurchus was of material service to the large family—seven sons and seven daughters—of which Mrs Bell was the last survivor; for Sir John Peter Grant the first, to his many other excellent qualities, added the good old Highland virtue of a kindly interest in his deserving relatives. Hence the early connection with our Indian Empire of Mrs Bell, her brother Patrick, and his sons. In India she married Dr William Bell, of the H.E.I.C. Service, a man of kindly heart and sincere piety, the friend of Metcalf, Pennifather, and other ornaments of the Indian school of evangelical religion. Of this school the late Mrs Bell was a worthy disciple; and there are many in Inverness who will long miss her cheering words and simple, unostentatious, charities. She was gathered to her fathers in the old churchyard of Suddie, her nephew, Colin Milne-Miller of Kincurdy, acting as chief mourner. He is the last of her race—the Mathesons of Bennetsfield—to own land in the county where once they held large and valuable estates.

THE

CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

No. XCII. JUNE 1883. VOL. VIII.

CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.

By Alexander Macbain, M.A.

II.—Cause of Myth—*(Continued.)*

The theory of the cause of myth that finds most favour at the present time is that which explains myth in connection with, and dependence on, language; while at the same time due regard is had to the other possible sources of it in allegory, analogy, and real, though exaggerated, events. The way in which language gives rise to myth can, however, be understood only after a consideration of the mental powers, state of culture, and consequent interpretation of nature which existed among primitive and myth-making men. Language is but the physical side, as it were, of mythology, and the mental side of it must be considered before the action of language can be appreciated properly. The origin of myth springs from the same cause as the origin of science; they are both man's attempt to interpret his surroundings. Myth is but the badly remembered interpretation of nature given in the youth and inexperience of the world when the feelings were predominant; science is the same interpretation in the old age of the world, given under the influence of the "freezing reason's colder part." Man in the myth-making stage was ignorant of the cause and real character of the mighty natural forces around him—ignorant even of the unaltering uniformity of nature—

indeed the only thing the Celts said they were afraid of was that the heavens should fall! The relations of cause and effect they interpreted by their own feelings and will-power; every moving thing, animate or inanimate, was regarded as impelled by a force akin to that which impelled man; that is, by a will-force. Even stationary nature—the everlasting hills and the solid earth—was endowed with feeling, will, and thought. All the mental powers that man found controlling his own actions were unconsciously transferred to nature. A personal life was accordingly attributed to sun, moon, clouds, winds, and the other natural powers; they were looked upon as performing their special functions by means of faculties of mind and body analogous to those of man or beast. The varying phenomena of the sky, morn and eve, noon and black-clouded night, were the product of the life that dwelt in each. The eclipse of the sun, for example—a most dreaded event in ancient times—was supposed to be caused by a wild beast attempting to swallow the lord of day; and men poured forth, as some savages do yet, with timbrels and drums, to frighten away the monster. The clouds were cows with swelling udders, milked by the sun and wind of heaven—the cattle of the sun under the care of the wind. The thunder was the roar of a mighty beast; the lightning, a serpent darting at its prey. Modern savages are in much this state of culture, and their beliefs have helped greatly in unravelling the problem of mythology. The ideas which children form of outward nature exemplifies in some degree the mythic age through which the race in its childhood passed. "To a little child not only are all living creatures endowed with human intelligence, but everything is alive. In his world, pussy takes rank with 'Pa' and 'Ma' in point of intelligence. He beats the chairs against which he has knocked his head; the fire that burns his finger is 'naughty fire'; and the stars that shine through his bedroom window are eyes like mamma's, or pussy's, only brighter."

It was on these wrong impressions—this anthropomorphic view of nature—that language was founded. Language, in man's passing to a higher state of culture, still kept, stereotyped and fixed, the old personal explanations and statements about nature; the language did not change, but man's views of natural causes and events changed very much as he got more civilised—

more free from the influence of his feelings, and more under the sway of his reasoning powers. The knowledge and ideas of earlier men were thus, as it were, fossilised in language, and when the feeling and personification impressed on language had passed into a more intellectual age, the result was misinterpretation and a too literal acceptance of many of the warm and vivid epithets employed of old. The personal explanation of the sun's motion, for instance, and the attributes and epithets given to it, all charged with life and feeling, were in the course of time and language taken in a more literal way, and, since slightly more scientific views were held as to the real nature of the sun, the old explanations were fastened to a separate sun-god, and thus a divorce was made between the sun and the personality given to it in the old epithets and explanations. The result was that there came to be a sun and a sun-god, Apollo, quite separate ; and the life-history given to this sun-god was taken from the explanations formerly given, in personal and anthropomorphic language, of the sun's daily and yearly course, his "rising" and "setting," for example, expressions which, though anthropomorphic, are still in use. A myth cannot, therefore, well arise unless the true meaning of a word or phrase has been forgotten, and a false meaning or explanation fastened on it. We may take an example from Greek mythology to illustrate this. Prometheus, the fire-bringer, is merely the personification of the wooden fire-drill; for the word is derived from the same source as the Sanscrit pramanthas, the "fire machine." Transplanted to Greek soil, the word lost its original signification with the loss of the thing signified, and became a mythological name, for which a new etymology had to be coined. Now, "promethes," in Greek, means "provident," and so Prometheus, the fire-bringer, was transformed into the wise representative of forethought, who stole the fire from heaven for suffering humanity; and a brother was supplied him in the foolish Epimetheus or "afterthought." And thereby hangs one of the most famous and noble myths of antiquity.

Gaelic, in its modern shape even, presents some very startling personifications of natural objects. The regular expression for "The sun is setting" is "Tha a' ghrian 'dol a laidhe"—"going to bed." Mr Campbell, in his very literal and picturesque translation of the West Highland tales, does not hesitate to follow the

Gaelic even in its most personal metaphors. "Beul na h-oidhche," "nightfall," is given literally as "the mouth of night." Gaelic poetry, too, is as a rule much more instinct with life and feeling in dealing with natural objects than English poetry. Ossian's address to the setting sun may be quoted to show what a mine of metaphor, and consequent mythology, exists in our poetic and elevated language—

"An d' fhag thu gorm astar nan speur,
A mhic gun bheud, a's òr-bhuidh' ciabh?
Tha dorsan na h-oidhche dhuit reidh,
Agus pàilliun do chlos san iar.
Thig na stuaidh mu'n cuairt gu mall,
A choimhead fir a's glaine gruaidh,
A' togail fo eagal an ceann
Ri d' fhaicinn cho àillidh 'n ad shuain.
Gabhsa cadal ann ad chòs,
A ghrian, a's till o d' chlos le aoibhneas."

These lines bring us back to the anthropomorphism of the Vedic hymns of India, to which alone, in their richness of personification and mythic power, they can be compared.

Allied to the linguistic theory of myth is also the simpler case of those myths consciously started to explain the names of nations, countries, and places. A common method of accounting for a national name was to invent an ancestor or patriarch who bore that name in an individual form. Britain, so say the myths, is so named from Brutus, grandson of Æneas, the Trojan hero, who first ruled here. Scotland gets its name from Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh. The names of places are dealt with in the same way, and, if the name is anyways significant, the myth takes the lines indicated by the popular etymology of the name. This is the origin of the name of Loch-Ness: "Where Loch-Ness now s there was once a fine glen. A woman went one day to the well to fetch water, and the spring flowed so much that she got frightened, left her pitcher, and ran for her life. Getting to the top of a hill, she turned about and saw the glen filled with water. 'Aha!' said she, 'tha loch ann a nis;' and hence the lake was called Loch-Ness." A somewhat similar account is given of the origin and name of Loch-Neagh, in Ireland, and Loch-Awe, in Argyleshire.

From such myths as the last we gradually pass to myths that do not depend in the least on the quibbling and changes of

language, but are, consciously or unconsciously, forged explanations of national customs, historical events, or natural phenomena. Thus the custom among the Picts whereby the succession was in the female line, was mythically explained by Bede, thus: The Picts, having invaded Scotland, came to terms with the indigenous Gaels, and, as they brought no women with them, the compact was that, if the Gaels gave them their daughters as wives, the succession would be in the female line. Again, has the reader ever thought why the sea is salt? Well, this is the reason why. A man once got possession, it is needless to detail how, of a fairy quern which was "good to grind anything," only requiring certain cabalistic words to set it going or to stop it. A ship captain bought it to grind salt for him on his voyage. In mid-ocean the captain gave the quern the necessary order to grind salt, and it did; but unfortunately he forgot the incantation for stopping it. The quern ground on and filled the ship with salt till it sank to the bottom of the sea, where the quern is still grinding salt. And that is the reason why the sea is salt. If any one is sceptical, just let him taste the sea water and he will know its truth!

Spread of Myth.

Closely akin to the consideration of the cause of myth is the question why myths and tales, evidently of the same origin, exist among nations differing widely both in language and locality. We found that tales of transformed lovers, descending even to similarities in minute details, and hence showing evidences of a common source, existed among all the chief nations of Europe, Western Asia, and India. Besides, other myths of a more general character are found all over the world. Now, what is the cause of this wide distribution of the same myths? Two or three explanations are offered for this, each of which can correctly explain why some particular myths or tales, but none of which can explain why the whole body of mythology and folk-lore, is so widely distributed. Some hold that the stories and myths have been borrowed or transmitted from one nation to another; travellers and translators, they think, will account for nearly the whole of them. While it cannot be denied that many tales have permeated from one nation to another, this will by no means account for the similarities of myths among two nations or more, in whose langu-

age and customs these myths are so deeply embedded and ingrooved that we should have to say the language too was borrowed. If a myth, and, to a less degree, a tale, depend on a nation's language—its modes of thought and expression, if the roots of the proper names be embedded in the language, and consequently obscured, that myth and that tale must belong to that nation. They belong to that nation's inheritance as much as its language. Of course, care must be exercised in deciding what is really the peculiar property of a nation, and distinction made between the various classes into which the materials of mythology and folk-lore fall. "That certain deities occur in India, Greece, and Germany, having the same names and the same character, is a fact that can no longer be denied. That certain heroes, too, known to Indians, Greeks, and Romans, point to one and the same origin for these nations, both by their name and by their history, is a fact by this time admitted by all whose admission is of real value. As heroes are in most cases gods in disguise, there is nothing startling in the fact that nations who had worshipped the same gods should also have preserved some common legends of demigods or heroes, nay, even in a later phase of thought, of fairies and ghosts. The case, however, becomes much more problematical when we ask whether stories also, fables told with a decided moral purpose, formed part of that earliest Aryan inheritance?" Here Max Müller draws a distinct line between fables with a moral or educative purpose and the rest of the materials of mythology, and he has clearly demonstrated that many such are borrowed. The fables of Æsop have been adopted into every language in Europe, and the moral tales of the Indians, after many vicissitudes, found a "local habitation" in the pages of La Fontaine and others. Another explanation for the distribution of myths is that primitive men worked in similar grooves wherever they lived; man's circumstances being the same, his ideas and the expression of them will present strong resemblances everywhere. This view will account for the myths that are most widely distributed over the earth's surface. Jack the Giant-Killer, for instance, appears in the Zulu story of Uhlakanyana, who cheats the cannibal giant and his mother, to the latter of whom he had been delivered to be boiled, and whom he cunningly succeeds in substituting for him-

self. But the theory can apply only in a general way; to the great body of myths common to certain nations it cannot apply at all; it does not touch their deep and often detailed resemblances. What harmonises best with the facts of mythologic distribution is the grouping of nations into families proved to be genealogically allied from possessing a common body of myths and tales that must be descended from a parent stock. Although the facts of comparative mythology are sufficiently strong of themselves to prove the common origin of the nations from India to Ireland, yet it is satisfactory that the science of language has already proved the common descent of these nations, as far at least as language is concerned. Linguists have called the parent nation, from which they have sprung, the Aryan nation, a name which shall be adopted in this discussion. The only other group of nations that can satisfactorily be shown by their language and mythology to possess a common descent is the Semitic, which includes the Hebrews, Chaldeans, and Arabians. The Aryan and Semitic races have nothing in common, except what is borrowed, either in the matter of language or myth. When we are told that the Celtic god Bel is the same as the Semitic Baal, we may conclude that the assertion is, more than likely, both unscientific and untrue.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE HIGHLAND CLEARANCES.—We heartily commend Mr Mackenzie's volume of 528 closely-printed pages as a valuable storehouse of information to all who are interested in the grievances of the Highland crofters. . . . We would especially advise those who have derived their ideas of the crofters' grievances from the grossly one-sided and sensational statements of the *Scotsman* to read the plain, unvarnished tale of Mr Mackenzie, who has studied the question on the spot, and has no personal interest in misleading the public.—*London Echo.*

CELTIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE. — Professor Blackie has offered a Prize of £25 to the Students of the Class of Celtic Languages and Literature in the University of Edinburgh, for Session 1883-4, and a Prize of the same amount in Session 1884-5. The Prize will be competed for at the close of the Session in each year. Candidates will be examined in the following subjects:—(1.) Translation of a passage of Latin Prose, *ad aperturam;* (2.) Translation of a passage of Greek Prose, *ad aperturam;* (3.) Elements of Sanscrit Grammar; (4.) Comparative Philology; (5.) Gaelic. We hope to see this excellent example widely followed.

ROB ROY'S DEATH.*

[SUNDERLAND, April 24, 1883.—Dear Mr Mackenzie.—On reading Mr A. H. Millar's lately published "History of Rob Roy," I was agreeably surprised to find that Rob's exit was utterly devoid of "startling incidents"—as the tales by tradition have it. Mr Millar has conclusively shown that Rob died quietly in his own house, surrounded by his friends; hence the enclosed alteration of my former poem on his death which appeared in "Heather Bells."—Yours truly, WM. ALLAN.]

Night drew her dark mantle o'er gloomy Balquhidder,
The mist clouds rolled down from each mountain's rough breast,
And wild wailed the wind o'er the dew-laden heather,
In tones of despair for the hero's unrest.
The cold touch of death on Macgregor was falling,
His eagle eyes gleamed 'neath life's lingering fires,
While far-away voices he heard softly calling,
And saw the grey ghosts of his warrior sires.

"Who comes!" spake Macgregor, "that step is a foeman's,
My death-sharpened ear knows an enemy's tread,
Away, ye pale phantoms! ye voices and omens!
Bring—bring me my claymore, wrap round me my plaid!
What! Rob Roy defenceless? Ha! ha! it shall never
Be said that Macgregor was powerless to smite;
A thousand death's terrors may haunt me ere ever
A foe shall behold me bereft of my might."

As calm as a monarch in glory reposing,
So lay the old Chief, with his clansmen around;
As bold as a warrior with enemies closing,
Death's slogan he heard, and rejoiced at the sound.
"Who doubts me," he whispered; "unconquered I'm dying,
My bed is the heather I trod in my pride,
My tartan, unsullied, around me is lying,
My sword's in my hand, and a friend by my side."

Afar o'er the mountains strange echoes were trailing,
And deep was the sorrow Balquhidder then saw,
The coronach's numbers of anguish were wailing
Around the cold couch of the vanquished outlaw.
Forever, away from the scenes of his glory,
They laid him to rest 'mid the dust of the brave;
And Scotland will cherish the fame of his story,
As long as her heather bells bloom on his grave.

WM. ALLAN

*Re-written from "Heather Bells," April 1883.

THE ETHICS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

V.—The Principle of Rent.

Every action of nature, connected with, and necessary to, human life and advancement, would seem to be in a state of flux and development. Whatever is rigid and opposes a restraint to this process of development produces irritation and disturbance. A dual land tenure is essentially of this nature, and has, more or less, in every age and in every country, produced like effects. We must, therefore, conclude that something is fundamentally wrong which is at variance with natural harmonies, or, in other words, which does not accord with the instincts of freedom and justice. This is now felt on every hand, and although the best thought of the age is eagerly directed towards some solution, in a final and fundamental law, interested motives, the influence of habit, the established relations of classes, sentimental associations, and the sanction of usage, play so powerful a part that pure reason can hardly penetrate the mists in which it is thus enveloped. The age travels fast. The effects of inventions and the progress of mankind would seem to have outrun the march of thought. We look for precedents, and think that the condition of things that suited our free-and-easy going forefathers a century ago, with a population of one-fourth the present, and not one-tenth part of the wealth, is adapted to meet the exigencies of our greatly altered times.

The subject on which Adam Smith is thought most imperfect is his treatment of rent, and it cannot be denied by his greatest admirers that, in some passages, he attributes value to land which seems to be inconsistent with his fundamental theory that all exchange value consists in labour. These seeming contradictions, or obscurities, arise probably not so much from confusion of thought as from not having always distinguished between the rent of the landlord which resolves itself into profit on his outlay, and that part which accrues to him in excess of this, and which in reality is the rent of political economy. Much obscurity and inconvenience arise in this way from the use of one word in reference to a thing which is compounded of component

parts. But even, after making every allowance in this respect, it must be admitted, I think, that the idea of a natural law of rent may have escaped his comprehensive and acute mind. No doubt, he attributes the phenomenon to its correct cause—increase of population and competition—which, of course, would place it in labour. The great importance he attached to agricultural industry, as the original labour which supports all other labour, appears, however, to have led materialists to think that he gave countenance to the idea, which, in fact, his work was intended to refute, namely, that land has value apart from human labour. The schools appear to me, however, to have been more eager to seize upon what remained doubtful than to expand upon what was free from ambiguity. If he did not condemn rent, or discover its law, he had little to say in its favour, whilst he pointed to it as the most legitimate subject for direct taxation.

Notwithstanding the logical *hiatus* which has been found in the "Wealth of Nations" on the subject of rent, it may still be regarded as the best text-book, and its definitions as the most explicit, whilst it is not too much to say of the author that he contributed more towards enlightened legislation, and the happiness of a larger section of the human race, than all the economists who either preceded or followed him.

To illustrate the principle of rent, and in order the better to demonstrate its law, on the theory that labour is the foundation of all exchangeable value, the reader will excuse me for giving extracts from what Adam Smith says on the subject, to show that its principle is one of taxation, and that its proper name is land-tax.—

"As soon as the land of any country has become private property, the landlords, like all other men, love to reap where they never sowed, and demand a rent even for its natural produce. The wood of the forest, the grass of the field, and all the natura fruits of the earth, which, when land was in common, cost the labourer only the trouble of gathering them, come even to him to have an additional price fixed upon them. He must, then, pay for the licence to gather them; and must give up to the landlord a portion of *what his labour* either collects or produces. This portion, or, what comes to the same thing, the price of this portion, constitutes the rent of land, and in the price of the greater part of commodities makes a third component part.

"The real value of all the different component parts of price, it must be observed, is measured by the quantity of labour which they can, each of them, purchase or command. Labour measures the value not only of that part of price which resolves itself into labour, but of that which resolves itself into rent, and of that which resolves itself into profit."

In my last article reference was made to the statement in the latter paragraph that rent formed a component part of price. Buckle points out that price is made up of wages and profit, and refers to the following passage in the "Wealth of Nations" as the true statement:—

"Rent, it is to be observed, therefore enters into the composition of the price of commodities *in a different way* from wages and profit. High or low wages and profit are the causes of high or low price; high or low rent is the effect of it." Buckle remarks:—"This latter opinion we now know to be the true one; it is, however, incompatible with that expressed in the first passage. For, if rent is the effect or price, it cannot be a component part of it."

This question will be better understood when we come to treat of the law of rent. In the meantime, it is sufficient to point out that its *action* is to cut into wages and profit. *It cuts inward and reacts outward.* As a commercial transaction between man and man, its action is inverse, unnatural. Nothing puzzles a schoolboy's brain so much as to convert an inverse into a direct proportional, and the economists have not yet been able to solve the problem of rent, just because, like blind moles "burrowing i' the ground," they looked for its law in gradations of soil, instead of looking for it in gradations of labour.

What is commonly called the rights of property is, so far as the rent of political economy is concerned, the right to exercise a taxing principle, which is vicious in its operation. It places in the hands of individuals an instrument of power and oppression. It is only in the hands of the Sovereign or State that such a principle is safe, and very often that which ought to accrue to the Sovereign is appropriated by the subject. To make it clear that this is so, let me quote further from the same authority:—

"He sometimes demands rent for what is altogether incapable of human improvement. Kelp is a species of sea-weed, which, when burnt, yields an alkaline salt, useful for making glass, soap, and for several other purposes. It grows in several parts of Great Britain, particularly in Scotland, upon such rocks only as lie within the high-water mark, which are twice every day covered with the sea, and of which the produce, therefore, was never augmented by human industry. The landlord, however, whose estate is bounded by a kelp shore of this kind, demands a rent for it as much as for his corn-fields.

"The sea in the neighbourhood of the Islands of Shetland is more than commonly abundant in fish, which make a great part of the subsistence of their inhabitants. But in order to profit by the produce of the water, they must have a habitation upon the neighbouring land. The rent of the landlord is in proportion, not to what the farmer can make by the land, but to what he can make both by the land and by the water.

It is partly paid in sea-fish; and one of the very few instances in which rent makes a part of the price of that commodity is to be found in that country.

. . . . . .

"But what all the violence of the feudal institutions could never have effected, the silent and insensible operation of foreign commerce and manufactures brought about. These gradually furnished the great proprietors with something for which they could exchange the whole surplus produce of their lands, and which they could consume themselves without sharing it with either tenants or retainers. All for ourselves, and nothing for other people, seems, in every age of the world, to have been the vile maxim of the masters of mankind."

One more quotation to show that rent is not only the land-tax of the State, but to furnish an instance where its delegation to the zemindars of Bengal has been attended with the evil effects which are experienced in the United Kingdom.—

"The land-tax or land-rent which used to be paid to the Mahomedan Government of Bengal before the country fell into the hands of the East India Company is said to have amounted to about a fifth part of the produce. The land-tax of ancient Egypt is said likewise to have amounted to a fifth part.

"In Asia this sort of land-tax is said to interest the sovereign in the improvement and cultivation of land. The sovereigns of China, those of Bengal, while under Mahomedan Government, and those of ancient Egypt, are said accordingly to have been extremely attentive to the making and maintaining good roads and navigable canals, n order to increase as much as possible both the quantity and value of every part of the produce of the land, by procuring to every part of it the most extensive market which their own dominion could afford."

In nearly all Asiatic countries, and particularly in India, the cultivator holds the land direct from Government. His right, indeed, is original and indefeasible, paying the land-rent or land-tax through headmen of villages and districts, who, like the feudal chiefs, had certain duties and jurisdictions but no proprietorial right. Such was the case in Bengal until 1793, when the East Indian Company made a fixed settlement of the revenue with the zemindars, which conferred upon them proprietorial rights, inasmuch as they were made free to levy rent in their own right on the principle of "freedom of contract," whilst they paid a fixed sum to Government. The unfortunate population was handed over to the rapacity of revenue collectors, and the Government surrendered the future increment of the land-tax, whilst leaving unborn generations at the mercy of irresponsible tyrants. This unwise measure has been most oppressive to the ryots, or cultivators, and has resulted in a loss to the Government of India of ten millions sterling per annum at the present value of the land.

The case of Bengal is one of peculiar interest to the British economist and legislature, as it presents an almost exact counterpart of what has taken place at home. Repeated legislative enactments of a temporising character have from time to time been passed with a view to counteract or mitigate the fundamental mistake that had been committed, but they have all proved of no avail. The Government of India cannot put Bengal back to 1793. Just as I write, I read in the *Times* of yesterday (9th April) the following telegram from Culcutta :—

"There is a great consternation and dismay among the Behar zemindars on the publication of the Bengal Tenant Bill. Right of occupancy is given to the ryots if they have held the smallest bit of land for twelve years. In all lands subsequently held by them, irrespective of length of holding, transferibility is given to such rights. Freedom of contract is denied to the zemindars. The *maximum* of enhancement is fixed at a fifth of the value of the produce. Existing rates are interfered with. All this is against permanent settlement. At a monster meeting of zemindars of Arrah to-day, presided over by Maharajah Doomra, at which all the zemindars, Europeans included, were present, resolutions were passed, condemning the bill, and protesting against infringement of permanent settlement."

All this is against permanent settlement! What is permanent, except freedom and justice?

As a matter of revenue, the "permanent settlement," by which British landowners pay a fixed land-tax of £1,050,000 on the valuation of 1692, is a greater injustice to the British taxpayer than the loss of revenue which has resulted to the Government of India, for, on the rating of one-fifth, the British Exchequer ought to derive twenty-six millions sterling from land. British landlords are, therefore, like the zemindars of Bengal, by unjust legislation, in possession of the revenue of the Sovereign; but what is still worse, they wield the taxing power of the Sovereign over the wages and profits of farmers.

In the presence of agricultural distress, and with the existence of something like famine in our midst, could we but compare the present with the past, and estimate our greater capacity for meeting every such adverse contingency, it should go far to convince us that the universal scheme of increase and development is not checked by the "niggardliness" of nature, but by the sordidness and injustice of the masters of mankind. We think of India as teeming with a starving and redundant population. We do not think of her idle, fattened, greasy, and besotted rajahs and zemindars. We do not think of her unoccu-

pied wastes and immense food-yielding capacities. Burmah, for instance, exports one-half of her rice crop, and only one-ninth part of her culturable area is under actual cultivation. Within the last few years the exports of wheat from Bombay have risen from nothing to the value of nearly four millions sterling last year, obtained from the black soils of Rajpootana, which are of as great fertility as the black soils of Southern Russia.

In truth, what has taken place in Bengal is nearly an exact counterpart of what took place in the Highlands. Feudal chieftains were turned into landlords, and sheep farms have been to the crofters what indigo planting has been to the ryots. Whisky distilling has been turned into a practical Government monopoly, as the cultivation of the poppy has been turned into a Government monopoly of opium. To raise the revenue of the State by the nefarious means of administering to the vices of mankind, and to relinquish the natural revenue, which appears, by a law of nature, to be designed for the Sovereign, into the hands of idle oppressors, is surely enough to call down the displeasure of Heaven, if we still believe in a scheme of moral government.

The kelp rent furnishes an instance of greater public and economic injustice than the history of any civilised country can supply. No people in the world has been visited by so stern an adversity of fortune as the Highlanders of Scotland. The kelp trade was of as little advantage to the people as the introduction of the potato, for the gratuitous gifts of nature, which, in the progress of civilisation, ought to have greatly added to their resources, merely enabled the chieftains to deprive them of their ancient pastoral domains on the one hand, and on the other to appropriate the fruits of their labour.

If they had been quite free to gather the sea-weed on their own account, and to sell the burnt kelp, the proceeds of their industry would have enabled them to buy up the whole Highlands back again, and brought them into a high state of cultivation. The introduction of Spanish barilla supplied a cheaper material for the manufactures in which kelp was used, but the trade might have longer survived if the enterprise of the people had been allowed full play, and under that condition of freedom possibly some genius might have discovered a more economic method of preparation. As the sea-weed is produced without

the aid of any human labour upon Crown lands, it was clearly an act of injustice towards the British public to have been taxed by a few individuals in respect of soap and glass for what was produced on public property. Still there appear to be men of some education who regard the free introduction of Spanish barilla as an act of confiscation of the property of Highland proprietors.

Sometime ago I was more than surprised to read in the pages of this magazine that a Christian minister viewed the matter in this light. He says—

"The Act abolishing the duty on Spanish barilla, which, in one year, entirely swept away the kelp trade, from which his predecessors (Lord Macdonald's) had been deriving a revenue of £20,000 a-year, and the Highland Chief, Macdonald of Clan Ranald, by the same Act of Parliament, lost a revenue of £18,000 a-year. All the sea-board landowners lost in the same proportion, and, as a matter of course, they had no longer the means of giving employment to their tenants, who used to make a good deal of money by manufacturing kelp. With such sudden and unlooked-for *confiscation of property*, is it any cause of wonder that Highland proprietors got into financial difficulties?"

As the foreshores and the sea-weed are still there, it is difficult to know what was confiscated, unless, indeed, the Act contained a clause of manumission, in which case the Highland proprietors, like the West Indies slaveowners, might have established a claim for compensation. But, as the Highlanders have always been considered free men, and, as the sea-weed was produced on Crown lands, it appears to me that the Parliament ought to have instructed the Woods and Forests Department to call for a count and reckoning from the Highland proprietors.

A belief in the divine right of kings was a mild form of superstition as compared with this infatuation, which one is surprised to find still lingering in a dark corner of the Highlands. With a revenue of £18,000 and £20,000 a-year the Macdonalds ought to have accummulated great wealth. How they came to poverty over it, and how their tenants are paupers upon a Mansion House Fund, will probably be best explained by another quotation from the "Wealth of Nations":—

"For a pair of diamond buckles, perhaps, or for something as frivolous and useless, they exchanged the maintenance, or, what is the same thing, the price of the maintenance of a thousand men for a year, and with it the whole weight and authority which it could give them. The buckles, however, were to be all their own, and no human creature was to have any share of them; whereas in the more ancient method of expense they must have shared with at least a thousand people."

The clergyman who deplores the confiscation of the rent of kelp has evidently a great sympathy with the owners of diamond buckles!

It is very erroneously supposed that the evils of our British land tenures arise out of the immense estates into which the country is divided. That, in fact, is rather a mitigation than an aggravation of the system, for large and wealthy owners are likely to deal indulgently with their tenants. No doubt the great facility that has been given to speculative farmers has tended to banish a lusty peasantry to the larger towns, and driven some to the poorhouse, but a great sub-division of the land would not cure that evil. The fact that we import about £50,000,000 worth of the produce of *petite culture* is a proof that, although large farms may have shown a greater amount of surplus produce in grain and live stock, there may arise to the nation an actual loss in men and more requisite articles of consumption which are not so easily obtained at a moderate price as meat and grain, whilst a depletion of the rural population is a great loss to the trade of the towns.

But, although those countries where land is more sub-divided are more amply supplied with that class of produce at cheaper rates, and possess a more numerous and more prosperous peasantry the root-evil appears in a still more aggravated form on small estates than on large properties. This has been experienced in Ireland, where the worst of all landlords were small and needy speculators drawn from the commercial classes. In the Low Countries, as M. de Laveleye informs us, this class of owners, who, instead of working their own land, resort to letting it out, the tenants are rack-rented, and are miserably poor. The evil is, therefore, not one of degree, but one of kind.—

The correspondent of the *Times* at Shanghai, writing some months ago, testifies to the same result in China:—"The land laws are by no means unfavourable to the distribution of wealth. Indeed, theorists who are fond of advocating the land for the people in the form of peasant proprietorship might take a leaf from the Chinese Statute-Book on this head. The general rule is that there can be no proprietorship in waste lands. All land not under tillage belongs to the Crown, but can be converted into private property by the simple expedient of bringing it under cultivation and undertaking to pay the taxes. The cultivator thereupon receives a Government title free of cost which is good against all the world."

Then as to the evil effects of sub-letting, he adds—

"The possession of a plot of land, however small, implies at least something in the way of capital, but below these again there is another class of cultivators, who, as tenants, farm the land of those who from circumstances or disposition do not care to do so themselves. . . . These cultivators are invariably men of no capital, their stock-in-trade consisting of a few rude and simple instruments costing a mere trifle. It is on this class that the pinch of poverty falls in bad years."

It, therefore, appears to be a matter of universal experience that the cultivator who owns land is always possessed of something good against the pinch of poverty, whilst tenant farmers, unless large capitalists, are everywhere an oppressed and beggarly lot.

Now, as the institution of property in Great Britain is based upon a title from the Crown, as lord paramount, all owners may be regarded as tenants, and it is clearly competent for the Crown by advice of Parliament to issue an edict forbidding the subletting of land, as a custom which is found to be contrary to public policy. Then every owner of land might be safely allowed to do what he likes with his own—to work it by hired labour, or sell what he might find too much for his capital to stock, or of too great an extent for his supervision. This, however, appertains more to the domain of practical politics, and I shall therefore conclude this paper by making a summary of the foregoing remarks as to the principle of rent.

1. Its origin is a sovereign right, or the taxing power of the Sovereign. This land-tax, by a law of increase, increases as population increases. By its inverse action, when it exceeds the natural *appreciation of the superficies*, it cuts into wages and profit, and reacts on price in limiting production.

2. A taxing power over the gratuitous gifts of nature is in reality a tax upon the whole people. Its appropriation by a portion of the subjects is a species of usurpation, and its delegation by the Sovereign is an unjust abnegation of sovereign right.

3. It is contrary, as a business relationship, to the scheme of nature, inasmuch as the flexible nature of the soil does not admit of adjusting equities, for the landlord may confiscate the labour of the tenant, and the tenant may rob the landlord by exhausting the soil. Further, inasmuch as a fixed rent is a certain amount for an uncertain return, it is a species of gambling in the dispensations of Providence.

So long as the right to lend or sub-let land is conceded to

subjects in any country—in America and Australia, as well as in Europe—the same consequences must follow—the engrossment of large tracts of country in view of increase of population, and then taking advantage of their necessity. The law in every country regarding land might be expressed in the following well-known lines:—

"Neither a borrower nor a lender be,
For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry."

Guernsey. MALCOLM MACKENZIE.

PLEA FOR BEING A "GALL," YET SYMPATHIZING WITH THE GAIDHEAL

In Aberbrothock I was born,
An ancient town that none can scorn
(Tho' more than thirty years have passed
Since I was in my birthplace last),
And where to-day you may behold
The ruins of an Abbey old,
Which tho' bereft of all its glory,
Will live for aye in Scottish story,
And all my forbears I may say
Belonged to Counties North the Tay,
And half the blood within my frame
From Sgiathanach and Strathspey came:
Wherefore as it appears to me,
A true-born Scotsman I must be;
Yet when in some Hebridean Isle
I chose to pitch my tent a while,
Some agent of the Laird, in fright
Lest his transactions come to light,
Will say to me, "You are a Gall
And have no business here at all,
With everything you interfere
As if you were the master here,
And all we think it best to hide
You learn and publish far and wide.
You tell the Laird what he should do
As though the land belonged to you,
And, though a *coigreach* and intruder,
Scold him in *cainnt* that can't be ruder;
You take evicted crofters' parts
And fan rebellion in their hearts,

Till they their disaffection vent
In bold appeals to Parliament;
Their hopes, long crushed, you raise to life,
And seem to glory in the strife,
You are a fire-brand and a curse,
To *Gaidhealtachd* never came a worse,
You do more mischief where you settle
Than would the Colorado beetle,
And if the law would but agree
I'd have you tossed into the sea."

But by their leave I am a Scot,
Who feels at home in every spot,
From Tweed's broad stream to John o'Groat,
From *Eilean h-Iort* to Buchanness,
And if therein I see distress
I have a right to use my pen
When it can help my countrymen.
That man I do not much admire
Who feels but for his native shire;
The thoughts of whose contracted mind
To his own parish are confined;
Who fancies all beyond that place
A foreign and inferior race;
Who would to suit his narrow view
Divide poor Scotland into two—
As for myself I feel akin
To all who dwell in *Albinn*.

J. SANDS.

THE GLENDALE "MARTYRS."—The three crofters imprisoned for two months in Edinburgh for breach of interdict were liberated on Tuesday, 15th May, at 8 A.M., when they were met by about 1000 people, headed by two pipers, who marched to the Ship Hotel, and there entertained the liberated men to a public breakfast. The same evening John Macpherson, after visiting friends in Glasgow, proceeded to Skye by Strome Ferry, so that he might reach Glendale in time to be examined by the Royal Commission on the following Saturday. It became known in Skye that Macpherson was coming, and the Portree and Braes people determined to give him a warm reception. As the "Clydesdale" approached the Braes, three bonfires were seen ablaze, and several flags were flying in the breeze. When the steamer rounded into Portree Bay, a large crowd could be seen on the pier, while numbers were flocking from all parts of the village in the same direction. Macpherson having been observed on deck the crowd cheered vociferously, while hats were raised and handkerchiefs waved by the assembled multitude. Before he could place his foot on shore he was raised on the shoulders of four stalwart fellows, who carried him aloft, hat in hand, and bowing to the crowd, amid the enthusiasm of the people, to the Portree Hotel, Colin, the piper, leading the way, playing appropriate airs. Macpherson, on his arrival at the hotel, addressed the people, warmly thanking all his friends and the friends of the people of Skye, North and South, and urging upon his countrymen to insist upon getting justice now that it was within their reach. "If Joseph," he said, "had never been sent into Egyptian bondage, the children of Israel might never have got out of it." He believed the imprisonment of the Glendale crofters had done more to remove landlord tyranny and oppression from Skye than anything which happened during the present century. He was afterwards entertained in Mr Macinnes's excellently conducted hotel. Several of the Braes men came all the way to Portree to honour one whom they esteem as the leading martyr in the crofter cause.

A RUN THROUGH CANADA AND THE STATES.

By Kenneth Macdonald, F.S.A., Scot.

VI.—Ontario.

The great Province of Ontario is entitled to something more than mere passing notice, and Toronto, its capital, is perhaps the best point from which to take a general survey of it. The extent of the Province is variously estimated at from 120,000 to 200,000 square miles—the lowest estimate thus making it about equal in size to Great Britain and Ireland. What the exact figures are will not be known until the whole Province has been surveyed. A great part of its territory, however, situated to the north of the townships fronting the St Lawrence, and to the north-west, consists of lands which are at present unpeopled, and a great part of which will probably remain so for some years to come. The settled portion of the Province of Ontario extends to something like 50,000 square miles—about the size of England—and it is with this part of its territory we have now to deal. Beginning in the east, at the boundary with Quebec, the Province stretches westwards along the St Lawrence, the shores of Lake Ontario, the Niagara River, Lake Erie, the Detroit River, Lake St Clair (a small lake situated between Lakes Huron and Erie), Lake Huron, with the large land-locked sea known as the Georgian Bay, then eastwards by Lake Nipissing to the Ottawa River, and so down again to the St Lawrence. This is the territory which, although only a part of the real Province of Ontario, is generally meant when that Province is now spoken or written about. But it would be a mistake to suppose that this is the only part of Ontario fit for settlement. Year by year the limits of settlement are extending, and, in spite of the counter-attraction of Manitoba, Ontaria will not only hold its own, but will doubtless continue to grow.

Notwithstanding the nearness of the two Provinces to each other, their constant intercommunication and political union, Ontario, even to a casual visitor, makes an impression entirely distinct from that made by Quebec. The large proportion which French-speaking people bear to the total population in the latter

Province gives it a semi-foreign aspect, although the loyalty of its people and its press—one might almost say their ultra-loyalty—impresses one very strongly with the truth of the late Sir George Cartier's reply to the enquiry of the Queen when she asked "What, Sir George, is a French Canadian?" "Your Majesty," he replied, "he is an Englishman who speaks French." Yet, although in sentiment the French Canadian is an Englishman, the fact that he speaks a language foreign to his fellow-subjects at home has a tendency at first to make an English-speaking stranger wonder why he is loyal, as if his loyalty required to be accounted for. In Ontario, on the other hand, except on the boundary of Quebec, French is scarcely ever heard. Ontario is in fact the English-speaking Province of older Canada, and the emigrant or visitor from this country at once finds himself at home. In course of time another great English-speaking province, or, more properly, several English-speaking provinces, will grow up in the North-west, in Manitoba and the region beyond; but at present this description is applicable only to Ontario, and this fact, together with its comparative nearness to this country, draws to Ontario a number of emigrants, who, but for the greater distance, and the natural disinclination of persons accustomed to live in a thickly-peopled country to transport themselves to a thinly-peopled one, would probably go further west. The large number of Scotch settlers and men of Scotch descent in Ontario, and the generous warmth with which they welcome a wayfaring fellow-countryman, tend of course to make the first impressions of the Province pleasant to a Scottish visitor; but, apart from this feeling of friendship, the two Provinces strike a stranger as standing out from each other, as having not only different languages, but distinct habits, feelings, and modes of thought; and of the two, Ontario, as might be expected, approaches nearer to our home standard.

The River St Lawrence has already been referred to, and the amount of water which it carries to the Atlantic has been mentioned. But figures give a very inadequate idea of the water system of North America. It is only when one comes to sail upon the American rivers and lakes that their size is fairly realised. Lake Ontario, the smallest of the five great lakes drained by the St Lawrence, is 190 miles long, and 55 miles

wide at its broadest part, and has an area of between five and six thousand square miles; while Lake Huron, the second largest in size, is 280 miles long, 105 miles wide, exclusive of the Georgian Bay, has a total area of 20,400 square miles, and has its surface studded with no less than 3000 considerable islands. Superior, the largest of the lakes, whose northern and eastern shores are formed by the Province of Ontario, is 420 miles long, 160 miles wide, and 1750 miles in circumference, and covers an area of 32,000 square miles. This great inland sea has a drainage area of about 100,000 square miles, and receives the waters of 200 streams, 30 of them being of considerable size. Looking at these lakes on a map, dwarfed as they are by the continent around them, they do not impress one as being very large, but the traveller upon them finds it very difficult to realise that he is sailing only on inland lakes, and not on the open ocean. Speaking of the voyage along the Lake of the Woods, a comparatively small lake compared with Superior or Huron, Lord Dufferin once said to a Winnipeg audience that the traveller would be surprised to find himself as sea-sick as ever he had been crossing the Atlantic, a remark which applies with even greater force to the larger lakes, where the voyager may sail for days together without seeing land. This water system gives to the whole of Canada, but especially to the Province of Ontario, commercial advantages of the first importance. Almost every part of the Province is brought within easy distance of the world's market by two competing lines of transit, ship and rail, and in this way neither mode is so expensive as to burden the the profits of the farmer.

The position of Toronto, on the shore of Lake Ontario, makes it the natural centre for collecting and distributing the greater part of the produce of Central Ontario. Its people have made the best use of their natural advantages, and by means of their energy and integrity, Toronto is rapidly becoming a formidable rival to Montreal as the commercial centre of Canada, although the position of the latter city, at the head of the ocean navigation, and the fact that most of the great railway interests of Canada are centered there, make it highly improbable that it will ever be outstripped by its western rival.

Ontario has been called the Garden of the Dominion of

Canada, and the title seems fairly earned. In course of a very few years, Ontario, as a wheat-producing country, will be distanced by Manitoba and the North-west, but it must remain the great fruit-producing province, both the climate and the soil of a great part of it being apparently peculiarly adapted for fruit-growing. But it is not merely a fruit-producing country—it is, all over, a good agricultural country also. Beginning at the extreme south-west of the Province, on the borders of Lake Erie, the land produces all the cereals, including Indian corn, while at the same time it is well adapted to the growth of the finer kinds of fruit, as grapes and peaches, and large quantities of grapes are grown every year for export. In the counties on the shores of Lake Huron, including the southern part of the Georgian Bay, the principal crops are wheat, barley, and oats, but grapes and peaches are also produced along the shores of the Georgian Bay in large quantities, and that part of the Province is famed for the quality and the vast quantity of plums it produces. In the inland western counties there is some timber-land; but the soil where cleared is good and well watered, while the land under cultivation produces wheat, barley, and oats. The counties bordering on Lake Ontario are the longest settled in the Province, and there both farming and gardening have made the greatest progress. Both climate and soil are favourable for the cultivation of all sorts of cereals and fruits, and the practice of holding every year local exhibitions of products has in the past tended, by giving rise to healthy competition, to improve both fruits and crops. These exhibitions are not by any means confined to the Lake Ontario counties—they are held under the auspices of local societies all over the Province. Ontario is full of organizations for the promotion and encouragement of anything or everything. Ten years ago the Province contained three hundred societies, organized according to law for the promotion of agriculture, horticulture, and the mechanical arts, the principal means adopted being the holding of annual exhibitions in their several localities. Since that time the number has not decreased, although it is now beginning to be felt that there may be too much of even such a good thing as exhibitions. During the month of September last there was in Toronto an exhibition of the products of various industries of the district; a day or two after it closed, a Provincial Exhibition

was opened at Kingston ; and, overlapping both, there was a great exhibition in Montreal. The Toronto and Montreal Exhibitions I was present at, and both of them were large and successful ; and, judging from the newspaper reports which I saw at the time, not only in Ontario, but in Manitoba, which sent an exhibit to Kingston, the exhibition at the latter city was highly successful also, but yet one of the principal speakers during the Montreal Exhibition struck a chord to which his hearers heartily responded, when he said that the Dominion was wasting its strength by holding a large number of local exhibitions, which in effect competed with each other, entailed a heavy tax upon exhibitors, and prevented the holding of one large exhibition representing the whole of Canada. From the manner in which this speech was received by the Canadian press, it seems probable that for the future the number of local exhibitions may decrease, and while in the present circumstances of the country, this need not, perhaps, be regretted, it should not be forgotten that the Ontario of to-day (to keep to the Province of which I am writing), with some four thousand miles of railway, is somewhat different from the Ontario of thirty years ago, when the Province had not one mile of railway ; and that, while in many cases local exhibitions may now have ceased to perform any useful function, to their existence in the past much of the past advancement and present prosperity of Ontario are due.

But to return to the products of Ontario. Butter and cheese are produced in large quantities for export, and a large number of cattle are also exported. In the twelve months ending 30th June 1878, Canada exported of her own produce, exclusive of shipments made at her ports of produce from the States, 13,000,000 lbs. of butter, and 38,000,000 lbs. of cheese. The figures for subsequent years, if we had them, would probably show a very large increase over 1878, as the exportation of cheese alone had, at that time, doubled in five years. Barley is almost always a sure crop in Ontario, and produces from 30 to 40 bushels per acre, while fall wheat, with good farming, is said to produce from 35 to 40 bushels per acre, and with indifferent farming from 20 to 25. Spring wheat, oats, and peas also produce heavy crops. Indian corn is grown, but principally for green fodder. Stock-raising for the market is a business

which is also engaged in pretty extensively, and in this branch of industry the experience of the Ontario farmer approaches more nearly to that of the British farmer than in many other parts of America. Ontario has no great runs of prairie pasture, such as exist further west in Canada, and in many parts of the States, but its climate and soil afford special facilities for preparing the raw material produced on the prairies for the market. A British farmer, writing of his experience in Ontario, says—"We can take a Durham or Hereford cross steer from its milk when six months old, put it upon green or dry fodders, according to the season of the year, with bran and peas meal, or corn meal, and within 24 months, place it on our seaboard at an average live weight of 1400 lbs., and at a cost not exceeding £14. In this and all its connections there necessarily arises a large profit." This is probably true enough, yet during all the time I was in Canada I was not able to get a beef steak which any ordinary teeth could get through with comfort, but this may have arisen through all the best beef being sent to the British market.

It is from fruit-growing, however, that Ontario landowners and occupiers obtain the best returns. This industry is encouraged by an association, which, in addition to its revenue from members' subscriptions, receives a handsome subsidy from the Provincial Government. The many varieties of apples produced in Ontario, I can say from personal experience, are unsurpassed for size, flavour, and beauty, and they are produced in very large quantities. Peaches and strawberries are also extensively cultivated, and, during the season, the latter fruit is delivered at the different Lake Ports and Railway Depots in cart-loads. At present a considerable trade is done with Britain in apples, and the Canadians believe that, with some care in packing, the trade will be largely developed in a very few years. In the interest of all lovers of really good fruit, I sincerely hope they are right.

A Scottish Judge recently remarked in my presence, in course of a conversation on Canadian farming, that there was no such thing as payment of rent for farming land in Canada, and this seems to be a pretty general opinion. It is, however, a mistake. The agricultural tenant is not altogether unknown, although he is not so frequently met with as in this country. In the counties bordering on Lake Erie, farms may be leased for from 6s. to 20s. per acre.

In the Niagara district the renting of farms is not common, but they may be had for about 12s. per acre. In the Lake Huron counties rents range from 8s. to 18s., according to the state of cultivation, and the common length of the lease seems to be about five years. In the midland counties a farm of 100 acres may be rented for from £20 to £80, and in some cases rents of 20s. per acre are obtained. In the northern counties rents are as low as 2s. per acre, while in the counties bordering on Lake Ontario they mount up, in some cases, to 28s. per acre. But after all the tenant-farmer is the exception in Canada. Of 367,862 persons who, according to the census of 1871, occupied land in the four Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario, 324,160 were owners, 39,583 tenants, and only 2119 farm labourers or servants, so that tenant-farmers and farmers tilling their own land were in the proportion of something like one to nine, a proportion which probably still holds good for the same Provinces. Farms too, as a rule, are of moderate size, there being in Ontario comparatively few holdings of over 200 acres. Of the total number of landholders already given, over 223,000 held between 50 and 200 acres, while of the remainder, holding less than 50 and more than 200 acres, the majority were in Quebec, where, on the one hand, the French law of inheritance leads to the subdivision of the land among families, and, on the other, the old French Seigniories have established and perpetuated a class of large landed proprietors with their tenant-farmers.

The tenant-farmer in Ontario knows that, by the exercise of industry and frugality, he can become proprietor of as much land as he can turn to good account. If he is not able, or does not desire to purchase the farm of which he is tenant, he may obtain an allotment of Free-Grant land from Government, or he may purchase wild land which can be had from Government at an average price of one dollar per acre. If he is within easy distance of the land so acquired, the farmer may, with the assistance of his family, clear a great portion of it in the winter, while he still continues to cultivate the farm of which he is tenant. Or if the new land is further away he may construct a log cabin and fulfil the conditions of residence during the season when ordinary farm work cannot be done, and at the same time clear the

new land. In this way, in the course of a few years, he may remove to a farm of which he is proprietor, and which will by that time have been sufficiently cleared to enable him to live upon it, and parts of which will probably have borne several crops before the owner comes to reside upon it permanently. But even should this method of acquiring a farm of his own not be possible to a tenant-farmer on account of his distance from the Free-Grant or unsettled lands, he may, if he is industrious and careful, easily acquire a cleared farm as proprietor. Land is cheap and plentiful, and Ontario is full of loan companies who are always anxious to do business, and who do a large and in almost every case a safe as well as profitable business, and the acquisition of a farm for himself is made all the more easy to the tenant-farmer by the fact that he can borrow money, not only on the security of the farm itself, but of the stock and crop on it.

K. M'D.

(To be continued.)

AN OLD STRATHNAVER MAN'S BALLAD.

Composed on the occasion of opposing the nomination of a certain Nobleman as Patron of the Glasgow Northern Benevolent Society.

TUNE—"*Wha'll be King but Charlie.*"

When I was a young, a thoughtless lad,
Along the banks of Naver—(!)
Soldiering was then the trade
That got us lands and favour!
Come Angus, come Ronald, come Iver and Donald,
No men on earth are braver;
If you but list, the lands then, trust,
Are your's, said Factor Shaver.

It was our fate to take the bait
Laid out by Factor Slaver;
With coats of red, to fire and blood,
We sped from Shin and Naver!
Yes, Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
To Ireland went to save her;
The croppies fled, with wounds and dread—
No corps than ours was braver.

When peace came round, our lands we found,
By Donnan, Shin, and Naver;
Where our forbears, for thousand years,
Had crops, and flocks, and favour.
Then Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
Had mutton and beef of flavour,
Had sheep and wool, and pantries full,
And dainties sweet of savour.

But soon, alas! it came to pass,
That sheep got high in favour;
The lady grand, that claimed our land,
Was led by Factor Slave-her!
When Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
Who'd fight and die to save her,
In sad dismay, were forced away
From Donnan, Shin, and Naver!

This, then, the promise of the land,
Was broke by Factor Shaver;
His rude command none could withstand,
Or plans, his wealth to favour!
Though Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
Might say the lands of Naver
Were their's, deserved as long preserved,
By their forefathers' valour!

Theories, ready to dupe our lady,
Were broached by Factor Crave-her;
To his command she did attend,
To heartless plans he drave her!
Poor Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
Distressed, perplexed, did waver;
While Factor Greed, with reckless speed,
Seized on the best of Naver!

Factor Vaults, with Jezebel faults,
Has never lost her favour,
Nor Factor Lake, who wrote and spake
That sour of sweet did savour!
While Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
The men the lands that gave her,
Must now give place to Southron race,
Not better yet nor braver!

Far worse than Egypt's wasting plagues,
Wrought dismal desolation,
Glens, straths—yes, parishes at once—
Were swept of population!

Yet Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
Thus brought to faint starvation,
Were told that now, without a plough,
Their state was exaltation.

The Factors crammed them on hard moors,
Unfit for fir plantation,
Where neither sheep, nor hen, could keep
Itself from bleak starvation!
Where Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
Sunk deep in degradation
(To Highland race, a foul disgrace),
As paupers on the nation!

Yet finest land, is left to stand,
Quite in a state of nature,
Without a dyke, or drain, or plough,
Or trace of human creature!
While Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
Men of strength and stature,
Are languishing without a plough,
On moors of grimest feature!

Twenty thousand, 'long the shores,*
'Mongst rocks and moors are starving,
Without a prospect any more
To rise by their deserving!
While trampled o'er they're by a score,
Who all the power reserving,
Of hoarding princely wealth in store,
As clear to all observing!

Some went down to Glasgow town,
Got on, though some are weavers—
But suiting best, the more went west,
To chase the elks and beavers!
Where Angus and Ronald, and Iver and Donald,
Who did their best endeavour,
Got to their feet, with crops of wheat,
Far off from Factor Shaver!

THE ROYAL COMMISSION.—The evidence led in the Isle of Skye alone is admitted on all hands to have more than justified the issue of the Royal Commission, by the Government, to enquire into the grievances of the Highland crofters. The landlords stand aghast at the disclosures already made, in spite of the terror under which some of the witnesses gave their evidence.

* Dornoch and elsewhere along the Coast.

THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

VI.

ALLAN CAMERON'S reign proved one of the most cloudy and disastrous in the history of the clan, though he was one of its bravest and most distinguished chiefs. His constant feuds with the Mackintoshes and with the Earls of Huntly and Argyll kept him in constant hot water, and in the end he lost the greater portion of the lands which had been acquired by his predecessors; while he was, for a time at least, at the same time compelled to acknowledge Argyll as his superior, and to hold the remaining portion of his lands as this Earl's vassal. The family Seannachie gives a most interesting, and on the whole correct, narrative of these and of the other local feuds which occurred during Allan's rule, and we shall draw upon him pretty freely in this chapter. He describes how Mackintosh resolved to be revenged upon Cameron of Lochiel for past raids into his country, and how for that purpose he prevailed upon the Earl of Argyll, whose sister he had married, to invade Lochaber from the West, while, with all the forces he could raise, he himself attacked him from the North, expecting that he would thus compel his antagonist to submit to such terms as he would be pleased to offer him. Lochiel, though he knew nothing of this confederacy, was so much on his guard, that Mackintosh found him quite prepared to stop his passage across the Lochy. Both parties continued inactive for several days. But provisions at last failing him, Mackintosh was reduced to great straits, Lochiel's party increased daily, and there was no appearance of the expected assistance to his opponent from Argyll; so that Mackintosh was ultimately obliged to take advantage of the night by beating a retreat. Lochiel, suspecting that a stratagem was intended by his opponent, pursued him with great caution, until, convinced that the enemy had really retired, he would have been glad to have overtaken him and given him battle, but Mackintosh was soon out of reach.*

* *History of the Mackintoshes*, pp. 298-99.

No sooner had Allan returned to the Isle of Lochiel, where he then lived, than he was informed of the arrival of another body of the enemy from the West, which not a little surprised him; for he was far from expecting any invasion from that quarter. This force was commanded by Campbell of Ardkinlas, who drew up his men, about 800, at Achinloinbeg, opposite the island, but on being informed that the Mackintoshes had left, he retired to Inchdoricher, where he was well sheltered, and resolved to remain there for the night.

Lochiel, who had that morning dispersed his followers, immediately issued orders to have them again convened with all haste, and with his ordinary servants, only eleven in number, he managed to find his way, by private paths, where the Campbells had encamped, and having carefully viewed them, he resolved to try to frighten them away with the few followers he had. He thought the attempt might be made without much danger, for they were surrounded by lofty hills and dense woods on every side. With this object he placed his men at suitable distances from each other, and instructed them to fire, all at once, upon a given signal, and then to fall upon their faces on the ground. This performance was repeatedly gone through, and the enemy, several of whom were killed, became greatly alarmed. Thinking they had been surrounded on all sides, and afraid to advance or retreat, they continued where they were until morning, when they hurriedly retired and returned home.

But the severe laws that were exacted at the time for reducing the Highlands and for settling the peace of the country, gave Allan much more uneasiness than all the power of his enemies, and in the end did him greater injury. The Ministers of State, observing that the public were defrauded of the Crown rents and revenues in many parts, procured an Act of Parliament commanding all chiefs and proprietors of estates in the Highlands and Islands holding of the Crown to appear personally in the Court of Exchequer before the 20th day of May following, under pain of forfeiture, and not only to exhibit all their charters and writs, but also to find bail and security to pay the Crown revenues, to make redress to all parties injured by losses and damages previously sustained, and to live peaceably in all time coming.

This was a terrible blow to Lochiel, for he could not appear in consequence of the sentence of forfeiture and proscription previously passed against him, and as yet unremoved, "whereby he lost one of the best estates in the Highlands." All this was owing to his enemy Mackintosh, who engaged him in the fatal league with the Earl of Huntly, who not only neglected Lochiel, contrary to express stipulation when he made his peace with the King, but with the greatest ingratitude, took advantage of Cameron's misfortunes.

Lochiel took every means in his power to procure a remission, so as to enable him to obey the Act of Parliament. But the time was so short, and the avarice of the courtiers so great (for they made a good market of these forfeitures), that he did not succeed, and the Act was vigorously enforced. Lochiel finding himself thus in the greatest danger of losing his whole estate, and foreseeing that he would soon be surrounded by a multitude of new enemies, as it would be the interest of all who shared in it to reduce his power and keep him down, he resolved to arrange his differences with Mackintosh, who was willing to accept any terms which admitted his right of property to the lands in dispute, in the form of a regular treaty. Meantime, Mackintosh, immediately after his return from Edinburgh, where he went to Court to obtain new charters to his estate, on giving obedience to the new Act, invaded Lochaber at the head of a large force. He was, however, met by Lochiel, who was quite prepared to give him a warm reception. Friends on both sides interposed, and, in 1598, brought about an arrangement by which both parties agreed to the following articles :—

"Mackintosh mortgaged to Lochiel and his heirs one half of the lands in dispute for the sum of 6000 merks, and gave him the other half for the service of the men living upon them for 19 years ; Lochiel's former title was reserved entire, but forfeitable with the money in case he should occasion a rupture of the friendship and amity then brought about between them, by any subsequent invasion or act of hostility, and Mackintosh became bound to preserve the same under very severe penalties."

While Lochiel was busy in arranging means for saving or recovering other parts of his property, an accident occurred that disconcerted all his measures, and drew new enemies upon him. Donald MacIan of Ardnamurchan, who had been betrothed to one of Lochiel's daughters, was basely murdered by his own uncle, while he was providing himself with a suitable equipage

for his wedding, which, according to custom of the times, he was to have celebrated with great magnificence. The murderer, commonly known as "Mac Mhic Eoghainn," was a man of gigantic size and strength, and possessed the district of Suainart on lease from his nephew, MacIan, whom he killed; not, it is said, in resentment of any injury done to him, but with the view of succeeding him in his estate and command of the clan as the next heir. For MacIan, Lochiel had the highest esteem on account of his many excellent qualities; and he no sooner heard of his death than he determined to revenge it. The murderer, in dread of Lochiel's resentment, fled with all his goods and cattle to the Island of Mull, to place himself under the protection of Lauchlan Mór Maclean, of Duart, who was his near relative on the mother's side. Lochiel, getting information of his precipitate flight, pursued him with the few men he had about him, not exceeding sixty, and captured his goods, but notwithstanding the haste he had made, Mac Mhic Eoghainn himself escaped across the Sound of Mull. Maclean, seeing all that had passed, from the opposite shore, dispatched his eldest son, Hector, with 220 men, with Mac Mhic Eoghainn at their head, to recover the goods. Lochiel, now finding himself obliged to fight, posted his men in an advantageous position, which largely made up for his deficiency in numbers. Mac Mhic Eoghainn, armed cap-a-pie, advanced with an air which indicated the highest contempt for his enemy; but, feeling warm under the weight of his armour, he raised his helmet to admit the fresh air. One of Lochiel's archers at once observed this, and, taking his unerring aim, he pierced him in the fore-head with an arrow, killing him on the spot.

The death of Mac Mhic Eoghainn so dispirited his followers that Lochiel secured an easy victory over them. Hector Maclean and twenty of his party were taken prisoners, but Lochiel immediately released them without ransom. Lachlan Mor himself crossed the Sound of Mull during the action, and pursued Lochiel with a much larger force than his own, but he managed to escape without much loss.

Maclean was at the time engaged in a feud with the Macdonalds of Islay, in which he was soon after mortally wounded, when he expressed his grief that he had so much offended his nephew, Lochiel, "for," said he, "he is the only chief in the High-

lands of sufficient courage, conduct, and power to revenge my death, and I am confident that, if I had not injured and provoked him in the manner I have done, he would not have allowed himself much rest till he had effected it." Lochiel was no sooner informed of these remarks and the death of his uncle than he resolved to be revenged. He marched against the Macdonalds of Islay at the head of his clan, defeated them in a bloody battle, and took Hector Maclean of Lochbuy, who aided the Macdonalds against his own chief, with several of his followers, prisoners of war, and detained them in chains for six months. Lochbuy, however, soon after had ample opportunity of being even with Lochiel.

This adventure gave Lochiel's enemies great advantage over him at Court, where his son John, a young man of great ability, was busily engaged in negotiating a settlement, and was in a fair way of succeeding. But those who expected to get possession of the portions of his lands contiguous to their own, exaggerated everything against him so much, that they, in the end, prevailed. 'The Lord Kintail, predecessor to the Earl of Seaforth, got the estates of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and Strome, from Sir Alexander Hay, the Secretary of State, who was the King's donatory to these and all the other forfeitures. The lands of Laggan, and Achadrome, Invergarry, Balnane, and others, were obtained by the Laird of Glengarry and the Baron of Lovat, and his several estates in Lochaber fell to the share of others. In a word, he was stripped of the whole, except the disputed lands of Glenbuy and Locharkike, which he still peaceably enjoyed by virtue of his late treaty with Mackintosh," which had been entered into in 1598.

In this unfortunate predicament, Lochiel found it prudent to arrange matters with those who had obtained rights to his northern estates, because they lay so far away, and were not inhabited by his own clansmen. But as to his Lochaber lands, he resolved to retain the possession of them at all hazards.

The estate of Lochiel had been purchased from the Secretary, by Hector Maclean of Lochbuy, for a very small sum. But that gentleman finding, after several fruitless attempts, that he could not secure possession, in 1609, made it over to the Earl of Argyll, for the sum of 400 merks, the very same amount that he had paid for it himself. Argyll's design in this purchase was probably

not to keep the estate for himself, but seems rather to have been with the view of augmenting his power, by forcing Lochiel to hold it direct from himself before he would consent to restore it. Several meetings took place between them, but they were unable to agree upon terms. The whole question was then submitted to his Majesty, and Clanranald—whose mother Allan had married some years before—was employed to negotiate for Lochiel at Court.

The King had succeeded to the English crown in 1603, and though he was "naturally merciful and just, yet he was somewhat too credulous, and very apt to take impressions from such as were about him, whereby he was often exposed to the artifice of subtle and designing politicians; many innocent persons suffered by this foible. But especially, after his going to England, where, being at a distance, he had not the opportunity to examine matters as he ought, and probably would have done, had he been nearer. Of this the unfortunate Clan Macgregor afford us a melancholy instance." The King was so prejudiced against them that he resolved to get them utterly extirpated, and not only did he give the Earl of Argyll a commission to carry out his purpose, but wrote to all the chiefs and others of power in the Highlands to assist him vigorously—promising high rewards to such as should contribute most to the destruction of the Macgregors. Lochiel "was often solicited to join in that cruel confederacy, but he was too well acquainted with their story to comply until the necessity of his own affairs obliged him; for his Majesty would hear of nothing in his justification upon any other terms, so that he was in the end forced to enter into indentures with the Earl of Argyll, as his Majesty's Lieutenant, and the Earl of Dunbar, Lord Treasurer, whereby the King became obliged not only to restore him to his estate, holding of the crown, but likewise to receive him as his tenant and vassal for the lands of Glenlui and Locharkig; and, in a word, to free him from all dependence and vassalage of any sort. The contract contains several other conditions in favour of Lochiel, who, though he never designed to injure the proscribed Macgregors, his faithful friends, yet he thought there was no crime in embracing that opportunity to recover his estate, and ingratiate himself with his Majesty. Clanranald was also a party

to all these contracts, in behalf of his father-in-law, whom he served with uncommon zeal. He was a youth of extraordinary qualities, a polite courtier, and very adroit in the management of business. He had formerly, in name of Lochiel, agreed with the Earl of Argyll respecting the Barony of Lochiel, the terms of which were submitted to the King. With these two contracts he set out, and upon his arrival at Salisbury, where the Court then resided, he found a ready compliance from the King to all his demands; for his indignation against the Macgregors was as strong as ever. This appears from his letter to Lochiel, Wherein, after reciting Clanranald's negotiations, with the conditions of the two indentures, his Majesty is pleased to ratify them in the most ample manner, and assures him that, upon performances of the services thereby stipulated, they should be executed and fulfilled, and the charters and rights to his estate expedited, according to law. 'Your neighbour,' continues his Majesty, 'hath likeways shown unto us the articles set down and agreed upon betwixt the Earl of Argyll and him, concerning the prosecution of our said service, whereby the Earl hath submitted unto us his right and title acclaimed by him to your lands of Lochiel, and hath promitted to underly, and perform what we shall decern thereanent. You may be very glad that the Earl hath taken this course, for we shall so determine in that matter for your welfare and security, as in reason, equity, and justice we ought to do; and if your right to these lands be not good, we will be a means that the Earl shall make the same better; and, therefore, we will desire you, as you would have us blot out of our memory your former life, and to esteem and protect you, as our own vassal, tenant, and good subject, that you go on faithfully and carefully in this service, and prosecute the same to the final end thereof, in such form as you shall receive directions from the Earl of Argyll, our Lieutenant; and, in the meantime, that you seek all good occasions whereby you may do some service by yourself, and how soon the same is ended, you shall do well to repair to us that you may receive your promised reward, and understand our further pleasure concerning such other services as we shall employ you in," &c.

His Majesty also promises to cause the Marquis of Huntly to do him justice with respect to a difference which existed between them, and of which hereafter.

Lochiel declined to attack the Macgregors. They had often aided him in his wars, and he was too well acquainted with their sad story to act the barbarous part that was assigned to him by the commission. Rather than be concerned in such horrid barbarities he preferred to treat with Argyll direct with the view to recover a legal title to the estate of Lochiel; and he submitted in the end to terms which he had often previously refused. He agreed to renounce his former title, and to take a charter from Argyll in favour of his son John, holding the estate of him and his heirs taxt-ward, and paying yearly the sum of 100 merks Scots feu-duty. This bargain was concluded on the 22nd of August 1612; the sum which he paid to Argyll, as the price of the lands, being 400 merks, the same sum as his lordship had previously paid Lochbuy for it.

(To be continued.)

GAELIC NAMES OF PLANTS. By JOHN CAMERON. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1883.

MR CAMERON, in his "Gaelic Names of Plants," has taken up a subject which is practically new, and which certainly is interesting, as well as scientifically important. But the advantage of freshness of subject is often counterbalanced by the great difficulty there is in dealing with a new subject, and this difficulty is very much increased in the case of popular botany in general, and Gaelic botany in particular. Even under the most favourable circumstances, it is often very difficult to reduce the vagueness of the popular names to anything like strict scientific truth, and in the case of the Gaelic names of plants that difficulty is more than doubled, for latterly English names have asserted their place instead of the less special or less general Gaelic names, which have been, perhaps, forgotten, and are likely enough not recorded in the dictionaries; and, further, many native names are being lost, because the necessity for, and the interest in, herbal knowledge is on the wane. There is, consequently, a difficulty of assigning the Gaelic names we possess correctly, for, as Mr Cameron says, "the difficulty of the ordinary botanical student is here reversed: he has the plant, but cannot tell the name—here the name existed, but the plant required to be found

to which the name applied." Perhaps no people have ever been keener observers of nature than the Celts ; their power of grasping the salient points of a landscape, for example, and so naming it, is attested by the graphic topographical names our country possesses. And Mr Cameron's work is a further testimony to the general fact of the Gael's keenness of observation, and to the particular fact of the minute knowledge he had of trivial differences in plants, as attested by the names used. No subject can better show the strong objectivity of Gaelic poetry than this ; in fact, such a poet as Duncan Bàn is painfully minute in his names and descriptions of plants and flowers ; a good-sized dictionary could be made even from the names in his poems ! But nothing can be finer than the stanza in his brother poet's "Aged Bard's Wish," where he pictures himself reclining amid the flowers :—

"Biodh *sobhrach* bhàn a's àillidh snuadh,
Mu'n cuairt do m' thulaich 's uain' fo dhriuchd,
'S an *neòinean* beag ri m' lamh air cluain,
'S an *ealbhuidh*' aig mo chluais gu h-ur."

In Gaelic lyric poetry and song, plants and flowers afforded the richest field for similes and metaphors ; a characteristic couplet may be quoted—

"Do ghruaidh mar ròs
'S do phòg mar ubhal."

Of course, the aspects of nature were of more importance to earlier men than to us, who are comfortably housed and fed, compared with them ; and especially were plants and flowers more vitally important to them than to the dilettanteism of modern popular botany, for plants stood to them in the relation of drug-shop and drysaltery, besides their use for charms and badges.

Mr Cameron has done an excellent piece of work in this book. He has struggled energetically, and pretty successfully, with the difficulty of the subject ; he has undertaken numerous journeys into the Highlands among the Gaelic-speaking population "in order, if possible, to settle disputed names, to fix the plant to which the name was applied, and to collect others previously unrecorded." Such disinterested energy and labour deserve our heartiest commendations, and all the more so when attended with such success. Mr Cameron acknowledges his indebtedness to the various vocabularies and dictionaries that

have preceded his work, and more especially to the "Flora Scotica" of Lightfoot, to which Mr Stuart of Killin contributed the Gaelic names. We are sorry that he has not indicated more pointedly his great indebtedness to the articles by Mr Charles Fergusson, gardener a few years ago at Raigmore, which appeared in the *Celtic Magazine*, vol. iv.; though, in the body of his book, Mr Cameron quotes freely from these articles, simply acknowledging them as from "Fergusson."

The scientific part of the work, that is, the classification of the plants, is in full accord with the most approved views on this subject, and the names of each class, sub-class, and individual plant, are given in all the barbarous panoply of scientific Latin. Copious indices, both Gaelic and English, will enable the ordinary reader to find any plant he wishes under its proper class and sub-class. Each individual article gives, first, the scientific name in Latin or Latinised Greek; then comes the English name, and after it the Gaelic, and, where possible, the Irish name; and even the Welsh name appears not unfrequently. Thereafter, Mr Cameron, as a rule, discusses the etymology of the Gaelic name, and there generally follow brief but pregnant references to the popular medicinal use of the plant, the superstitions attached to it, the practical use made of it in dyeing and other purposes, and, lastly, if it be a clan badge, the fact is stated. Historical accounts of the plants, indicating whether they are native or imported, are not given, an unfortunate omission, in consequence of which we often cannot appreciate the Gaelic name at its true value. Many of the Gaelic names given are mere variations or translations of the English. For instance, the plane-tree appears under the Gaelic name of *plinntrinn*, a clear corruption of the English name; yet Mr Fergusson says the tree is native to the Highlands, though, from Mr Cameron's work, we should be in doubt about it. Mr Cameron deprecates the wrath of Gaelic purists in regard to the want of uniformity in the orthography, especially as between Irish and Scotch Gaelic, and in this matter we heartily sympathise with him. There are several misprints in the Gaelic, especially in the poetry quoted, and among these we would fain place "luachair bog" for "luachair bhog." But these are small blemishes on excellent work.

Mr Cameron cannot, however, be let off so easily in the

matter of etymology. It is scarcely prudent in the unsettled state of Gaelic etymology to venture on the derivation of the Gaelic names at all. If this must be done, it was plainly Mr Cameron's duty to consult the best authorities, instead of such semi-scientific writers as Canon Bourke. Zeuss, Ebel, and Stokes, the proper authorities, are ignored. Mr Cameron's etymology is, as a rule, simply atrocious, and when he is right, he is so more by chance than for any scientific reason. He quotes Bourke's derivation of robur: "ro, excelling, and Celtic bur, development." A glance at Lewis & Short's Latin Dictionary would have saved him from this error. In other places he properly rejects so-called Celtic roots, most of which are mere inventions. "*Fir*," he says, "in English, comes from the Greek *pur*, fire, because good for fire"! That is a good enough derivation for a hundred years ago, when there was no science of language, and no Skeat or Max Muller to consult. As a consequence, in this very matter of the derivation of "fir," he loses one of the acutest pieces of scientific reasoning that the science of language can boast of. Max Muller draws attention to the fact that the names for fir, oak, and beech interchange in the different European languages. For instance, the Sanskrit root *dar* means a tree, and appears in the English word "tree" itself, while in Gaelic and Greek the same root means oak. Again, *phegus* in Greek is oak, in Latin *fagus* is the beech, and the English "beech" is from the same root. Curiously there does not appear to be a proper Gaelic word for beech. Further, the English word "fir" is allied in root to Latin *quercus*, oak, and to the Gaelic *craobh* and *crann*. We have, then, in these tree-names interchanges of this kind: what is tree in Gaelic is oak in Latin and fir in English; what is oak in Gaelic is tree in English. Why is this? Probably, as Max Muller would say, the Celts arrived in Europe when fir was predominant, and retained the name *fir* as a general word even when the fir was superseded by the oak in the bronze age, while the Teutons may have arrived only in the oak age (*dar*, root), and extended the name similarly to the general signification of tree. At any rate, such guesses are scientifically based, whereas Mr Cameron's etymology is indifferent to scientific principles.

The book is well got up, on the whole highly creditable to the author, and is a work without which no Celtic library can be considered complete.

THE HIGHLAND DRESS.

By J. G. Mackay.

IV.—Highland Arms.

" 'N diugh fein," thuirt Mac-Stairn, "an diugh fein
Briseam sa' bheinn an t-sleagh.
'Maireach bidh do righ-sa gun ghleus
Agus Suaran 's a threin aig fleagh."
"Am maireach biodh fleagh aig an triath,"
Thuirt righ Mhòirbheinn fo fhiamh-ghàir',
"'N-diugh cuiream an còmhrag air sliabh,
'S briseadhmaid an sgiath bu shar.
Oisein, seas suas ri mo làimh,
Ghaill, togsa do lann, fhir mhòir ;
Fhearghuis, tarruing taifeid nach mall ;
Tilgs' Fhillein, do chrann bu chòrr.
Togaibhs' 'ur sgiathan gu h-ard,
Mar ghealach fo sgail' san speur ;
Biodh 'ur sleaghan mar theachdair a' bhàis ;
Leanuibh, leanuibh mo chliu 's mi féin ;
Bi'bh coimeas do chiad sa' bhlàr."

Ossian.

The sword appears to have been a common weapon of the Celtic nations. Those used by the Highlanders were of great length, double edged, and formed to cut and thrust. The most ancient seems to be the two-handed sword with the cross guards. This is the original *Claidheamh-mòr*, and was a terrible weapon in the hands of a powerful warrior. From its length and unwieldiness it was not so suitable for close quarters, the swordsman having frequently to step back in order to deal a blow; but at the requisite distance it did terrible execution. The strength of a man was indicated by the length of his sword. Fraoch, a celebrated Celtic warrior, is represented as carrying one as broad as the plank of a ship. The sword, preserved in Dumbarton Castle, said to be the weapon used by the great Scottish patriot Wallace, is of enormous length, though it wants the point.

The basket hilt, same as now seen, is also of considerable antiquity. It is used with the one hand, the basket forming a complete guard for the hand, and by its weight balancing the long and heavy blade. These blades were also straight, two-edged

formed to cut and thrust, and had a double channel from the hilt to within a few inches of the point. The Island of Islay was at one time famous for the manufacture of these hilts, on account of which they were frequently called *lann a chinn Ilich.* A great many blades were imported from the Continent, but those of Spanish manufacture were most prized. We find frequent mention made of them in the works of the Gaelic bards. Alexander Macdonald says in *Oran do Phriunnsa Tearlach*—

> " 'S bhiodh am feileadh 'san fhasan,
> Mar ri gartanan sgarlaid,
> Feile cuaich air bhachd easgaid;
> Paidhir phiostal 's *lann Spainnteach.*"

The Highlanders were not, however, without swordmakers of their own, besides the many smiths and armourers in different parts of the country, who supplied their kinsmen with weapons. There was one, the excellence of whose blades has not even yet been surpassed. This was the great Andrea Ferrara. He was able to make armour that could resist the best Sheffield-made arrow heads, and to make sword blades that would vie with the best weapons of Toledo and Milan. He is supposed to have learned the art in the Italian city of that name (after which he is named), and to have practised it in secrecy somewhere in the Highlands of Banffshire. His blades were tempered to such a degree that the point could be made to touch the hilt, and spring back uninjured; the old saying, " The claymore may bend but never break," has probably arisen from the excellence of those blades.

He is said to have worked in a dark cellar underground, so as to enable him to see the effect of the heat on the metal, and to watch the nicety of the tempering, and at the same time to preserve the secrecy of his art. Several of his blades are still to be seen, and are very highly prized, so much so, that some unscrupulous persons have stamped his name on blades of spurious manufacture, in order to pass them off as his make. The forgery is, however, easily detected, the name being struck into the blade by means of a stamp. It may be seen to be modern; the name on the genuine blades is cut with a chisel, is not so even or regular, and is worn with the blade.

We have recently made a discovery which, we believe, may

have something to do with the excellence of Ferrara's blades. One of his blades, which was very much corroded with rust, was sent to a cutler to polish ; being very much worn, it had to be ground down considerably, when a different colour of metal was discernible in several parts of the blade. On examination it was found to be made up of three pieces of metal beautifully welded together, the centre being of highly tempered iron, over which was a covering of steel, welded together at the edges and magnificently tempered. The object of such a combination is apparent, having thus the strength of the iron and the edge of the steel, while the action of the one part on the other gave it its peculiar elasticity.

The Highlanders put very great value on the *Claidheamh-mòr.* They frequently ornamented them with mottoes and devices, inciting the owner to deeds of daring and honour. We have seen one with the suitable motto—

"Na tarruing mi gun aobhar,
'S na gleidh mi gun onair."

It was also customary to call them by some descriptive name, frequently from the name of the maker, or some incident in its history. This was a very ancient custom, and was practised in the days of Ossian. Fingal's sword was titled the Son of Luna, after a famous smith of that name. Ossian celebrates the smith's praises, and mentions the titles of the swords of the various Fingalian heroes in the following descriptive poem:—

"O'b' aighearach sinn an dara mhaireach,
Ann an ceardach Luin 'ic Liomhain;
Gu'm bu mhaith ar n' ùr-chlaidh'ne,
'S ar deagh shleaghan foda rìghne.
B'e Mac an Luin lann Mhic Cumhail,
Nach d' fhag fuigheal riabh dh' fheoil daoine ;
Gu'm b'i'n Drui'-lannach lann Oscair,
'S gu'm b'i Chosgarrach lann Chaoillte.
Gu'm bi Liomhanach lann Dhiarmaid,
B'iomadh fear fiadhaich a mharbh i ;
'S agam fein bha Gearr-nan-calan,
Bu gharg farum 'n am nan garbh-chath."

On the death of ancient warriors their arms were frequently buried along with them, and also their favourite hound, whether to show their occupation, or from a belief that they might require them beyond the grave, it is difficult to say. Even in our own

day it is customary to place the arms of a departed warrior on his coffin till the time of interment. Of the burial of Diarmid and Graine, Ossian sings—

" Chairich sinn an dithis san raon,
A bhogha 'sa shleagh ri taobh Dhiarmaid ;
'S le Graine thaisgeadh leinn an guineach
A lot a muineal, 's a bràghad."

The burial of the sons of Uisneach is also described as follows :—

" An tri sgiath a 's an tri sleagha
Anns an leabai chumhainn chuireadh ;
'S chaireadh an tri chlaidheana cruaidhe
Sint' an sèimh-uaigh nan cathan ;
An tri choin 's an tri seabhaig leithir,
Le 'n tric a bheirte gach buaidh sheilge."

Among the Highlanders the sword was handed down from father to son for many generations; and the idea of a youth bearing his father's sword was enough to nerve his arm and stimulate him to deeds of glory. This feeling is also beautifully illustrated in the lines of " The Irish Minstrel Boy"—

" The Minstrel boy to the war is gone,
In the ranks of death you'll find him ;
His father's sword he has girded on,
And his wild harp slung behind him,—
' Land of Song,' said the warrior-bard,
' Tho' all the world betrays thee,
One sword at least thy rights shall guard,
One faithful harp shall praise thee.' "

To retain untarnished the glorious fame of their ancestors, was one of the proudest traits of the Celtic character ; it was at all times the dying injunction of the Celtic warrior to his sorrowing children, and, perhaps, there is no command that has oftener been given or more strictly adhered to than the words of Fingal—

" Lean gu dluth ri cliu do shinnsear,
'S na dibir a bhi mar iadsan."

The old warrior shows how he was himself imbued with this feeling, in his words to Oscar—

" ' Mhic mo mhic,' thuirt an righ,
'Oscair na stri, 'na t-oige,
Chunnam do chlaidheamh nach min;
Bha m' uaill mu m' shinnsear mòr.
Leansa cliu na dh'aom a chaoidh ;
Mar d' aithraiche biosa fein.' "

After all that has come and gone, it is wonderful the hold this feeling has still on the Highland character. Let the poor Highlander be ever so lowly, ever so much oppressed, he still retains the noble sentiment that causes him to respect himself, should it be only for the memory of the departed. It is this feeling that has enabled our Highland soldiers to accomplish feats which would be impossible to any other, and even yet, though only the wrecks of their former selves, the renown of their ancient glory has created such an *esprit de corps* as to be infectious, even to John Bull himself.

Say to a Highland boy, "Cuimhnich na daoine bho'n d'thainig dhu," and he immediately accomplishes a task which previously was unsurmountable. Long may this feeling form a trait in the Highland character.

The loss of a sword in battle was considered an everlasting disgrace. *Donnachadh Bàn*, who was present at the battle of Falkirk, as a substitute for another, "considering discretion the best part of valour," in his haste to secure his own safety, lost his employer's sword. On presenting himself for his hire, he was refused payment without delivering the sword. If Duncan was devoid of courage on the field of battle, he was not without the means of having his revenge: he composed a song on the battle, in which he chastises the owner of the sword, and excuses himself for its loss as follows:—

" 'Nuair a chruinnich iad na'n ceudan,
'N la sin air sliabh na h-eaglais
Bha ratreud air luchd na Beurla,
'S ann daibh fein a b-eigin teicheadh.
Ged a chaill mi anns an àm sin
Claidheamh ceannart Chloinn-an-Leisdeir,
Claidheamh bearnach a mhi-fhortain,
'S ann bu choltach e ri greidlein."

The claymore continued to be worn by the Highland Regiments till about the middle of the American War, when, by an order from the War Office, it was laid aside by the private soldiers. Very great dissatisfaction was felt at this change, for, besides the partiality of the men to their favourite weapon, it was shown several times that the broadsword, in the grasp of a firm hand, is a better weapon in close fighting than the bayonet. General Stewart says—

"If the first push of the bayonet misses its aim, or happens to be parried, it is not easy to recover the weapon, and repeat the thrust, if the enemy is bold enough to stand firm; but it is not so with the sword, which may be readily withdrawn from its blow, wielded with celerity, and directed to any part of the body, particularly to the head and arms; while its motions defend the person using it."

We might give many instances of the expertness of Highlanders in handling the sword, and the success with which, on many occasions, they opposed the most disciplined troops, though armed with all the modern implements of warfare. A few such anecdotes may not be uninteresting.

In the year 1654, a body of English soldiers (some accounts say 300) were sent from the garrison at Inverlochy to kill Lochiel's cattle, and destroy the woods on his property, so as to leave no place of concealment for the Camerons, who were very troublesome to the garrison. Lochiel, having heard of the expedition, resolved to frustrate the attempt, and hastily collecting 36 of his followers, they met the Englishmen as they were landing. The one-half of the soldiers carried axes to fell the woods, while the others were armed to protect them.

The Camerons concealed themselves among the trees till the English were landed, when they let fly a shower of arrows, and then rushed on them, claymore in hand. The English, who were armed with muskets and bayonets, fired a volley on the Camerons as they were rushing down the beach, but with no effect. The combat was short, but obstinate. The Englishmen fought with coolness and intrepidity, but they were soon driven into the sea, the Highlanders following them into the water up to the chin. One of the soldiers, having managed to get into a boat, was in the act of taking aim at Lochiel, when the latter dived his head under water, escaping so narrowly that the bullet grazed his head.

Another marksman was foiled by the affection of Lochiel's foster-brother, who threw himself between the Englishman and the object of his aim, and was killed by the ball intended for his chief.

During the engagement, the English officer, who was reputed an excellent swordsman, besides being a very powerful man, singled out Lochiel for a personal encounter. Lochiel having disarmed the officer, the latter sprang on to him, and in the struggle which followed, they both fell to the ground, the Eng-

lishman above. He was in the act of grasping at his sword, which lay near the place where they fell, when the chief, seeing no other chance, grasped him by the throat with his teeth, and held him so firmly as to choke him. He was afterwards heard to say that it was the sweetest morsel that ever he had tasted.

As most readers will be familiar with the details of the various battles fought between the Highlanders and the regular troops during Montrose's campaigns and the two rebellions, it may be more interesting to give a few anecdotes of personal encounters.

At the battle of Aboukir, Serjeant John Macrae, of the Ross-shire Highlanders, single-handed, killed six of the enemy with his broadsword, when at last he made a dash out of the ranks on a Turk, whom he cut down. He was killed by a blow from behind, as he was returning to the square.

John Campbell, an Argyllshire man, a soldier in the Black Watch, did a similar feat at Fontenoy. Having killed nine men, single-handed, with the claymore, his arm was carried away by a cannon ball on attacking the tenth.

At Culloden, Gillies Macbain, seeing the Campbells attacking the Highland army by means of a breach made in a wall, attacked them as they were coming through the breach, and before he fell, overpowered by numbers, he made fourteen of his enemies bite the dust.

William Chisholm, a native of Strathglass, killed sixteen at Culloden (three of them being troopers) before he was overpowered. His wife composed a very beautiful and touching elegy on his death, which is still a great favourite in the North.

In one of the many battles between the Sutherland and Caithness men, one of the former, named Iain Mor Riabhach Mackay, committed a terrible havoc among the Caithness men. Having taken up his position in a narrow pass through which they would have to go, he quietly waited the result of the battle, under the expectation of his own friends being victorious, and, as the sequel shows, he was not disappointed. The Caithness men, having been worsted in the battle, fled to their own country, little knowing who was before them in the pass. On rushed the fugitives, thinking that if the pass was overgained they were safe, when up jumps Iain Mòr, with his huge, two-handed sword, which

he wielded so successfully that only one Caithness man, like Job's messenger, got safely home to tell the mournful tale.

Many years after this, when this Strathnaver warrior was on his deathbed, he was visited by the parish priest, who earnestly advised him to confess his sins and make a clean breast of it. "Is there anything," inquired the priest, "that lies particularly heavy on your conscience?" "No," said he, raising himself with a great effort, and striking his fist on the pillow, "No, nothing, but that I let that vagabond of a Caithness man escape me!"

THE LOCHABER AXE.

This was, next to the claymore, the favourite weapon; and we can well imagine what a powerful instrument it was in the hands of a Herculean Highlander. Being furnished with a hook on the top, it was used for scaling walls, tearing down barricades, and was well adapted for opposing cavalry; being fitted with a long handle, it could reach the rider and pull him down off the horse, with little danger to the party using it.

THE DIRK OR "BIODAG."

This was both a useful and ornamental arm, and when used in the left hand, together with the target and claymore, it was a most deadly weapon, being held in such a position that on any portion of an opponent's body being left unguarded, it was always ready for a fatal thrust.

These weapons were great favourites, being so convenient for a sudden emergency. Besides being serviceable for killing deer or any other animal, they were furnished with a knife and fork for carving purposes; and, latterly, some had a snuff-mull fitted into the top, but, of course, this must be a comparatively modern addition.

There is a tradition that it was a taunt given to Robert Bruce, for carving meat with his dirk, that incited him to take up the cause of his country so quickly. It is said that on one occasion, after some skirmish between the Scotch and English (Bruce having been fighting against his countrymen), he was carving a sirloin of beef with his dirk, when some Englishmen jeered him on his using the same knife to carve his food as he did to carve his countrymen. Bruce took the hint in a different way from what the Englishmen would have wished.

(To be continued.)

THE

CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

No. XCIII. JULY 1883. VOL. VIII.

CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.

BY ALEXANDER MACBAIN, M.A.

III.—THE ARYAN NATION.

FROM the comparison of roots in the various present and past descendants of the original Aryan tongue, and, in a less degree, from a comparison of their myths, we are enabled to form a fair idea of the culture and religion of the Aryans. Not only can radical elements expressing such objects and relations as father, mother, brother, daughter, husband, brother-in-law, cow dog, horse, cattle, ox, corn, mill, earth, sky, water, star, and hundreds more, be found identically the same, in the various branches of the Aryan tongue, now or sometime spoken, but they can also be proved to possess the elements of a mythological phraseology clearly descended from a common source. In the matter of culture, the Aryans were organised in communities framed on the model of the patriarchal household. They had adopted a system of regular marriage with an elaborate grading of kinships and marriage affinities. In the household the father was king and priest, for there was also a family religion ; the wife and the rest of the family, though subservient to the *patria potestas*, were far from being slaves ; while, outside the household, grades and ranks of nobility or kinship were strictly marked. Comfortable houses and clustered villages, clearings and stations, with paths and

roads, were in existence; the precious metals, together with copper, tin, and bronze, were in use, but iron was probably unknown. The domestic animals had long been tamed and named, for cattle and flocks composed their chief wealth, though the plough tilled the field and corn was grown and crushed in the mills and querns. They could count to one hundred at the very least, for the root of *ceud*, "*hund*-red," is common to all the descendant tongues, and they had divided the year into seasons and months—a fact which is especially proved by the root for *month* being taken from the name given to the moon, "the measurer." They spoke a language that was highly inflected and complex; that is to say, the relation between words and the relations of time (or tense) and mood were expressed by changes in the terminations of words. On the whole, the Aryans were high in the barbaric state of culture, as opposed, on the one hand to the savage, and, on the other, to the civilised state of progress.

In regard to Religion and Mythology, the Aryans were in much the same stage of advancement as in their culture generally. As their culture and language had required long ages to reach up to the state of comparative excellence at which they had arrived, so, too, their religion must have passed through lower phases until it reached the well-developed cosmos of Aryan times. And as there are not wanting many signs of those earlier stages of belief both in Aryan Mythology and in the mythologies of the descendant nations, it is necessary to glance briefly at what these stages may have been. Belief in the supernatural exists, and has existed, in all races of men whose beliefs we have any knowledge of. The lowest phase of this belief is known as "Animism," and consists in believing that what is presented to us in our dreams and visions has a real existence. Savage man makes no distinction between his dreaming and waking existence. He sees the "shadows" of the dead in his sleep, and firmly believes in their objective reality. But not merely the dead alone have shadows or spirits; the living, too, have spirits or duplicates of self. Animals, also, and material objects, have souls, for is not the dead hero seen in dreams wearing the ghosts of arms—sword and hatchet, and such like—that he possessed in life? The worship of ancestors would appear to have been the first form in which these beliefs took the shape of an active religion or worship

of higher beings. Ancestor worship, though first, is by no means lost in subsequent stages, for of all forms it is the most persistent in its survival. Modern China and ancient Rome are prominent proofs of this fact. From ancestors, it is an easy step to worship the ghosts of other persons; sometimes these were looked on as beneficent, and at other times as maleficent, beings, whose help was to be invoked or whose wrath was to be deprecated. Ghosts, ancestral and other, might inhabit natural objects—trees, rivers, wells, and animals; and this, combined with the worship of the actual ghosts of these objects, sometimes gave rise to "fetishism," so well called the worship of "stocks and stones." Totemism, again, consists in the worship of a tribal badge; some clan or nation worship a particular object, generally an animal, a form of worship which may easily have sprung from ancestor worship, since the ancestral ghost may have taken that particular form. Some go so far as to assert that the names of some of the Highland and Irish clans and their badges are remnants or remembrances of this worship, and appeal in proof is especially made to the clan "Chattan," with its animal crest, the cat. The next stage is the worship of the nature-spirits, or the natural powers as seen in objects of outward nature—clouds, lightning, and sky. This gives rise to polytheism proper, and, perhaps, prior to that, to henotheism, as Max Müller has so well named that "totemic" worship of one especial element of nature, making it for the moment the supreme deity with all the attributes that are applicable to it embellished and exhausted. In polytheism the plurality of deities is expressed; in henotheism it is implied. Polytheism generally presents a dynastic system of gods under the rule of one supreme king or father, while henotheism implies a co-ordination of deities. "These deities," says Mr Sayce, "are necessarily suggested by nature; the variety of nature overpowers in an infantile state of society the unity for which the mind of man is ever yearning. Gradually, however, the attributes applied to the objects and powers of nature take the place of the latter; the sun becomes Apollo, the storm Ares. Deities are multiplied with the multiplication of the epithets which the mythopoeic age changes into divinities and demi-gods, and side by side with a developed Mythology goes a developed pantheon. The polytheism, which the infinite variety of nature made inevit-

able, continues long after the nature-worship that underlay it has grown faint and forgotten. A time at last comes when even abstract names have to submit to the common process; temples are raised to Terror and Fear, to Love and Reverence; and the doom of the old polytheism of nature is at hand. When once the spirit of divinity has been breathed into abstractions of the human mind, it cannot be long before their essential unity is recognised, and they are all summed up under the one higher abstraction of monotheism."

But this quotation anticipates the history of Aryan Mythology in the descendant nations. Aryan religion itself was a fully developed henotheism, or rather a polytheism, where the Supreme Deity was different at different times in the eyes of the same worshipper. At one time, to take the Vedic hymns as representative of the oldest and nearest stratum of religious thought to the Aryan religion, Indra is the only god whom the singer recognises, and he exhausts his religious vocabulary on his praise alone; and at another time Varuna receives all worship, at another it is Agni. Indra represents the heaven-god, more especially in the view of a rain-giving deity, for the root is the same as the English *water*, and is seen also in the sacred River Indus. Agni is the god of fire; Varuna, of the canopy of heaven—the Greek Uranus. Comparing and analysing the elements of Teutonic, Greek, and Hindu Mythology, for example, we may arrive at a tolerably clear conception of the Aryan pantheon and religious cultus. It would seem the chief deity was connected with the worship of light; the shining canopy of heaven was the head of the Aryan Olympus. The Gaelic word *dia* (and *diu* day); Sanscrit, *Dyaus;* Greek, *Zeus;* Latin, *deus* and *Ju*-piter; and English, *Tiw* (as seen in *Tues*day), are from the primitive name of this god, their common root being *div*, shining. Hence *dia* originally meant the bright sky, and Jupiter, the "sky-father," is the Roman version of "Father in Heaven." Fire, in all its manifestations, was an especial object of worship; Agni is the Vedic name of this diety, which appears in Latin *ignis*, and Gaelic *ain* (heat), but the Gaelic equivalent deity would appear to have been the "Dagda," or the Great Good Fire. The sun and moon were prominent among the deities, the sun being the most in favour, perhaps, of all the gods. The epithets applied to

him are innumerable, and, as a consequence, scarcely two nations have the same name for the sun-god, and nearly all have one or two deities that are phases of solar worship. The Sanscrit, *surya;* Latin, *sol;* Greek, *helios;* English, *sun;* and Gaelic, *solus*, present the chief root, the first four actually meaning the "sun," and being used as the name of the sun-deity often.

And there were other gods hardly inferior to these gods; such were what we may call the "meteorological" deities—the regulators of weather and seasons. Prominent among these was the thunder god, who brings thunder and rain; in the Vedic hymns his place is filled by the chief god Indra; in Latin he is the Jupiter Tonans; in the Norse Mythology, he appears as Thor who is next in importance to Odin himself; and in the Celtic Mythology, he is known as Taranis. The storm god was worshipped under the title of Maruts, the Latin Mars, and Greek Ares. The wind, Vata, the Gaelic *gaoth*, had a high position among the deities, but among the descendant nations its position is not quite so high, unless we connect with it the god Hermes, who in Greek Mythology is clearly a wind god both in his connection with music and as messenger to the gods.

The gods we have hitherto discussed belong to the *intangible* objects of nature—the sky, stars, sun, dawn, and, perhaps, so too the "weather" gods. Max Müller gives two other possible classes of deified objects: *semi-tangible* objects such as trees, mountains, the sea, the earth. These objects supply the material for what he calls the semi-deities. And thirdly, lowest of all, are *tangible* objects, such as "stocks and stones" and other elements of fetishism. The worship of semi-tangible objects shows clearly a remnant of the old animism, for these objects are endowed in savage culture with spirits of a personal type. "The lowest races," says Mr Tylor, "not only talk of such nature-spirits, but deal with them in a thoroughly personal way, which shows how they are modelled on human souls. Modern travellers have seen North Americans paddling their canoes past a dangerous place on the river, and throwing in a bit of tobacco with a prayer to the river-spirit to let them pass. An African wood cutter who has made the first cut at a great tree has been known to take the precaution of pouring some palm-oil on the ground, that the angry tree-spirit coming out may stop to lick it up, while the

man runs for his life. The state of mind to which these nature-spirits belong must have been almost as clearly remembered by the Greeks, when they could still fancy the nymphs of the lovely groves and springs and grassy meadows coming up to the council of the Olympian gods, or the dryads growing with the leafy pines and oaks, and uttering screams of pain when the wood-man's axe strikes the trunk." These nature spirits play a most important part in folk-lore, appearing in the tales of the river demon, the water kelpie, who drowns his victim in the whirl-pool; and in the giants, trolls, and dwarfs, who represent moun-tain and earth spirits; the healing waters of sacred wells have only adopted saints' names in place of the old pagan deity; while the little elves and fairies of the woods are but dim recollections of the old forest spirits.

Of magic, a word or two may be said. It must be remem-bered that the gods could change their shape at pleasure; their normal shape among Aryan nations was the human, but they could assume the shape of particular men or beasts, or even of inanimate objects, for Jupiter came into Danae's prison in a shower of gold. Perseus' magical hat of darkness and shoes of swiftness belong to the same cloud-changing character. Spells and enchantments form an important feature of magical powers, and have their origin in spirit-explanations of the numbing power of frost, the relaxing power of heat, the power of drugs, as of the Indian Soma, and doubtless in the magnetic influence exerted by some men and animals, notably the serpent. And if we descend still lower, we find magic as a rule depend on a false use of analogies. The Zulu who has to buy cattle may be seen chew-ing a bit of wood, in order to soften the breast of the seller he is dealing with, for as the wood gets softer in his mouth, the seller's heart is supposed also to soften. Such superstitions exist even in our own country to the present day. The writer of this has known of a case where a clay body "corpan creadha," was actually made and stuck over with nails and pins, and placed in a stream channel to waste away. As the clay wasted, so with sharp pangs would waste away the person for whom it was intended.

The ethical side of the Aryan religion presented some in-teresting features. The contest between the powers of light and

darkness—Dyaus and Indra on one side against Ahriman or Vritra, the bright sun-god against the snake-god of darkness, Apollo strangling the Python, represents a real ethical idea—good overcoming evil. Sacrifice and prayer, temple and altar, were known; and sin and sin-offering were familiar ideas to the Aryans. A shadowy spirit existence after death was believed in; heroes were taken to the halls of the gods, but the kingdom of Hades was the general abode of spirits, where the good and the evil got their deserts.

Aryan Myths.

We shall now see how the Aryans dealt in one or two cases with the actions of their gods, and how this gave rise to a mythical life history of them in later times. It was around the sun-god that most of these myths were gathering. Off-spring of night, whom he slays, he loves the dawn maiden, Daphne—"rosy-fingered morn," who flies from his embrace over the azure plains of Heaven, but, Cinderella-like, leaves a golden streak of light behind her whereby she may be followed and found. The sun has his toils, too, in the pursuit; storm-clouds intercept his path; at times even the eclipse monster swallows him; and he has to toil for mean creatures like men to give them light and heat, owing to the spells put upon him. But at length he overtakes, in the evening, his morning love, the dawn, now the evening dawn, who consoles him as he descends beneath the wave. In some such strains must the old Aryans have spoken of the sun's career and actions, and sung the praises of the Being who guided his flying coursers over the plains of Heaven. Later ages rationalised the myth into the loves and actions of Apollo and Daphne, Hercules and Dejanira, and others innumerable. The myth is broken down to a folk-tale, which appears in a variety of modern forms, of which the fairy tale of Cinderella is the best example. Cinderella is the youngest, as usual, of three sisters—the night-watches; she is in fact the dawn maiden; she is pursued by the young prince, and leaves her glass slipper—her streak of light—behind her, by means of which she is identified at last. This tale appears also in the Gaelic popular stories. A king's daughter has to fly with her fairy treasures—the peculiar thing is that these maidens have always treasures, and there generally is as much

dispute about them as about the maidens themselves; these treasures appear to be connected with the rain clouds, the cows and cattle of the sun. The king's daughter takes service in the new land she arrives in; goes to a ball, unknown to her employers, in her fairy dress; creates a sensation, so to speak; but having to leave in haste, she loses her glass slipper, whereby the enamoured prince is enabled to find her. The tale of the "Hoodie Crow," with which our discussion commenced, would appear to be a broken down myth of the solar class; and it is accordingly connected with the nocturnal life of the sun-god, who then is under the spell of the dark powers. The dawn maiden pursues him through toils and difficulties, and at last frees him from the spells.

Another fruitful source of myth and worship is the change of summer into winter, when the earth has to pass from the genial rule of the "fire" powers to that of the "frost" king. The earth is spell-bound during winter, by the machinations of the frost-king; the lovely goddess of summer has been carried away, leaving her mother Earth disconsolate; "Proserpina gathering flowers, herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis is gathered." She becomes the wife of Pluto, god of the lower world, but is allowed to return to her mother for half of the year. Connected with this myth is the widespread tale of the imprisoned maiden. There are always three characters in the myth; the monster or giant, who performs the abduction; the maiden who is rich in treasures as well as beautiful; and the youthful hero, the young Apollo, who is destined to overcome the monster and his spells.

Some minor points may briefly be noticed. Among the many names of the sun in the Veda, he is called the "golden-handed," a very natural simile for the golden rays shooting finger-like from him. The Hindus accordingly rationalise this, and tell how Savitri cut off his hand in a strait, and that the priests made a golden hand for him. The Norse god Tys (Zeus) had also his hand bitten off by the Fenris-wolf, and the Irish king of the De Dannans, Nuada of the Silver Hand, lost his hand in fight with the Firbolg giant, and the physician Diancet made him a silver one. Another wide-spread myth is to be referred to the same source; the sun-god Apollo is the best of archers—the "Far-darter," of Homeric poetry. In nearly every Aryan nation there

is a historical legend telling the doughty deed of some great archer; such is the story of Tell, in Switzerland, which is typical of the rest. The legend appears in the German tale of Eigel, brother of Wayland, the smith-god; while in Braemar it is circumstantially told regarding the ancestor of the Machardies, also a "smith" family. Of myths arising from the wind, storm, thunder, earth, and sea, it is unnecessary to speak as yet; they will appear in their proper place among the folk-tales, and some—as the sea-deities, Lir and his children—among the myths of the heroes.

(To be continued.)

THE CELTIC LYRE: A COLLECTION OF GAELIC SONGS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS. By FIONN. Edinburgh: Maclachlan and Stewart, 1883.

WHILE we have to express regret at the delay in noticing the *Lyre*, we have the satisfaction of being able to say that in the interval a second edition has been called for—a testimony to the acceptance with which it has been received, and one which we trust the compiler will be able to regard as sufficient encouragement to proceed with the second part, which he evidently has in contemplation. The *Celtic Lyre* is a collection of some twenty of our most popular Gaelic songs, with English translations, and music in both notations. Of course, in such a small collection it could not be expected that everybody's favourites should be able to find a place, but when we say that the "twenty" comprise such popular lyrics as "Muile nam Mor-bheann," "Mo run geal, dileas," "Fear a' Bhàta," and "Moladh na Lanndaidh," that the sets of the airs are smooth and melodious, and that, for the benefit of those who do not know the Gaelic language, very creditable English translations and equivalents are supplied, it will be evident to our readers that such features alone could not fail to make the work highly popular. We do not quite agree with "Fionn" when he says that, in consequence of the native simplicity of our Gaelic lyrics, they need not the adjunct of elaborate accompaniments, and that "a simple pedal bass, which any player can supply," is their most effective adornment. We do not think so; but, on the other hand, we would much rather have them in their naked, native beauty, as he has here presented them, than overloaded, and with their character completely changed and marred, as we have seen them after passing through the hands of some recent editors and "improvers." We would again express the hope that we have here only one instalment of many yet to come from the budget of Celtic music which we know "Fionn" to possess, and if the appreciation and encouragement extended to the first part now before us be at all commensurate with its merits, we predict for the compiler very great success; and we promise much satisfaction and real pleasure to those who avail themselves of his labours. We presume it is no secret that "Fionn" is Mr Henry Whyte, Glasgow.

THE LONG ISLAND.

Statistical, Descriptive, and Historical.

The Long Island is the designation by which the chain of islands stretching from Barra Head in the South to the Butt of Lewis in the North is generally known. A glance at the map shows that this so-called island is not an island but a myriad of islands; and in their social aspect they all differ more or less from each other. The northernmost of these islands, Lewis, is in the County of Ross, and belongs to the representatives of the late Sir James Matheson. It is a small principality in itself, and is governed by two rulers—the Sheriff as representing the Crown, and the Chamberlain as representing the proprietor. Of the two the representative of the proprietor has the greater power, and is said to be the more feared in the island. A few facts about the southern sheriffdom, which comprises Harris, the Uists, and Barra, in which the Royal Commission has recently brought before the public the condition of the people, may prove interesting to the reader.

The southern island, Barra, was anciently the possession of the Macneills, who ruled with more than regal sway over the people. Many people assert, and others won't believe, that much of the present condition of the Western Isles is due to early and improvident marriages. Be that as it may, in the days of the Macneills, marriage arrangements were in the hands of the chief. Martin, who wrote one of the earliest (1703) and quaintest descriptions of the Western Isles, states that the inhabitants made application to Macneill "for wives and husbands. He names the persons, and gives them a bottle of strong waters for the marriage feast. Their usual address to him is that they want a wife or a husband to manage their affairs and beget him followers, and he makes up the match without any long courtship, for he takes what care he can that their circumstances may suit one another." Dr Macculloch, in his picturesque way, confirms this. "The Fathers say that the intention of marriage is to propagate the Church. But the Macneills maintain that it was to propagate the Clan. When a tenant's wife died he applied to the chief for a

new one, on the ground that he had become useless, and that the deficiency was a public loss. Macneill then sent him a wife, and they were married over a bottle of whisky!"—(Vide *Western Isles*, vol. iii., page 20.)

In March 1830, the Macneills ceased to be proprietors of Barra, when the island was sold for £42,050 to James Menzies, who, in 1840, re-sold it to Colonel Gordon of Cluny, Aberdeenshire, in whose family it still remains. The island presents a rather barren appearance. It is destitute of wood, and it is recorded that the morning and evening prayer of a certain pious Barraman used to be—"If ships must at all events perish, do thou, O Lord, guide their timber, with their tackling and rigging, to the strand of Borve and the Sound of Vatersay"*—these two places being most convenient for the boats and horses of this "pious" man. The island is described in the time of Dean Munro as "fertile and fruitful in cornes," but later accounts do not realise this description. The Dean adds, however, "there is na fairer and more profitable sands for cokills in all the world."

The valuation of the island in 1644 was about £1000 Scots, while in the present year the amount is £2217. 11s. 2d. sterling, of which sum £2025. 11s. 2d. is the portion appertaining to the Gordon estates. With the exception of Dr Macgillivray, Eoligary, who pays £550; Mr Maclellan, Vatersay, who pays £430; and two tenants who pay £70 each, the whole of the land is under crofters. The population, in 1881, was 2161.

To the north of Barra is the Island of South Uist, formerly the property of the Macdonalds of Clan Ranald. In 1840 it became the property of the late Colonel Gordon, in whose family it still remains. This island shares with Barra in general barrenness of appearance, and is remarkable for the manner in which it is intersected by the sea. The northern portion of the parish—Benbecula—is simply a network of land and sea. "In this strange island," says Dr Macculloch, "the elements of land and water seem as if they were yet waiting to be separated; that which should have been *terra firma* being half water, and what should have been sea being half land;" and again—"that which is not rock is sand, that which is not sand is bog, that which is

* "Mas fheudar gu'n teid luingeas a dhìth, O Thighearna, stiùir Thusa am fiodh 's an cainb gu Traigh Bhorbh a's Caolas Bhatarsaidh!"

not bog is lake, and that which is not lake is sea. There is no green glen here where the inhabitants are associated by mutual wants and pleasures, no 'rude mountain's or torrent's roar' to produce those attachments, of which poets have sung, and of which philosophers have speculated." As in Barra, the population, which now numbers 6078, is almost entirely Roman Catholic.

The island has for long been the victim of absenteeism. Old Clanranald, who drew an annual income of about £10,000 from kelp alone, was an absentee, and so were his successors. The valuation in 1644 was £4000 Scots; while now it is £6680. 3s. 4d. sterling, all of which, with the exception of £95, is apportioned to the Gordon estates. Nunton, paying £400; Gerinish, £127. 10s.; Drimore, £122; Drimsdale, £291; Ormiclate (Mr Ranald Macdonald's), £421. 2s. 6d.; Bornish, £155; Milton, £582; Kilbride, £190; Lochboisdale, £130, are in the hands of tacksmen. All the remainder, except some lands in the occupancy of the proprietrix, is tenanted by crofters.

The total raw produce of the parish in 1837 was estimated at £27,548. 6s. The only manufacture was kelp, but in consequence of the abolition of the tax on barilla this manufacture practically came to an end, with the result that Clanranald's income from this parish alone fell from £15,000 to £5000 a-year. It may be observed, in conclusion, that the price paid by Colonel Gordon for his Hebridean estates was £173,729; and that the present annual value is £8610. 14s. 6d.

Proceeding to North Uist, the traveller still finds himself in a country destitute of wood; and, generally speaking, the outward aspect is pretty much of the same character as that already described. Here, however, the sentiments of the people are widely different. In South Uist and Barra the people are all Catholics. In North Uist and on to the Butt of Lews they are severely Protestant, and their manners and customs vary accordingly. Even their amusements appear to be more or less influenced by their religion. Sheriff Nicolson has frequently questioned the crofter-delegates as to the teaching of the ministers with regard to the bagpipe, and one crofter on Dr Martin's estate associated the bagpipe with the Papacy, and spoke with contempt of all music, vocal and instrumental. The general character of the evidence which has been elicited on this point was not of a very en-

couraging character, and it is much to be feared that the same influences which have silenced the organ in the churches have also (and many will say with far less reason) silenced the war-pipe of Maccrimmon among the Hebrideans. In this light contrast these two statements:—"Dancing, with music of the bagpipes, is a favourite pastime."—(*New Statistical Account for Barra*, page 209). "The taste for song is, among the lower orders, fast on the decline, so also is that for music, of which they *were* remarkably fond. At funeral processions the pipes, in strains of pathos and melody, followed the bier, playing slow, plaintive dirges, composed for and used only on such occasions. . . . The custom of accompanying burials with music is now (1837) almost universally abandoned, and there are some individuals—doubtless with good intentions—whose zeal has not been wanting to put down the practice."—(*New Statistical Account for North Uist*, page 172.)

North Uist until about thirty years ago belonged to Lord Macdonald; but with the decline of kelp his Lordship's resources were reduced, and his affairs became involved, thus necessitating the sale of this part of his property. According to a valuation of 1691 North Uist was put down at £1880 Scots; but now it amounts to £5469. 16s. 10d. sterling, of which sum £5156. 6s. 10d. is apportioned to Sir John Orde, the principal proprietor of the island. The gross raw produce of the parish in 1840 was put down at £10,440. The present population (1881) was 4264.

The remaining parish of this part of Inverness-shire is Harris, anciently the property of the Macleods. It passed from Macleod of Macleod to a son of Sir Norman Macleod of Bernera for £15,000. In 1831 it was purchased by the grandfather of the present Earl of Dunmore for £60,000. In 1871 a portion of it was sold to Sir Edward Scott for £155,000. In its general aspect it resembles the Island of Lewis. In 1644 it was valued at £2866 13s. 4d. Scots; about 1780 it was entered at £768 sterling; in 1790 the net amount was £888; while now it amounts to £6194 3s. 1d., made up as follows:—The Dowager Countess of Dunmore as Trustee, £2999. 10s. 2d.; Sir Edward Scott of Ardvourlie, Bart., £2341. 16s. 11d; John Stewart of Ensay, £300; Macleod of Macleod, as proprietor of St Kilda, which is in the parish, £62; School Board, £118. 10s., and other proprieters—churches, etc., £372. 6s.

When kelp was in great demand, the rental of Harris amounted to about £7000, but with the decline of kelp it fell some 50 per cent. The raw produce of the parish in 1840 was estimated at £11,900.

Forty years ago there were numerous cases of forced evictions carried on in these islands, with incredible barbarity. One witness—John Mackay, Kilphedar, aged 75, who was examined before the Royal Commission at Lochboisdale on 28th May last—gave details of some of these, and it may be interesting to state that some of the identical cases, given from memory by that Delegate, are chronicled in Macleod's *Gloomy Memories (vide* American edition, page 138, or Mackenzie's *Highland Clearances*, page 255.) There we read:—

> The poor people were commanded to attend a public meeting at Lochboisdale, where the transports lay, and according to the intimations, any one absenting himself from the meeting was to be fined in two pounds. At this meeting some of the natives were seized, and in spite of their entreaties were sent on board the transports. One stout Highlander, named Angus Johnstone, resisted with such pith that they had to handcuff him before he could be mastered; but in consequence of the priest's interference his manacles were taken off and marched between four officers on board the emigrant vessel. One morning during the transporting season, we were suddenly awakened by the screams of a young female who had been re-captured in an adjoining house, having escaped after her first apprehension. We all rushed to the door and saw the broken-hearted creature with dishevelled hair and swollen face, dragged away by two constables and a ground-officer. Were you to see the racing and chasing of policemen, constables, and ground-officers, pursuing the outlawed natives, you would think, only for their colour, that they had been by some miracle transported to the banks of the Gambia on the slave coast of Africa.

Colonel Gordon proposed to form Barra into a penal settlement, but the Home Office did not accede to the proposal.

The crofters in these islands, as elsewhere, occupy the poorer lands, and the tacksmen the best. The agriculture is backward, for the crofters are all tenants at will, and fully charged with all the despondency of that class. Professor Blackie has described the whole country in the *Celtic Magazine*, thus:—

> "O God-forsaken, God-detested land,
> Of bogs, and blasts, and moors, and mists, and rain,
> Where men with ducks divide the doubtful strand,
> And shirts, when washed, are straightway soiled again!"

Customs and Mode of Life.

In this connection the reader may feel interested in a descrip-

tion of the general mode of life of these Outer Hebrideans, particularly as to how the different communities manage their affairs on a system essentially different from anything now existing on the mainland, even in the West Highlands. A most interesting article on this subject appears in vol. iii. *Skene's Celtic Scotland* (pp. 378-393), contributed by Mr A. A. Carmichael, for a long series of years an Inland Revenue Officer in these islands, where, speaking the Gaelic language with great fluency, and being constantly moving about among the people, he acquired an intimate acquaintance with their thoughts and general mode of life. The following is a summary of this valuable paper :—

The crofter lands are worked in three ways—(1) as crofts wholly; (2) as crofts and run-rig combined; and (3) as run-rig wholly. In Lewis and Harris the croft system prevails; in Barra and Uist the arable land is partly divided into crofts and partly worked run-rig; while in certain townlands—in particular, Hosta, Caolas Paipil, and the Island of Heisgeir, in North Uist —the arable land is entirely worked on the run-rig system. While the arable land is worked as above, the grazings throughout are held in common. The run-rig system, which gives the people share and share alike, is believed to have high advantages in its favour in a country such as Uist. The soil is exceedingly variable —moss here and sand there—while the climate is ever changing. Where the soil is dry and sandy, the crop is light in a dry summer. On the other hand, if the summer is moist, such a soil will yield a good crop. With the heavy mossy lands the reverse is the case; and thus in order that all may participate in the benefits, as well as the disadvantages, the run-rig system is held to be preferable. "Obviously the man who is restricted to his croft has fewer advantages than the man who, together with his croft, has his share of the *Machair* or plain, and still fewer advantages than the man who has, rig for rig with his neighbour, the run of the various soils of the townland, which gives name to the system. Consequently, a wet or dry season affects the tenant of the croft system more than the tenant of the combined system, and the tenant of the combined system more than the tenant of the run-rig system."

In the townlands of Hosta, and Caolas Paipil, and the Island of Heisgeir, already alluded to, there are altogether 22

tenants. They work their run-rig system in this way :—When the harvest is over, and the fruits of the year have been gathered in, the constable or convener calls a meeting of the tenants of his townland. At this meeting it is decided what portion of the land is to be put under green crop next year, and thereafter they divide it into shares according to the number of tenants in the place, and the number of shares in the soil they respectively possess. Thereupon they cast lots, and the share which falls to a tenant he retains for three years. Should a man get a bad share he is allowed to choose a share in the next division. The shares are uniform in size—the measurement being throughout most accurate. A turf is dug up and turned over along the line of demarcation—and even this turf is afterwards divided into two—the tenant on either side getting the half next himself. There are no fences round these arable lands, and to save the crop a protecting rig is left round the margin of the field. This rig also is divided transversely into shares in order to subject all the tenants to equal risk. Occasionally, and for limited bits of ground, the people till, sow, and reap in common, and divide the produce into shares. Where the ground admits of it, a good deal of land is reclaimed at these places.

The sheep, cattle, and horses of the townland graze together, and the number of animals which each tenant is allowed to keep is regulated by his share in the soil ; but he may keep a larger number of one species provided he has a correspondingly less number of another. All winter and spring the cattle roam over all the grounds, but whenever the braird appears they are removed to the grazing ground behind the arable land, which is called "Fearann-cul-cinn." The stock is regulated by souming, and each tenant is allowed to have so many soums, according to the size of his holding. A soum consists of a cow and her progeny, the progeny in some districts including a calf, while in others it includes her three immediate descendants, namely, the calf, stirk, and quey ; and in some other districts a soum is even more. The grazing equivalent of a cow is eight calves or four stirks, or two queys, or eight sheep, or twelve hogs. A horse is equivalent to two cows, and two sheep equivalent to three hogs. A cow is always entitled to her calf. If a tenant has not a full souming, he can arrange for completing it, and similarly if he has an over-

stock, he must provide for them independently by buying grazing from a neighbour, or otherwise. Failing that, the community may allow an over-stock to remain on the grass until it can be disposed of, in which case he has to pay to the community, and the money is applied to the common purpose of the township, such as buying bulls, tups, etc. The souming is regularly amended at Lammas, and again at Hallowtide. In Lewis and Harris the crofters keep stock according to each pound of rent they pay.

As already indicated there are no fences, and in summer and autumn the stock are placed at night in enclosures to prevent them from straying on to the growing corn. Lest any of them should break out two men watch the enclosure all night. Should the watchers become remiss towards the dawn, when the herds begin to move, some of the animals may break through the enclosure and cause loss. If so, the two watchers are held liable, and are required to make reparation. The damage is appraised by the constable, who is sworn to do justice, and in this capacity is termed "Foirfeideach," the just one, or "Measaiche," the valuator. The constable's valuation is held final, unless he should be interested, when the eldest tenant takes his place. The crofters have a code of regulations for which, if broken, reparation is made. Should a crofter's horse break loose or his fowls stray, and so destroy his neighbour's corn, the injury is valued and the amount paid into the common fund. All fines are used for the common good. The crofter paying the fine does not lose all interest therein, nor does the crofter to whom reparation is made derive the exclusive benefit therefrom. Having finished their tillage, the people go early in the month of June to the hill grazing with their flocks. The removing day is always a busy one in the township. The different families bring their herds together, and drive them away. The sheep lead, then the young cattle, next the older cattle, while the horses follow. The men carry burdens of sticks, heather, ropes, spades, and other things needed to repair their summer huts, while the women carry bedding, meal, and dairy and cooking utensils. Round the women's waists is a cord, underneath which their skirts are drawn up to enable them to walk easily over the moors. Barefooted, bareheaded, comely boys and girls, with gaunt, sagacious dogs, flit

hither and thither, keeping the herds together as best they can, and every now and then having a neck and neck race with some perverse animal trying to run away home. There is much noise. Men—several at a time—give directions and scold. Women knit their stockings, sing their songs, talk and walk as free and erect as if there were no burdens on their backs nor on their hearts, nor sin and sorrow in this world of ours, as far as they are concerned. Above this din rise the voices of the various animals being thus unwillingly driven from their homes. Sheep bleat for their lambs, lambs for their mothers; cows low for their calves, and calves for their dams; mares neigh for their foals, and foals reply as they lightly trip round about, little thinking of coming work and hard fare. All who meet on the way bless the *Triall*, as this removing is called. They wish it good luck and prosperity, and a good flitting day, and having invoked the care of Israel's Shepherd on man and beast, they pass on. On arriving at the shealing, and getting their herds in order, the "removing feast" is held; but this feast is of a very simple character. At the feast they wish themselves all manner of luck and prosperity. Every head is uncovered, every knee is bent, as they dedicate themselves and their flocks to the care of Israel's Shepherd. In Barra, South Uist, and Benbecula, where the Roman Catholic faith mainly prevails, the people, in their old dedicatory hymn, invoke, with the aid of the Trinity, that of the angel with the cornered shield and flaming sword, St Michael, the patron saint of their horses; of St Columba the holy, the guardian over their cattle; and of the golden-haired Virgin, Shepherdess and Mother of the Lamb, without spot or blemish. In North Uist, Harris, and Lewis, where the people are Protestant, the invocation is to *Fear-coimheid Israel*—

> "Behold, He that keeps Israel,
> He slumbers not nor sleeps."

As the people sing their dedication, their voices resound from their shealings, here literally in the wilderness; and as the music floats on the air, and echoes among the rocks, hills, and glens, and is wafted over fresh water lakes and sea lochs, the effect is very striking. In these shealings the summer months are spent, the people enjoying to the full those rural and pastoral felicities of which our poets have so sweetly sung. In the autumn they

return with their produce to their homes to gather in the ripening harvest; and thereafter their winter evenings are spent in the primitive manner so characteristic of those island homes.

June 2, 1883. STRATH-NA-SEALG.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE FREE CHURCH AND THE HIGHLAND CROFTERS.

ON Saturday, the 26th of May last, the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland took up a position respecting the Land Laws and the social condition of the Highland people, which, though taken somewhat tardily, ought to secure for that Church the gratitude of the Highland race whatever section of the Christian Church they belong to. Overtures were sent up to the Assembly for consideration from the Synod of Moray, the Presbytery of Dunoon, and the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, suggesting that a petition should be sent to Parliament on the subject undergoing investigation by the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the position and grievances of the Highland Crofters. The Rev. J. C. Macphail, Edinburgh, a warm friend of the Highland peasantry, moved as follows:—

Considering that the great importance of a righteous settlement of the questions in connection with which the Royal Commission is at present taking evidence in the Highlands and Islands is fitted to promote both the social and spiritual welfare of the people, and considering also the extreme desirableness of full and impartial evidence regarding the actual condition of the people in order to such a settlement, the General Assembly recommend to all the ministers and members of the Free Church in the districts still to be visited by the Commission that they do what they can towards securing that thoroughly reliable evidence be laid before it; and further instruct the Committee on the Highlands to watch over the present inquiry so far as it may affect the social and spiritual interests of the population.

This resolution, after full discussion, was unanimously agreed to; a fact of such importance at present that we make no apology for re-producing and preserving the remarks of the leading speakers in the pages of the *Celtic Magazine*. Mr Macphail introduced his motion as follows:—

The subject, he said, was a very delicate one, and capable of being understood. Many shrunk from seeing the subject introduced into the Assembly lest the Church should appear to be mixing herself up unduly with secular matters. There was

undoubtedly some danger of a Christian Church becoming unduly mixed up with secular matters, and it was peculiarly undesirable that the Church should become so mixed up. But the attempt to separate secular matters from sacred things was, he suspected, somewhat vain if it was attempted to carry the separation to the extent that some persons would indicate. The Church's great object, no doubt, was to bring healing to the souls of men, but men had bodies as well as souls, and the Church must be ready, when necessary, to show a living interest if the Church would secure a hearing and a welcome for her message to their souls. The teaching of the Old Testament as well as the teaching of our Blessed Lord fully authorised, he thought, the Church to have regard to secular things to the extent that he had indicated. He was very deeply impressed personally with the conviction that the state of things at present in the Highlands and Islands was of a somewhat special character. He would mention one or two circumstances which he thought were unusual, and which would seem to indicate that there was a duty that the Church owed to the people that were being agitated by the questions that were at present occupying the minds of many in the Highlands. There was no part of the country in which the Church had a deeper interest than the Northern counties, and it was a very remarkable fact that the two last Justiciary Courts or Circuits held at Inverness were both "Maiden Circuits." (Hear, hear.) That Circuit was intended to deal with the crime in either six or seven of the Northern counties, and when the Judges went there in autumn, and again in the spring, there was not a single case for them to deal with from any of these counties. (Applause.) Alongside of that they had the very remarkable fact that the people were in such a state of unrest, or of discontent, or so agitated from one cause or another that they found a Sheriff of one of the counties—he believed a very humane and Christian gentleman—urgently pressing the Government to send troops into part of the country in order to enforce the law. Fortunately, he thought, the Government resisted the pressure that was brought to bear upon them, and he believed the explanation very much was—though he was not in the secrets of the Government—owing to the Home Secretary's good opinion of the people. He had been very impressed by the speech that was delivered recently by the Home Secretary when receiving the freedom of the City of Glasgow. He took occasion then to refer to the character of the people inhabiting the Western Highlands and Islands. He said that for the last sixteen or seventeen years he had been accustomed to spend his holidays regularly in those regions, and knew every creek between Cape Wrath and the Firth of Clyde, and he spoke in such terms of the gentleness and the amenableness to law, and the God-fearing character of the people inhabiting those districts, that he could not but think that the Home Secretary, from his knowledge of the people, must have felt a peculiarly strong reluctance to send the military among them, for if they had been sent he supposed the Home Secretary also knew enough of their nature to make him doubt very seriously what the consequences might have been. (Applause.) On the fact of his having resisted that pressure becoming known to the County Commissioners, they thought it was their duty to appoint, for a county having only 44 policemen, 50 additional men at a cost to the county of over £3000 a-year to enforce the law of the country against these people from among seven counties of whom they were not able to find one criminal case to be tried at two consecutive Circuits. (Applause.) He considered that was a state of things that the Free Church was entitled to consider. The agitation among the people was certainly so hurtful to their spiritual interests, and the cause of it might be so injurious to their social interests, that the Church must have some feeling in regard to the matter. He might say, further, as showing them the state of

things in the country, that some of the people there, as was well known, were charged with the violations of an interdict. They offered themselves to be tried upon that charge, they were found guilty, and were imprisoned, as was well known. He visited those men in prison—(Applause)—and he found that they were not ashamed of their position, although they regretted it, because they believed firmly—they might have been wrong, but he was stating what they believed—that they were suffering in the interests of righteousness and for the good of their country. (Applause.) When their term of imprisonment expired they were received, both in Edinburgh and in their own country, in a way that showed that their friends were proud of them rather than ashamed. (Hear, hear.) Such a state of things the Assembly was surely called upon to notice as seriously concerning the social and spiritual interests of a large section of the population that looked to the Free Church as their spiritual guides. The people of those regions expected the Church to have some regard to the present state of things among them. (Applause.) In one of the visits which he paid to these men in prison he happened to be accompanied by a minister from the north country, and in speaking to the men about their position they said to him that they thought the ministers ought in some respects to be the leaders of the people more than they were. The minister replied, "It is our duty to teach you to exercise Christian patience in the midst of trials and difficulties." Well, he should not forget the answer of one of the men. It was, "We look upon you ministers as preachers of righteousness in God's name to men, and we consider that when you see wrong or see oppression you should lift up your voice against it in God's name, whoever may be the authors of it—(Applause)—and we think that, while you have been telling us that we ought to be patient and submissive, you have not lifted up your voice in regard to some of the things that we are suffering from as much as we consider you ought to do." Then they had not only their own people looking to them to take an interest in those matters, and to guide them in connection with them, but he supposed they would have learned very lately by the public prints that those who were not their people held the Free Church very largely responsible for the state of things existing in the Highlands. (Applause.) Some time ago, when these troubles began, he believed that part of the metropolitan press told the public, "Here is the result of forty years' teaching by the Free Church." They found still more recently the public—the Royal Commissioners—informed that, as regards Skye, the Free Church was the curse of it, and that they were the Fenians of the country. But then he had been greatly interested to find that when the names of the leaders of the agitation were mentioned, not one of those leaders, so far as he was aware, was in any way connected with the Free Church, but all of them connected with other Churches, for which they were in no way responsible. (Loud applause.) A righteous settlement in some way or other of the questions that were at present agitating the country would tend greatly to promote the social and the spiritual interests of the people, and on that account the matter concerned them as a Church. (Hear, hear.) He was very anxious to emphasise this that personally he was not prepared to pronounce an opinion as yet upon the state of things in the Highlands generally, and he was not prepared to indicate any remedies for the evils that were said to exist, whether they existed or not. What he had desired personally, and what he thought the Church should desire, and what he thought the public should desire, was that they should get full and impartial evidence of the real state of the country, the real condition of the people there, in order that they might be in circumstances to form a deliberate and wise judgment upon the existing state of things and as to the way of remedying the evils, if it was found evils

existed. The object of his motion was to indicate the desirableness of such evidence. He wanted that to be particularly emphasised, and he considered that it was of the greatest consequence for the country that they should have the evidence not on one side, but on every side. He himself rejoiced to have the evidence of lairds, factors, bankers, and gentlemen farmers just as much as the evidence of crofters. He wanted to have the evidence all round, in order that they might know what the actual condition of the country was, and then they would be in circumstances to judge how the evils were to be remedied, if evils existed; or in circumstances to tell the people that the evils they complained of were imaginary, and that they must just bear with things as they were. It was of as much importance to them to have the evidence of Mr Cameron as to have the evidence of John Macpherson; and it was also of great consequence to have the evidence of such a proprietor as Mr Macdonald of Skaebost. The Chairman of the Royal Commission was well acquainted with India; Mr Macdonald, who was said to be very much of a model proprietor, had also had experience of India, and when asked by Lord Napier if the ryot in India or the ryot in Skye had the greater share of the benefits and comforts of life, Mr Macdonald answered, "There is not much difference, but if there is any it is in favour of the ryot of India, for he has the greater security of tenure." (Applause.) Why did he request the Assembly to make the recommendation in the motion? He believed he was right in stating that the Commissioners were not authorised to site witnesses, and that they were authorised only to receive the evidence of those who were in circumstances to give information. Now, ministers very naturally, and he thought rightly, shrank from coming forward in connection with such matters at all. He thought that this feeling of theirs was highly commendable in ordinary circumstances, but he considered that the present case was very exceptional, because he believed that a great deal of the settlement of the entire questions affecting land in this country might depend upon the evidence laid before that Commission. He did not think that the results of that evidence would be confined to the Highlands alone. It might extend very much further, and therefore the case was very exceptional and very much of a crisis in the history of the country. He thought ministers incurred a serious responsibility if, from feelings of personal delicacy they in such circumstances refrain from doing what they could to help the righteous settlement of the questions by which the people were so much agitated, for he said that their spiritual interests were seriously damaged by these agitations while they continued. Now ministers in the Highlands, formerly at least, used to be men of considerable understanding, and surely as educated men, they were in circumstances more than almost any others to know what the condition of the people was, and they were in circumstances, perhaps, beyond most to form a calm and righteous judgment as to what the best remedies might be, if they considered evils to exist. The testimony of such witnesses would be very valuable if they saw themselves at liberty, when called upon, to give it; but they naturally shrank from it, and he thought the Assembly might, with propriety, make the recommendation mentioned. For his own part he did not care whether they instructed or authorised the Committee on the Highlands to watch over the present inquiry, but he thought from the position of that Committee that the matter ought to have their special interest, and he thought also, if occasion should arise for taking any action in connection with it before next Assembly, they should have authority for taking such action. (Loud applause.)

Dr Begg seconded the motion, and said that he did so with very great satisfaction. He had always held that Christian ministers were fully entitled, and in fact bound, to promote the social interests of the people as certainly, though not so pro-

minently, as their spiritual interests, and he believed that that was a universal view of the older ministers of Scotland, beginning with Knox, with Henderson, with Carstairs, and later with Chalmers and with Dr Mackgill. Those two men under whom he studied were as distinguished by their philanthropic efforts for the people of Scotland as in any other respect, and he held that the statement in Scripture that they were to do good to all men as they had an opportunity was not limited, as it had been in recent years, to spiritual good, but referred to good of every kind, following the example of Him who went about continually doing good, but who did not confine his good to the spiritual interests of the people, but took part also in the most prominent degree in promoting their temporal interests. Why, what said their Shorter Catechism? It said "What was required in the eighth commandment?" and the answer was that it required the lawful procuring and furthering the wealth and outward estate of ourselves and others. (Applause.) That was the interpretation of the Divine law taught to all the youth of our land, and surely they should be prompt in exemplifying it. He remembered an incident that occurred in his own case—for he at one time devoted a good deal of attention to questions of this kind. He remembered an old man saying to him—"You're quite richt, sir; the Apostle Paul was no sailor, but he gave the sailors an advice that they did not take, and then he said, 'Sirs, ye should have hearkened unto me, and not have come by this harm and loss.'" (Laughter.) Taking that view, he exceedingly rejoiced at the Commission which was now sitting. He thought it was of vast importance that it should sit. He was delighted that it met in public—which was a new thing in Scotland—by which the public were greatly educated on the question at stake; and he was certain that as the Free Church—since imputations had been made against them in connection with the Highlands—they were specially bound not only to repel these imputations, but to do what they could to secure an exhibition and performance of justice in the Highlands. He thought they had now great reason to be thankful for the composition of that Commission. No doubt one supposed at first that there being no direct representative of the crofter class it might have turned out an unsatisfactory Commission; but he thought it had turned out an extremely satisfactory Commission; and in particular he thought Lord Napier deserved their thanks for the way in which he had managed that important matter. (Applause.) He thought the people of the Highlands had shown that they were at least up with all other people in shrewdness and sharpness. (Hear, hear.) He was delighted with their answers, and he thought they had shown they were quite equal to any other class of the population in stating the truth that concerned themselves. He was not so scrupulous as Mr Macphail. (Laughter.) He thought they needed a thorough reform of the Land Laws of this country—(Applause)—the thorough abolition of entail and primogeniture and everything that stood in the way of the diffusion of wealth and the general comfort of the people. That was his own idea, and he hoped the result of the Commission would be to bring out some views of that kind. No doubt there was an idea that these people should be sent away to other countries—banished. ("No, No.") That was the idea entertained on the subject most undoubtedly. (Hear, hear.) He had been in most of the colonies. He admitted that in many of them the people had advantages which were denied them in their own country; and if they were willing to go, let them go by all means, and let us help them to go. But on the other hand, the idea of driving them away without their own consent seemed to him opposed to reason and sound judgment. They no doubt had great trials and difficulties. Some one had spoken of experience of India. From the few days he was in India he quite concurred in that. But he was in other places at other times. He saw the Indians in the back-

woods of America, and he saw the slaves in America before they were emancipated; and, apart from the right to sell them, he did not know but that the slaves whom he saw were more comfortable than some of the Highlanders whose case had been brought before them and before the Commission. The idea of people living on shellfish, and not being allowed to get the shellfish—(Shame)—of people buying seaware and paying for it, and that being attempted to be stopped. Why, out of Turkey nothing so utterly inconsistent with reason and propriety could be found. The Highlanders had a very hard case indeed, and he thought their ministers and them, as having an important connection with them, ought, according to the motion of Mr Macphail, if they could, to see that justice and righteousness prevailed in connection with that Commission; and he had no doubt the Highland Committee would bring all their intelligence and power, and, now that they had the matter fairly tabled before the the country, they would not cease till justice was done to such a very interesting and important class of men. (Applause.)

Rev. Mr Sutherland, Strathbraan, said he felt thoroughly exhilerated by the powerful speech of Dr Begg. He was delighted Dr Begg had the courage to tell the world what the real feeling of their hearts was on this great question. (Applause.) There were certain good people at the present day who said that when ministers came to deal with business or political things they were a lot of old wives—(Laughter)—and therefore he was glad Dr Begg had spoken as he did. As to the Highlanders, he held that the moment they were made comfortable, that was the moment they would be more ready to emigrate. But he thought, as Dr Begg said, that they should not be sent away. What could be done without them? (Hear, hear.) Dr Begg would not have been the Dr Begg that he was without them—(Laughter)—and long might he live to lead them whether or not they were able to follow him to the field. (Applause.) The Commission was bringing out clearly matters which were very like things that were going on by the Bosphorus. Men in the South looked on the Highlanders as getting charity. But if the Highlander had had his own he would not have needed charity; it was because he was robbed of his right that he required it. He was struck by a statement recently that bankrupt farmers in Midlothian had had deficiencies to the extent of £30,000. He should like to know how far that sum would have gone in the West Highlands. The Highlander was an honest man, and took his charity; but others took the money whether they got it honestly or not. (Laughter.) He would suggest an inquiry as to the morals and manners of the lairds in the Highlands; and in this connection he said that while Lord Napier was never under the necessity of calling to order the peasants that stood before him, he had three times to call to order the Highland aristocracy. He was proud of that, and he was glad it would go forth to the world. (Applause.) They were twitted with wishing to keep the people in their present position. If they wanted to clear away the Highlanders, kill them right off; at present they were gathered together in places not worthy of a southern sheep farm. If the places had been worth looking at, the people of Glendale would not have been there that day. (Hear, hear.) The question was one that concerned the nation. If the crofter was to be sent out of this country let it not be by Dr Martin, though it cost him £500, nor by any proprietor, but let the nation step in and say it was to be done. Anyhow, a change must take place in regard to the crofter, and that change would do good to the Church. The Highlands had hitherto provided the Church with its best ministers. In Edinburgh, for instance, there were the Macleods, the Macduffs, the Lees, and the Macgregors,. (Applause.) That stock had been improved no doubt by its connection with material of a harder kind in the

south. (Laughter.) Mr Sutherland then referred to "The Highland Clearances," by Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Inverness, which, he said, should be read by everybody. It would do them more good than theological books, which they might pore over, because it would open their eyes. It would show them the results of the courage of ministers in the beginning of the present century, which they did not get from John Knox. (Laughter.) But one minister spoke out. He said—"The Duchess-Countess is in heaven—if the oppressor of the poor goes to heaven"—(Applause) —and the Macdonalds, the Macleods, and the Macraes had preached the Gospel truth in the same spirit as Dr Begg. But for the bravery with which they spoke up against the oppressor, and in favour of the poor, Cameron, Glenbrittle, would not have had reason to find fault with the Free Church as he did. (Applause.) The Free Church would have been so weak in the Highlands that it would not have been worth the notice of Glenbrittle. If they were to be worthy successors to these great men in the Highlands they would not need to be silent, and he thought they should go, not only as far as Mr Macphail proposed, but as far as Dr Begg asked them to go, and perhaps a step further.

Rev. Mr Ross, Rothesay, warmly supported the motion.

Rev. Mr Grant, Tain, said he had told ladies in Dublin that he had seen hundreds of Highlanders more oppressed than the Irish. As to the Highland landlords, he said that though some of them were oppressive there were Highland proprietors who were the most humane and considerate men in this world. (Applause.)

Professor Blaikie expressed his concurrence in what had been said, after which

Principal Rainy said he should have regretted if this motion had been passed without some expression of interest in, and deep feeling about, this matter. For his own part he must say the condition of things in a large part of the Highlands had for many years lain like a millstone upon his heart. He had had great heaviness and continual sorrow in his heart regarding it. How to create for the future a system by which the ordinary things would open to deserving people—the ordinary rewards and comforts of human life—was a practical question that had gone on for years unsolved, and with no progress in solving; in many cases the tendency had seemed to be in the other direction. He entirely acquiesced in what had been said as to the line taken by Mr Macphail's motion. Of course, they could have no sort of sympathy with any of those who made it their object to lead the people to resistance of the law, or into collision with the law; that must be far from the purpose of that Committee. But he considered that they might exert the influence that they ought to exert on the minds of the people in the direction of what was right in that respect. It was of the very greatest importance that they should enter sympathetically into everything that was intended for the purposes of possible and legitimate examination of evils with the view to see how possibly they might be removed. Government had taken this responsibility; the work was going on, and it was of great importance that the Assembly should satisfy their people's minds and express their own in the way of indicating how earnestly they were looking on and how deep an interest they desired to take, and thought their people should take, in this matter. There was another interest that ought to apply to them and guide their statements and attitude in a question of this kind. They were dealing with a matter on which they might talk, but which was a matter of experience and actual feeling to their people, and it was of great importance that they should not, perhaps for the sake of relieving their own feelings, express themselves in a way that might create false and erroneous expectations in the minds of their people, or inspire them with views as to what was

attainable that might turn out fanciful and lead their hopes in a wrong direction. All the more on that account it was desirable that they should endeavour to promote the throwing of light on the situation ; that they should second the efforts of Government at all events, and let light shine through the whole matter. He accordingly concurred with Dr Begg and others who had spoken to the very interesting character of this inquiry, and the impartiality and good sense and insight with which it appeared to have been conducted so far by Lord Napier and his colleagues. (Applause.) He thought it was of great importance that a motion like the present should be brought forward, for it was not unnatural that men in the position in which many of their ministers and members were, might, perhaps, fail to feel special responsibility upon them to help this inquiry. Or it might be that, misled—as Mr Macphail seemed to indicate they might be—by the feeling that, because they did not want to ask redress from their own private wrongs, therefore, they might abstain from speaking to matters which it was important should be spoken of. That might be a good feeling to regulate men's conduct in religion, but the question now before the Commission was—What was the real situation, and how did the forces of it work? and every man—especially every educated and intelligent man—who, familiar by daily acquantance with the circumstances, ought to endeavour to throw impartial light on it, not by trying to make a case out against factors or lairds, but simply by stating the case as it was. That might be done all the more for this reason—whatever they might have to say of the evils of particular classes of persons, really every one must feel that a great deal was to be traced to the situation which had been created, and in which men found themselves. He thought it was very desirable that every one who felt that, in bringing out facts showing how the matter really worked, things that might involve great hardship and great oppresion, it should be frankly brought out, not as a matter of mere personal reproach of that or the other person who was mixed up with it, as if they tried to fix blame on an individual, but in the way of showing to the country what was the real situation, and raising the question, not about men, but about the system. He did not think it was a very easy question, but he believed it to be a most pressing question. For his part, he had always felt there were faults on all sides. But he wished to say that when they had a system in which the mass of the community were placed virtually under an irresponsible despotism, the men, whether landlords or factors, who were in the position to exercise it were in a difficult position, and he did not wonder they made blunders as human beings. He thought many of them disliked it, and earnestly tried to do their duty ; but he wished to say for himself, and he believed it was true of every member of this Assembly, that if he or they were placed in a position of harassing despotism, though it was the most paternal despotism in the world—they would find the system would soon reveal evils and mischiefs in spite of all they could do. (Applause.) He did not regard this as a problem to be solved off-hand by speakers on a platform ; but it was a question to which the best minds of the country must be applied—not with the desire of dividing class from class, or sacrificing the interests of any class—but it should be gone about with a desire to promote the health, and sweetness, and hopefulness of the life of the nation, including very much the life of the common people. (Applause.)

CLARSACH-AN-DOIRE; GAELIC POEMS AND SONGS—By the well-known and sweet Gaelic poet, Neil Macleod—has just been issued, by Messrs Maclachlan & Stewart, Edinburgh, and A. & W. Mackenzie, Publishers, *Celtic Magazine* Office, Inverness. It is beautifully printed and very neatly bound. Price, 3s. 6d.

THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

VII.

ALLAN CAMERON seems to have had his estates first forfeited about 1596, and ever after he is in constant trouble with his own neighbours and with the Crown. In the summer of 1605 he is summoned, with many others of the Western Chiefs, to appear personally at Lochkilkerran (now Campbellton) to meet Lord Scone, Comptroller of the Kingdom, on the 20th of July, and to give security for the regular payment of His Majesty's rents and duties, and to bring with him and exhibit the title-deeds to all lands claimed by him. It was intimated that if any of the Chiefs should fail to obey the proclamation, their title-deeds were at once to be declared null and void, and power was given to the Comptroller to pursue them with fire and sword as rebels to the King. That this might not be considered merely as an empty threat, the fighting men of the western shires and burghs were summoned to attend at Lochkilkerran, well armed, and with forty days provisions, to support the authority of the Comptroller. Robert Hepburn, Lieutenant of the King's Guard, was sent to the Isles to receive from their respective owners the Castles of Dunyveg, in Isla, and Dowart, in Mull; and in order to prevent the escape of the islanders, the inhabitants of Kintyre and the West Isles were ordered, by proclamation, to deliver all their boats to this officer, being at the same time prohibited from using boats without his special licence.* Five years later we find him among six of the principal Highland Chiefs who assembled in Edinburgh on the 28th of June 1610, to hear his Majesty's pleasure declared to them. Gregory informs us that Maclean of Dowart, Macdonald of Sleat, Macdonald of Dunyveg, Macleod of Harris, the Captain of Clanranald, and Mackinnon of Strathordell, were those who then presented themselves before the Council; and to them "was joined Cameron of Lochiel, or (as he is styled in the record) Allan Cameron MacIanduy of

* Gregory's *Western Highlands and Islands*, pp. 306-7.

Lochaber." The first step taken by the Government was to compel them to give sureties to a large amount for their re-appearance before the Council in May 1611. The next was to compel them to give their solemn promise that they should concur with and assist the King's Lieutenants, Justices, and Commissioners, in all matters connected with their several districts; that they should all live together afterwards in peace, love, and amity; and that they should agree to settle any questions of dispute arising between them according to the ordinary course of law and justice in the land. At the same time and place a particular feud between the Captain of Clanranald and Lochiel was arranged, by these chiefs "heartily embracing one another, and chopping hands together," in the presence of the Council, and promising to submit their disputes to the decision of the law.*

Shortly after this Allan found himself face to face with a new and altogether unexpected complication with the Earl of Argyll, who, examining his charter chest, about the year 1608, accidentally discovered the title-deeds, which, in the reign of James V., Colin, third Earl of Argyll, had acquired to the lands of Lochiel. The successors of the third Earl had hitherto allowed this claim to lie dormant; it had, in fact, been forgotten. The seventh Earl of Argyll, eager to extend the influence of his family, especially at the expense of his rival, the Marquis of Huntly—to whose party the Camerons were attached—proceeded to avail himself of his recently discovered claim to the superiority of the lands of Lochiel. Having, to obviate any difficulties that might arise, procured from Hector Maclean of Lochbuy, for a small sum, a surrender of any title which that Chief might have to the lands, Argyll easily succeeded in obtaining a new charter from the King in his own favour.† He then instituted the usual legal process for removing Allan Cameron of Lochiel and his clan from that part of their possessions, much to the astonishment of Allan, who never knew that there was any defect in the title-deeds by which he and his immediate predecessors held their lands. Hastening to Edinburgh to take advice, Lochiel there met the Earl of Argyll, who prevailed on him

* *Western Highlands and Islands*, pp. 339-40.
† Reg. of Privy Seal, lxxvii., fo. 65.

to submit the question to the decision of their law-agents. The result was in favour of the Earl, from whom, by agreement, Lochiel took a charter of the lands, to be held by him as a vassal of Argyll. The Marquis of Huntly, then superior of a great great part of Lochaber, and from whom Lochiel held Mammore and other lands, was highly offended that Argyll should so easily have obtained a footing in that district; and he endeavoured to prevail on Lochiel to violate his agreement with Argyll. To this demand Cameron would not consent; qualifying his refusal, however, by protestations that, although he now held that portion of his estates from the Earl of Argyll, yet that his so doing should not affect his obedience and service to the Marquis of Huntly, but that he should continue as loyal to that nobleman as he and his predecessors had always been in the past. This answer was far from satisfactory to the Marquis, who secretly resolved upon Lochiel's ruin; and, as the easiest way to accomplish it, he sought to renew the dissensions which had, during the minority of Allan, caused so much bloodshed in the clan. The Camerons of Erracht, Kin-Lochiel, and Glen Nevis were easily induced to embrace an offer from the Marquis to become his immediate vassals in the lands which Lochiel had hitherto held from Huntly. Accordingly, the Marquis's eldest son, the Earl of Enzie, proceeding to Lochaber with a body of his vassals, put his adherents among the Camerons in the possession of the lands of which, by the mere will of the Marquis, Lochiel was now deprived. On the departure of Enzie, Lochiel appointed a meeting with his hostile kinsmen, at which he pretended being perfectly well aware that they had been compelled, by force, to enter into the plans of Huntly; and he, therefore, requested them to restore the lands to him, when he doubted not he would be able to satisfy the Marquis. At first, they made a verbal promise to do as he requested; but, when he desired them to subscribe a document to that effect, they declined, and pressed him to go with them to the Marquis, with whom they engaged to reconcile him; after which they were to restore his lands. "Lochiel," says our authority, "like ane auld subtile fox, perceiving their drift, and being as careful to preserve his head as they were to twine (separate) him from it," promised to take the matter into consideration, and parted from his refractory

clansmen on apparently good terms. He then made another journey to Edinburgh to consult his legal advisers as to the best course for him to pursue for the recovery of his lands. While there, he received intelligence that his enemies in the clan had appointed a meeting to consider the best means to take away his life, and thus secure themselves in their new possessions. Upon this he hastened to Lochaber, sending private notice to such of the clan as still adhered to him, to meet him at a certain place, on the day appointed for the meeting of the opposite faction, and within a short distance of the spot selected by the enemy. The chief supporters of Lochiel, on this occasion, seem to have been the Camerons of Callart, Strone, and Letterfinlay. Placing most of his followers in ambush, Lochiel approached the rendezvous of his opponents with six attendants only, and sent to demand a conference with a like number of the enemy. His opponents seeing Lochiel with so small a force, and thinking he had only just arrived in the country, and that he had no time to collect his adherents, thought this a favourable opportunity for getting rid of him, and, accordingly, made towards their chief and his attendants, resolving to kill the whole party. The wary Lochiel retreated, so as to lead his pursuers past the wood where his own men lay in ambush, and then, on a given signal, the foe were attacked in front and rear, and routed, with the loss of twenty of their principal men killed (of whom Alastair Cameron of Glen Nevis was one), and eight taken prisoners. The rest were allowed to escape; and Lochiel then replaced himself in possession of the disputed lands, teaching, as our authority quaintly observes, "ane lessone to the rest of his kin that are alyve, in what forme they shall carrye themselves to their chief hereafter." * On the news of this proceeding reaching the Privy Council, Lochiel and his followers were proclaimed rebels, a price was set upon the heads of the leaders, and a commission of fire and sword was given to the Marquis of Huntly and the Gordons for their pursuit and apprehension. † The clan, or at least that division of it, which had

* Original State Paper in Gen. Reg. House, titled, "James Primrois' Information anent the His and Hielandis, Sept. 1613." (Primrose was then Clerk to the Privy Council.) Record of Privy Council, December 1613; July 1617. Reg. of Privy Seal, lxxxii., fol. 285.

† Record of Privy Council, December 1613; and Denmylne MS., Advocate's Library, ad tempus.

followed Lochiel in the recent quarrel, continued for several years in a state of outlawry. *

The following account of the difficulty with Huntly is thus given in the family manuscript :—Lochiel having, in order to save the rest of his estates in Lochaber, employed the Marquis's eldest son, the Earl of Enzie, in whom he had absolute confidence, to put in for the gift of them from the King's donator, at such prices as could be agreed upon. His Lordship accepted the service, and made the purchases accordingly ; but, as he had only acted in this affair as Lochiel's trustee, it was never doubted that he would resign them in favour of Lochiel's son, John, as soon as this should be demanded.

But the Earl acted upon more interested motives than was supposed, for he resolved either to keep the estates to himself, or, if he did restore them, it would be upon such conditions of dependence and servitude, as he knew perfectly well Lochiel would not consent to ; nor could all the importunities of Allan and his friends prevail upon Lord Enzie to do him justice. These lands were then wholly possessed and occupied by Camerons ; and Lochiel, knowing that no others dare inhabit them without his consent, resolved to keep possession of the lands, believing, in the circumstances, that it would be no easy matter to dispossess him.

Thus were affairs situated when Clanranald was commissioned to negotiate for him at Court ; and his Majesty was so bent upon the extirpation of the Macgregors, that, in order to engage him in that service, he not only, as already stated, consented to all his demands, but also compelled Huntly to restore the lands which he had recently taken from Lochiel. Lochiel disliked the service required of him, but he thought it no crime to defend his own, and the better to enable him to do so, he secured the assistance of several of his neighbours, particularly that of Glengarry, to whom he gave one of his daughters in marriage, giving, as her portion, the lands of Knoidart, reserving an annuity and the superiority to himself ; also the lands of Laggan and Achadrome, Invergarry, and Balnane, of which last Glengarry had formerly procured a gift from Sir Alexander Hay. Huntly was fully aware of the extreme difficulty of securing

* *Western Highlands and Isles*, pp. 342-346.

possession of the lands in question by force, and he made no attempt in that direction. He, however, adopted what he thought more effectual means, by bribing several of Lochiel's nearest relations, the sons of the late Tutors, and others of that faction, whom, by underhand negotiations, he carried over so entirely to his own interest, that they accepted leases of these lands from him, and engaged themselves not only to make good their possessions, but also to renounce any dependence upon Lochiel as their chief; and so absolutely to become Huntly's creatures as to agree to fight for him to the last drop of their blood against all comers.

When Lochiel discovered this treasonable plot, which had all along been arranged with the greatest secrecy, he was naturally much surprised and concerned as to what was best to be done in the circumstances. If the plot was allowed to mature, he saw that his own ruin was complete, for, as his rebellious relatives had already gained over many members of the clan to their side, he knew that they would day by day increase in strength and numbers, and that his authority and reputation would be lost, and his family reduced to extremities. The conspirators, besides, to cover their crimes, added new guilt to their perfidy by patching up a title, and giving out that the head of their faction was the true heirs of Ewen MacAllan, and that, consequently, he had a just claim to the estate and the Chiefship of the clan. "What kind of logic they made use of to set aside the posterity of the elder brother I know not," says our authority, "but it is certain that they had a powerful faction in the clan, which abetted their interest at first; but the greatest part of them, being made sensible of their error, were easily reclaimed, and not only returned to the obedience of the Chief, but assisted him in destroying their leaders, who continued obstinate to the last; for he commanded sixteen of them to be put to the sword, and by that terrible and exemplary punishment pulled up a faction by the root, that began at his very birth and continued till that time. The news of this slaughter, which must be allowed to have been more necessary than justifiable, soon reaching the Marquis and his son, the Earl of Enzie, they resolved not to put up with the affront, and threatened to have him and his clan treated in the very same manner with their friends the Macgregors. They made hideous representation of matters at Court, and, having

obtained a new sentence of outlawry and proscription against them, they applied to all the chiefs in the North for their assistance in executing it. However, they were all heard, and even Mackintosh, who thought, with the rest, that Lochiel had done nothing wrong, was so generous as to refuse his concurrence, alleging in excuse that by his treaty with Lochiel he could not attack him without incurring the penalty, which, as he then pretended, was the loss of the lands in dispute, That gentleman having by this drawn the Marquis's indignation upon him, was some time thereafter, by his interest, arrested and confined to the Castle of Edinburgh upon this pretext, that he had not found surety for the peaceable behaviour of his clan, as he was by law obliged. But this friendship between him and Lochiel did not long subsist, for having marched into Lochaber in 1616 at the head of his clan, in order, as he gave out, to hold courts as heritable steward of that lordship, Lochiel, upon his approach, guarded all the fords of Lochiel, and opposed his crossing the river. This Mackintosh interpreted as a breach of the forementioned treaty, which expired that year; and applied to the Lords of the Privy Council, who, by their decree, found that Lochiel was liable in the mulct or penalty, and not only decreed and ordained him to remove, but also granted letters of intercommuning or outlawry against all the inhabitants of the disputed lands. This brought on several invasions from Mackintosh who gained nothing by them, but forced Lochiel, who was unable to grapple with so many enemies, to the cruel necessity of giving ear to some proposals of agreement offered by the Marquis of Huntly and his son, who now began to prefer their interest to their resentment. Several persons of the highest quality acted as mediators between the parties, and bestirred themselves so effectually that they in the end brought them to submit to the following articles :—

1st. That there should be friendship and amity between them, and that Lochiel should renounce all his former rights to the several estates in dispute.

2nd. That the Marquis and his son should, in lieu of his claim, give to his son John a charter of the lands of Mammore, held of themselves and their heirs, for payment of 20 merks Scots yearly of feu-duty, and the service of the men living upon them, as often as it should be required.

3rd. That the said Marquis and his son and their heirs should not dispossess the present tenants of the estates that were by this bargain adjudged to them, but continue

the said tenants in their several possessions for the same rents that they formerly paid to Lochiel. And

4th. To prevent future quarrels, it was stipulated that all differences that should thereafter happen to arise between the parties contracting should be referred to the decision of Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, Lord Chancellor; John, Earl of Perth; Thomas, Lord Binny; and several others named in the indenture, who were the persons that acted as mediators; and, in default of them, to the sentence and decree of the Lords of Justiciary.

In terms of this treaty a charter was granted to John, Lochiel's son, by George, Earl of Enzie, with consent of his father, bearing date, 24th of March 1618. By another article it was agreed that the Marquis and his son should grant separate charters to the Camerons of Letterfinlay, Glen-Nevis, Balanit, and others of Lochiel's friends and dependent septs, and of the several lands they had hitherto possessed as his tenants and vassals, and thus Allan was obliged to give up nearly two-thirds of his estate lying to the east and south of the Loch and River of Lochy. "Such was the reward he received for all the blood, trouble, and lands which he lost" in the service of the Marquis of Huntly, who, however, now engaged to assist him against his old enemy, Mackintosh—an engagement which his Lordship performed to the utmost of his power, for personally he hated Mackintosh, and was only too glad to do everything in his power to vex and trouble him.

Mackintosh finding it impossible to carry out his purpose against Lochiel, now supported by Huntly, resolved upon the expedient of misrepresenting and undermining him at Court, whither he proceeded. He found the King inclined to favour him, from the part he took in prosecuting the unfortunate Macgregors. These services he magnified to the utmost, while he described Lochiel as a person "who contemned the royal authority, and who scorned to live by any other laws than his own . . . a common robber, destitute of all humanity; and filled the King's ears with such horrid notions of his barbarity and cruelty," that he obtained from his Majesty a letter to the Privy Council, at the same time conferring upon himself the honour of knighthood, "which show," says our author, "how easy it is for designing people to ruin the most innocent at the Courts of Princes, when there are none to vindicate them." The following is the letter:—

James R——Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cousins and Councillors, and Right Trusty Councillors, we greet you well,—Whereas, Allan MacCoilduy, in contempt of us and our government, standeth out in his rebellion, oppressing his neighbours, and behaving himself as if there were neither King nor law in that our kingdom: it is our pleasure that ye ratify what Acts ye have heretofore made against him; and further that ye expede a commission in due form to Sir Lachlan Mackintosh, the Lord Kintail, the Laird of Grant, and such others as the said Sir Lachlan may nominate, to prosecute the said Allan with fire and sword, till they apprehend him, or at least make him answerable to our laws; and that ye direct strict charges to all these of the Clan Chattan, wheresoever inhabiting, to follow the said Sir Lachlan in that service; also that ye charge the Marquis of Huntly and the Lord Gordon, as Sheriffs of Inverness, to be aiding and assisting to our said Commissioners; Moreover, that charges be directed to the friends of the Earl of Argyll, and all others next adjacent to the said Allan, in noways to assist him, with certification that whosoever shall aid, assist, relieve, or intercomune with him, shall be accounted partakers of his rebellion, and be punished accordingly, with rigour: And the premises commending to your special care, as ye will do us acceptable service, we bid you farewell. Given at our Palace of Whitehall, the 6th day of May 1622.

Sir Lachlan obtained his commission, in terms of this letter, addressed to himself and twenty-two other chiefs and gentlemen in the Highlands, but it was, for various reasons, never enforced.

Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, with whom, in the meantime, he settled an old dispute regarding his Lochalsh lands, declined to accept the commission against Lochiel. The Laird of Grant, though he was a son-in-law of Mackintosh, even rendered Allan important services at this time, instead of acting against him in terms of the commission. Lord Lovat, another of those to whom it was addressed, was an old and hereditary friend of the family; while the Marquis of Huntly and his son, the Earl of Enzie, were, at the time, on bad terms with Mackintosh. The others named in the commission were equally unwilling to help Mackintosh on this occasion, with the result that he was "at last obliged once more to try his fortune at the head of his own clan." Lochiel was prepared to receive him, and his men were very keen "to measure the justice of their cause by the length of their swords; but he himself being unwilling to oppose the Royal commission, a treaty was artfully set on foot, and the parties agreed to submit all their differences to the Earl of Argyll, the Laird of Grant, and some other arbitrators. Lochiel, by this, designed no more but to get rid of his present difficulties; and, though there was a decree pronounced, adjudging the estate to Mackintosh, who, in lieu thereof, was thereby ordained to pay Lochiel certain sums of

money, yet he cunningly shifted the ratification, and continued in possession till his title became legal once more;" and the matter was left pretty much in this position until the rights of the family were finally secured by his famous grandson, Sir Ewen Dubh, of Killiecrankie renown.

The family historian concludes his sketch of this chief in the following terms:—"In all his troubles, he was vigorously supported by the Earls of Argyll and Perth, and the Lord Madderty, who espoused his interest with a zeal that seemed to be inspired with the truest affection and friendship. The Marquis of Huntly and the Earl of Enzie, his son, likeways showed him great favour after the reconcilement I have mentioned, nor were the Lairds of Glengarry and Clanranald, his sons-in-law, the Lairds of Grant, and others of his neighbours, less active in promoting his interest. Many of the letters that passed between him and these noble persons are still extant.* They were collected by his grandson; and as they generally relate to the passages I have pointed out, so the most important transactions of his life may be collected from them, and some other writs that are still to be found in the family. By this it appears that the Lord Madderty, brother to the Earl of Perth, was surety for him in all his transactions in the Low Country, and that he had the custody of his charters and such other papers as it was thought could not be safely kept at home, in these troublesome times. He had the good fortune to be reconciled with his Majesty before his death. This favour he owed chiefly to the friendship of the Earls of Argyll and Perth, who represented matters in such a light, that the King gave him a full remission for all the illegal and irregular steps of his life, which are therein recited. It is dated the 28th June, 1624, which was the last year of that King's life. His Majesty was likewise pleased to write to his Council to receive him and his clan as his most loyal and dutiful subjects; and because he would be obliged, in obedience to the laws, to go in person to Edinburgh, in order to find surety for his clan, the King further commands them to issue forth Letters of Protection, discharging the Lords of Session and Justiciary, and all other judges to sustain process against him and his said clan for years, for any cause, civil or criminal, preceding that date. The only person that now gave

* This is supposed to have been about 1733. Where are they now?

him trouble was the Laird of Mackintosh ; but he (Lochiel) had too much cunning and mettle for him." The recital of the adventures that befel him in his frequent journeys to Drummond Castle, the principal seat of the family of Perth, his address and cunning in eluding the stratagems made use of by Mackintosh to secure his person, while he was an outlaw, would be entertaining to the reader, but unfortunately our authority's "intended brevity" did not admit of his recording them. Allan outlived the battle of Inverlochy, fought in 1645, and sent 300 of his name to join Montrose, though he was himself so old and infirm as to be able to do nothing more than look on as a mere observer; but he is alleged by some authorities to have sent the messenger who induced Montrose to return to Lochaber and fight the battle of Inverlochy, where he gained such a glorious victory over the Earl of Argyll, who then had Allan's grandson, Ewen, the young heir of Lochiel, under his charge.

Allan married a daughter of Stewart of Appin, described as "a handsome young lady," who "so absolutely gained upon his affections by an excess of beauty, wit, and good nature, that he continued fond of her while she lived." By this lady he had issue—

1. John, who appears repeatedly on record during the life of his father. He is described as "a gentleman of exquisite judgment, who had a genius happily turned for the management of civil affairs." He married, in October 1626, Lady Margaret (or, according to Douglas, Mary), daughter of Robert Campbell of Glenfalloch, afterwards of Glenorchy, and progenitor of the Earls of Breadalbane, with issue—(1) Ewen, afterwards the famous Sir Ewen Dubh, born August 1629, who succeeded Allan as XVI. chief, and of whom presently ; (2) Allan, who married in August 1666, Jean Macgregor, sister of James Macgregor of Macgregor. Allan was a gentleman of great courage and excellent parts, but he died in early life.

2. Donald, progenitor of the Camerons of Glendesseray, and Tutor to his celebrated nephew, Sir Ewen, in which capacity he "acquitted himself with singular probity and honour."

3. Jean, who married "Alastair Dearg," eldest son of Donald Macdonald, VIII. of Glengarry, who died before his father, but whose son, Eneas, by Jean Cameron, succeeded as IX. of Glen-

garry, and was subsequently, in 1660, created a Peer of Scotland, as Lord Macdonald and Arros. *

According to the author of the "Memoirs," others were married respectively to Clanranald, the Laird of Appin, Maclean of Ardgour, Macdonald of Keppoch, and "the rest to other gentlemen of that neighbourhood, whose names did not then occur" to him. He died, far advanced in years, about 1647, when (his eldest son having predeceased him), he was succeeded by his grandson, the famous Sir Ewen Dubh.

(To be continued.)

THE WOODS, FORESTS, AND ESTATES OF PERTHSHIRE.—Mr Thomas Hunter, editor of the *Perthshire Constitutional*, has issued a prospectus for a new work on "The Premier County of Scotland," which, we doubt not, will be as popular as it is valuable even beyond the borders of Perthshire. The work has been appearing week by week in the *Constitutional*, and it has found so much acceptance, not only with local readers, but others in all parts of the country, interested in woods and forests, and estates generally, that the author has been urged to reproduce it in a handier form. From the specimen pages which we have seen, the volume promises to be a very handsome one, liberally illustrated with fine engravings of the more notable places and remarkable trees in Perthshire. The history of the Perthshire woods is largely a history of Forestry in Scotland, and, in addition to this, there is much valuable information about estate management, the history of the county, and sketches of the principal families. The work might thus be fairly entitled, "Perthshire Described and Illustrated." In the prospectus, which every one interested should procure, the scope of the work is very fully detailed. We understand the price is to be very moderate.

THE INVERNESS HIGHLAND LAND LAW REFORM ASSOCIATION.—At a meeting of the Executive of this Association held on Monday evening (28th May), it was moved by Mr George J. Campbell, solicitor, Treasurer to the Association, seconded by Dean of Guild Mackenzie, and unanimously agreed to—

"That the Council learn with great satisfaction the views expressed by the Venerable the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, at its meeting on Saturday last, with reference to the question now under inquiry by the Crofter Royal Commission, and respectfully tender their hearty thanks to the Assembly for the resolution passed thereanent; the Council at the same time express the hope that the best results will follow said resolution in the advancement of the interests of the people of the Highlands, and they instruct the Secretary to communicate it to the Moderator of the Assembly."

"THE ETHICS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY," by Malcolm Mackenzie, Guernsey; and "The Highland Dress," by J. G. Mackay, will be continued in our next.

THE GAELIC SOCIETY ANNUAL ASSEMBLY will be held, as usual, this year on the evening of Thursday, 12th July, being the first night of the Great Inverness Sheep and Wool Fair. The programme will be eminently Highland and attractive as in the past.

* Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, pp., 303-304.

THE LONDON HIGHLAND LAND LAW REFORM ASSOCIATION.

CHARACTERISTIC SPEECH BY PROFESSOR BLACKIE.

On Wednesday, May 30, a meeting of this Association was held in London, at which Mr D. H. Macfarlane, M.P., President of the Association; Mr Dick Peddie, M.P.; Professor Blackie, and others, spoke on the subject of the Highland Crofters and the Royal Commission.

Professor Blackie, who was received with great enthusiasm, moved a resolution regretting the continued enforcement of unjust laws under which Highland landlords had been able to depopulate large tracts of country for sporting and other purposes, and to remove the people capriciously from the more fertile to insufficient patches of barren soil, and urgently calling upon the Government to take steps for their repeal. He said he counted it an honour of the highest kind that he had been called upon to address Scotchmen in England on a subject of such human and social importance. All the LL.D.'s, the D.D.'s, and the D.C.L.'s that could be showered upon him by Europe could not give him the satisfaction that he had in standing up for the poor crofters, in the metropolis—(Applause)—and, if for doing so, he was abused by any Scotch or English newspaper he would glory in it. (Applause.) He never heard of any great doctrine that was preached that was not abused at the beginning by scribes and Pharisees and Doctors of Law—(Laughter)—and the whole mighty world of titled and untitled men. He was not a respectable man—(Hear, hear)—nor a Bohemian—(Renewed laughter)—but simply a citizen and a philosopher; and, being neither a landlord nor a tenant, he had a certain advantage in talking on the subject now before them. He had the advantage of being an impartial spectator. He gave his right hand to the crofter, and his left to the Duke—(Laughter)—not because of disrespect to the Duke, but because he had only two hands, and because, while he loved them both, he loved the crofter most. What he had seen in the Highlands had made him weep, and if in talking on this subject he should burst a blood vessel and die, let him die. But he did not intend to die yet. (Applause.) He resigned the Greek Chair that he might do something better, he hoped; and he was doing something a great deal better here. (Applause.) Let Greek and Hebrew die, let learning die; but let human happiness and human brotherhood live. It was a well known historical fact that the laws of this country were made by the strong for the purpose of making themselves stronger, and no laws were made to protect the poor people against the natural and necessary abuse of these laws. Whatever phrases were used by political economists or politicians, every unjust law was legalised robbery. Call him a Scottish Parnell if they would. He did not care a straw. (Laughter.) He was neither Tory nor Radical, but a student of history, knowing something of the agrarian laws of other times and other countries, and he said this as a philosopher, which every Scotchman was entitled to be. (Laughter.) All power was liable to be abused by the nature of the thing, and unjust laws enabled people to stamp God's laws upon the devil's work. (Laughter.) He willingly admitted that, though laws gave landlords absolute tyrannical power, which might be, and often was, used tyrannically and op-

pressively, yet, such was the goodness of human nature, in spite of the statute-book and the devil, and such the favourable circumstances which sometimes bound the high and the low, these laws were not always abused. On the contrary, the universal report of English people was that the rights of the landlord had been used often very gently and kindly and morally. He believed that the English landholders were better than the Land Laws naturally would make them. But neither Ireland nor the Scottish Highlands could say the same. (Applause.) Both had fallen under the same curse, the curse of absolute power — (Loud applause) —in the hands of the few lords of the soil, used by the few for their own selfish purposes, and the neglect of the rights and happiness of the many. (Applause.) In the Divine constitution of the universe the maxim was the true happiness of the greatest number; in the Highlands the maxim had been the greatest happiness of the few. After adverting to the manner in which the Highlands had been depopulated, using terms similar to those he had so often used before, he said that the professional deer-stalker was the necessary and natural enemy of the population of the hills and glens—(Applause)—and ought to be held up to public reproach and condemned for clearing, for the sake of deer, the country of its best muscle and its best soldiers. To encourage men to appropriate the whole glens was a sinful and abominable practice. There was no doubt that the glens had been cleared of the people, and there was no doubt the people had been huddled into corners, principally by the influence of the factors, to make room for the big farmers. There was only one fault of which the people had been guilty, and that was that they had been too meek and submissive. He had a great respect for his friends the Quakers; but he never could respect the doctrine that one should allow himself to be kicked out of the world. He blamed Highlanders for being a great deal too submissive, especially as experience had taught him that nothing was to be gained in this world but by roaring and making a noise, and whether it were the lion that roared or the ass that brayed it must be done, and therefore he was there that night to roar. (Laughter and applause.) Depend upon it they would be listened to. They had got a man—a "Grand Old Man," as the phrase went—(Loud applause)—at the head of the present Government, of whom he knew something, and of whom he could say that no man had a keener sense of justice than the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. (Loud cheers.) He was perfectly sure that if they stated their case, as the evidence of this Commission would show, if they kept together, and if they roared, and roared, and roared again, they might depend upon it they would gain their cause. He was not a politician, but only a Professor and friend of humanity, a lover of his native country, and a man who knew something of the Highlands, and one who was able to sing their songs, which they (his hearers) perhaps could not do. (Laughter.) He would advise the Highland landlords to follow his example. In conclusion, he said that the heart of a woman was to be won through her children, and the way to a people's heart was through their language, and (he continued) you lairds and lawyers—if you wish to get to the heart of the people—you have wished to get to their pocket—study their language, sing their songs, live with them, and think more of men than of deer. (Applause.)

The resolution was supported by Mr Dick Peddie, the Rev. Dr Kennedy, of Stepney, and unanimously adopted.

Resolutions were also passed regretting that no representative of the crofters had been placed on the Commission, and declaring that no alteration of the Land Laws would give permanent satisfaction which did not give the Highlanders a permanent footing on the soil.

A RUN THROUGH CANADA AND THE STATES.

By Kenneth Macdonald, F.S.A., Scot.

VII.—Ontario—*(Continued.)*

Canadians are fond of comparing themselves with their neighbours in the States when they can do so with advantage; and Ontario has one way of doing this which may mislead the unwary. I was told in Ontario that the Province raised over 17½ bushels of grain per head of her population, while the United States raised only 5½; and that even the great wheat-growing Western States of the Union produced only 10 bushels per head, or 7½ bushels per head less than Ontario. Other figures of the same character were given to me which showed the same result—a large balance in favour of Ontario. A few days later, while travelling to Chicago, I got into conversation with a Chicago grain inspector, and on mentioning these figures to him, he at first seemed inclined to think I had misapprehended what had been said to me, and he asserted that one State in the Union, his own State of Illinois, produced more grain than the whole of Canada put together. I had at the time no means of testing the accuracy of this statement, but, accepting it for the moment, I saw the fallacy into which my friend and myself had been led by the Canadian statistics. We had confused the average production per head of population with total production. Now, it is clear that in a thinly-peopled country a comparatively small total product may give a large average per head, while conversely, in a thickly-peopled country, a large total product may give a comparatively small average per head. Canada, with a population of some four millions, can much more easily produce a certain number of bushels per head of her population than can the United States with a population of fifty millions. But there is another way in which Canada compares herself with the States, which is perfectly fair—that is, in the average production per acre under cultivation, and in this it would appear that Canada can claim to have the best of it. This is a subject, however,

which is made much more of in Manitoba than in Ontario, and we shall have to meet it there.

Education in Ontario is free, the public schools being supported by local rates, supplemented by a contribution from the Provincial Treasury. The schools are managed by Trustees elected by the ratepayers. Secondary education is provided at nominal rates, for those who desire it, in schools which are also public and under local management. From the Secondary School the student can pass to the University, where, again, his education will cost him comparatively little. In the public schools of Ontario, the children of rich and poor meet on terms of equality, a circumstance which, no doubt, tend to obliterate class distinctions among the pupils, and to lessen, even for older people, the interval which birth or fortune may have placed between them.

There are in the province nearly 5000 public schools, besides over 400 grammar or high schools and private academies, and there are in addition 20 colleges and universities. The schoolhouses are frequently the most prominent buildings in the smaller towns and villages of the province, and, indeed, throughout the whole Dominion the education of the young is treated as a matter of the first importance. The education of children is compulsory, and parents who neglect to educate their children are liable to punishment. When a new district comes to be settled, one of the first duties attended to is the erection of a schoolhouse, with ample accommodation for the growth of the township, and so imbued are the people with the necessity and wisdom of attending to the education of their children, that the necessary provision for it is made with alacrity. All the public schools are free—no such thing as school fees being known, and, notwithstanding the great extent of the province, no family can be much beyond two miles from a school. Sectarian differences where they exist are arranged by the erection of separate schools, and there is a considerable number of sectarian, particularly Roman Catholic, schools in the province. In short, the provincial government requires that every child, whatever the religious belief of its parents may be, shall receive a certain amount of education, and the arrangements are such that no child need be, or is allowed to be, without education.

The climate of the province has greater extremes of both

heat and cold than the climate of Great Britain; but although the temperature is higher in summer, and lower in winter, than with us, the dry bracing atmosphere makes it at all times pleasant. As has already been seen, grapes and many of the finer fruits grow freely in the open air in a large part of Ontario; but although this is so, it does not appear that the summer heat is at any time disagreeable. Indeed, my own experience of summer in Ontario is extremely pleasant. The weather was warm, the sky clear, and there was apparently none of that uncertainty about the weather of the day following with which we are so familiar at home. The evenings were cool, and an occasional shower after dark made everything fresh for the following day. It is to the winter, however, that the Canadians look forward as their season for pleasure-making. Cold the winter certainly is, much colder than anything we experience in this country, but after the winter snow falls, it becomes hard and crisp, and usually lies on the ground until the end of winter without any appearance of thaw. During that time sleigh-riding is indulged in by people of all classes, friends are visited, and country trips taken, much in the same way as these things are done by us at home in the summer time. On all hands the winter of Ontario is declared to be the best and most enjoyable part of the year, and it seems to be entirely free from the damp and foggy atmosphere which we associate with that period of the year. A recent writer on this subject says, "the snow of Canada is a source of both pleasure and profit. Young and old, especially the former, hail with delight the first approach of the winter snow. There is more real merriment in Canada in winter than in summer, although in both seasons Canadians are a very happy people. The winter sports, such as toboganning, snow-shoeing, skating, sleigh-riding with a tandem team, a spanking span, or a four-in-hand is something to be experienced, not adequately described. Wrapped in warm robes, with agreeable companions dashing away up hill and down, across frozen rivers and lovely lakes, or over the plain, or through evergreen groves, or along the hill sides—but you must come and see and know for yourself. I have said that the snow is a source of profit as well as pleasure. It is a fertilizer to the land, while the frost which accompanies it also affects the land beneficially. Without the snow the large timber trade, which is such a

source of wealth to Canada, would be almost entirely at a stand-still. The lumber which might find its way to market without the aid of snow to move the logs and heavier pieces of timber, would do so at a much greater cost to the producer, and also, therefore, to the consumer. Viewed from all points, therefore, the winters of Canada, with their frost and snow, are a help rather than a hindrance to the health, happiness, and prosperity of the inhabitants."

NIAGARA.

After spending a day or two in Toronto, I found myself at seven o'clock on a certain Monday morning on board the Palace steamer "Chicora," bound for the mouth of the River Niagara. A sail of three hours across the end of Lake Ontario brings the traveller to Niagara, from whence he gets by rail to Niagara Falls. On this particular morning the sail was delightful. As the steamer clove her way through the clear blue waters of what, especially when the land was lost sight of, one could hardly believe to be a fresh water lake, the spirit of the scene seemed to raise the spirits of every one among the 200 passengers on board. By-and-bye a band, which, for speculative purposes, accompanied the ship, came upon the quarter-deck, and chairs and camp stools having been cleared out of the way, dancing commenced, and continued until the Niagara was reached. Meantime I made a tour through the ship. The traveller on the Atlantic may or may not have the dangers of travelling by sea forced in upon him by finding out that one of his pillows is convertible into a life-belt. The arrangement of cork is so unobtrusively stowed away below the down on which he lays his head at night that unless he is of an inquiring disposition he may never find out its secondary use. Not so, however, on the American Lake steamer. There the traveller can hardly fail to have his curiosity aroused by the tiers of what seem to be canvas-covered pocket-books which meet him in all parts of the vessel. These, on enquiry, he will find to be life-belts placed in such positions as to be accessible to every passenger on any sudden emergency. There certainly seemed to be a sufficient supply of them on board the good ship "Chicora," but fortunately we had no occasion to make use of them. About ten o'clock we landed at the mouth of the Niagara River, and in the course of a few minutes we were on board the train for

Niagara Falls, a distance of about fourteen miles by rail. In half-an-hour I was walking from the railway station down towards the river, running the gauntlet of half-a-hundred hack-drivers, each offering to carry me all round the place on exceedingly reasonable terms. But Niagara hackmen have passed into a proverb, and I had resolved to dispense with their assistance. This was not so easy, however, at first, but a happy thought induced me to use the little Gaelic I had in reply, and I was soon left alone. The puzzled look on the faces of these much-abused fellow-Christians was ample reward for the risk I ran in using a language I did not understand. My wish was to have my first view of Niagara by myself, and to approach it in my own way. The surroundings of Niagara are somewhat disappointing. In the very midst of some of the most magnificent scenes in nature everybody cheats. Men wearing badges, and claiming to have been appointed by the Canadian Government, lead the way, and naturally hotelkeepers, dealers in curiosities, guides, touts, hackmen, down even to the dealer who disposes of his wares on the footway or under the shade of a tree, do not think it out of place to follow the example set them from such a quarter. Every little place which a stranger might be supposed to have any curiosity to see is enclosed, where nature has not made enclosure impracticable. Every enclosure has a gate, at which the stranger is met with a demand for 25 or 50 cents, and in some cases a dollar, for admittance. But as if this was not enough, he is not unusually asked, and always expected, to tip the attendant when leaving. The Falls are not yet enclosed, but only the expense prevents it being done. The visitor, therefore, may see the Falls without paying anybody. In fact, when he comes away, he realises that most of what he has seen worth seeing, has been, or can be, seen for nothing, while most of what he has paid for seeing was not worth seeing.

The first view of the Falls does not usually convey a true impression of their magnitude. Their great width dwarfs their height for a time until the beholder becomes accustomed to the scene. Besides, the visitor sometimes expects too much to begin with. He has probably read, as I had done, descriptions which begin by stating that the Falls are indescribable, that there is too much sublimity and grandeur for mortal to comprehend or ex-

plain; of the great height of the precipice over which the waters descend, of the unknown depth of the basin into which they fall, and of their "frightful roaring," which, according to one old chronicler, "may be heard for more than fifteen leagues." Much of this is true, but its tendency is to lead every ordinary visitor to Niagara to expect on the instant to be impressed in a manner he is himself incapable of. Thus, his first look at Niagara is a disappointment. But this is not the fault of Niagara. The grandeur and sublimity are there, but the man is not. He has not yet been educated up to receiving the impressions which the scene is calculated to give, and, but for the fact that, while he looks, the scene grows upon him, he is as if he were not there. But no man can see Niagara long without feeling that he is beholding a power beside which he is as nothing, that he is looking upon nature in her mightiest, and in the performance of one of her most stupendous works. K. M'D.

(To be continued.)

REMARKS BY CAPTAIN MACLEOD, AS FAR AS HE HAS BEEN INFORMED BY THE LATE JOHN MACCRIMMON, PIPER, DUNVEGAN, ISLE OF SKYE.

MR LACHLAN MACDONALD of Skaebost has kindly favoured us with the following notes (found among his papers) by the late Captain Macleod of Gesto, who published the twenty pipe tunes to which the notes refer, as specimens of ancient "Canntaireachd," in a work now exceedingly rare, but of which a copy, presented by the late Rev. Alex. Macgregor, M.A., is preserved in the Library of the Gaelic Society of Inverness. The original spelling is preserved, in the names of the tunes, in the notes:—

1. *Luinagich, alias Auiltich.*—Was played by one of Maccrimmon's predecessors off-hand, at some time when several Highland proprietors were assembled at Dunvegan Castle, and having their pipers attending them.

2. The *Royal Oak*, that saved King Charles.

3. *Coghiegh na Shie* (War or Peace).—Played by pipers of the different clans who held of the Lords of the Isles (before the forfeiture of John, last Lord of the Isles) during their independence of the Crown of Scotland, and also to bring the different clans to battle when the Scots were to cross the Border to England.

4. *Mac Vic Horomoid.*—Gathering and battle-tune played when he gathered his

people to attack invaders of that part of the Isle of Skye which then and still goes under the name of Sheil Toromade, *alias* the descendants of Toromade, being the western part of Skye, consisting of the parishes of Bracadale and Minginish, Duirinish and Waternish, and half of Snizort.

5. *Mac Vic Horomoid.*—Lamentation played at the funerals of each of them; a very old tune, and an old practise.

6. *The Union* of Scotland with England, named in Gaelic *Molluch an Pibren.*—The curse of the Pipers—they being against the Union, as it prevented the war-like excursions of *the Scots* to England.

7. *Kiaunidige.*—Played and so named at a time when the Scots were at war in England, and obliged to feed on the ears of corn for want of other provisions.

8. *Lamentation* for Donald Macleod of Greshornish. Played at his funeral.

9. *Donald Groumach.*—Lament played in consequence of the death of Donald Groumach, who was shot, at the Castle of Elandonan, in Kintail, about the ankle with a barbed arrow, and died from loss of blood before he was brought home to Sleat, in the Isle of Skye.

10. *Lasson, alias* the Flame of *Phadrig Chiegh.*—Played by Patrick Maccrimmon at a time he, with his party, set fire to many houses in Kintail, in consequence of a quarrel between the Mackenzies and the Mackays of Lord Reay.

11. *A Salute* played by Patrick Oig Maccrimmon in compliment to the Marquis of Tulibardine at Dunvegan Castle.

12. *Kiaun na Drochid a Beig.*—Played by Macleod's piper, inviting the Clan Cameron to follow him and his party across the bridge to attack the enemy, which the Camerons did, during a rebellion in Ireland; and, as far as I can understand, it was in King William the Third's time. Macleod of Macleod calls this tune his gathering or battle tune, and the Camerons call it their gathering or battle tune, and from the account given to me of it, they both seem to have an equal right to it, with this difference, that it was played by Macleod's piper at the head of his party, inviting the Camerons to follow and join them.

13. *Lamentation of Mac Vic Allister*, commonly called Allister Dhu of Glengarry; a fine old tune, and played at his funeral.

14. *Caugh Vic Righ Aro, alias* the Son of King Aro.—Who this son of King Aro was I could not understand from John Maccrimmon, further than that he considered the tune was played in consequence of the death of one of the first chiefs of Mackintosh, killed in battle (perhaps the battle of Largs) with King Alexander against Haco, when a brave chief of Mackintosh fell.

15. A very old battle tune, called in Gaelic "*Druim Phoulscon,*" in Waternish, in the Isle of Skye, when the Macleods attacked the Macdonalds, who had come from South Uist to plunder and take a spoil from Waternish. The Macleods made great slaughter of the Macdonalds as they were getting into their boats at Ardmore, and their bones have been frequently found on this spot.

16. *Isabel Nich Kay.*—Composed by a poet in Lord Reay's Country to a dying girl, who was at the time attending her cattle at a shealing.

17. *Lament* for King James the Second.

18. *Lament for the Laird of Ainapole.*—I do not know where Ainapole is, or who this laird was; but the tune is a very fine one, and difficult to play.

19. *Tumilin O Counichen.*—An Irish lively tune.

20. *Kilchrist.*—A tune played by the Macdonalds of Glengarry at the burning of the Church of Kilchrist, in Ross-shire.

MARBHRANN DO'N URRAMACH ALASTAIR MACGHRIOGAIR.

LE MAIRI, NIGHEAN IAIN BHAIN.

NA'M faighinn ciall leis an taghainn briathran,
Gu'n cuirinn sios dhuibh iad ann an dàn,
Mu'n teachdair' fhiachail tha nis air triall uainn,
Gu tìr na dichuimhn' le àithn' a bhàis.
'S ann oidhche Chiadaoinn a bhàrc an t-sian oirnn
Nach tiormaich grian dhuinn rè iomadh là,
'S gu bheil na ciadan 'san Eilean Sgiathach
Tha 'n diugh ga'd iargan, 's ann dhoibh nach nàr.

'S ann dhoibh nach nàrach am basan fhàsgadh,
'S na deòir a thearnadh fo rasg an sùil,
'Sa liuthad cearnaidh 's na sheas thu 'n aite,
Bho'n là a dh'fhag thu iad air do chùl,
Le d' ghniomh 's le 'd chànain, le ciall is gràdh dhoibh,
Nach gabhadh aireamh gu bràth dha'n taobh,
'S fhad 'sa bhios tuinn a bualadh ri chreagan uamhraidh,
Bi' t'ainm ga luaidh ann le uaill is mùirn.

Cha'n ann air tuairmse tha sinne luaidh ort,
Ge'd tha sinn gruamach air son do bhàis,
Tha thus' aig suaimhneas, taobh thall gach truaighe
'S gach saighead fhuar bho luchd fuath do ghràdh.
Gur tric a chuala mi, le mo chluasan,
Bho bheul nan uaibhreach nach d'fhuair an gràs,
Le teanga ghuamach, toirt beum 'san uaigneas
Air son do thruas ris gach truaghan bàth.

Ach bu tusa an Criosduidh 'bha suilbhear, iasgaidh,
Cha b'ann le diadhachd gun dad dheth blàth ;
Do chridhe tiorail, 's do làmh cho fialaidh,
'S cha'n fhacas riamh ort ach fiamh a ghair'.
Gur iomadh duil 'bhios an cridhe brùite,
'Nuair theid an ùir air an t'suil bu bhlàth.
'S cha chum a chudainn na theid a shriuladh
Do dheòir ga d' ionndrann, 's ann dhoibh nach nàr.

Cha'n aonadh nàire 'bhi air cuid dheth d' bhraithrean,
Is tric thug sàth dhuit le teanga lòm,
Nach seasadh t'aite le neach fo amghar,
Ged dh'fhagadh aithne aca leis a Cheann ;
'Nuair chaidh mise chàradh air sgeir gu'm bhàthadh,
Le truaghan Baillidh, gun ghràdh na chòm ;
Chuir thusa bàta, le sgioba 's raimh dhomh,
'Nuair dh'fhag a phairt ud mi bhàn sa pholl.

THE

CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

No. XCIV. AUGUST 1883. VOL. VIII.

CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.

BY ALEXANDER MACBAIN, M.A.

IV.—RESULTS OF THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

THE peculiar characteristics of Mythology have now been indicated; the cause of myth, and the wide diffusion of the same myths among different nations have been discovered respectively in the philosophy of primitive man, and the common descent of the chief European and Asiatic nations. It has been shown that the Aryan nation possessed what may be dignified with the name of a civilisation; its culture and religion were of a very high type, though there were not wanting numerous traces of the culture of more primitive and ruder times. It now becomes our duty to follow the fortunes of the Mythology of one of the nations descended from this Aryan parent nation, and see how it shaped the common heritage.

It may be set down as a general principle that the Celts ought not to have in their language, mythology, or customs, any features inconsistent with their Aryan descent; they may have developed the outward and inward features of Aryan civilisation, according to the idiosyncracies of the Celtic race, but the essential Aryan characteristics ought still to be recognisable in the descendant Celtic languages and myths. Whatever we find in these

must conform, regard being had to the development of Celtic peculiarities, to what we know to have been true of the myths and language of the parent Aryan tongue, or of those of one or two of the other Aryan nations. Anything in Celtic myth, language, or customs, inconsistent with an Aryan descent, or of a plainly non-Aryan character, must first of all be distrusted until its existence among the Celts, and them alone, has been established on indubitable grounds. Nor must explanations of Celtic phenomena be accepted which would imply relationship with races outside the Aryan stock—such as with the Semitic or Hebrew race, until clear historical or other proof is adduced. The *a priori* argument against such a connection is so strong that special care must be exercised in allowing non-Aryan explanations to appear. It is needless to remark that until lately the Celts suffered much from the injudicious and unscientific theories of Celtic enthusiasts, and it has been only by the patient industry of the Germans that full recognition has been given to the proper position of the Celts among the other Indo-European nations. Even yet, in Scotland, too little attention is paid to the scientific facts established in Celtic ethnology and philology. For this state of matters there is now little excuse, more especially as within the last year or two the results of Continental and British learning have been put before the public in the works of Mr Elton and Professor Rhys, to both of whom the present writer must express his great obligations.

Sources of Information.

Of the old Celtic nations—their culture and their religion—we have no native account. No Celtic language has got any literary remains earlier than the seventh century at farthest, and even these are but glosses or marginal Gaelic equivalents of Latin words in manuscripts. The oldest manuscripts of connected works cannot be traced farther back than the eleventh century. By this period Christianity had asserted its sway, at least in name, and the old paganism remained only in the customs and the heroic and folk tales of the nation. What religion existed in Ireland and Britain a thousand years before this period of the oldest manuscripts must be discovered, if it can at all, from some other source than contemporary native evidence. Yet we are

not without a fair idea of what the old Celtic religion was. The sources of our information in deciphering what Professor Rhys has called "the weather worn history" of the Celts are these: Roman and Greek writers have left contemporary accounts of Celtic history, religion, and customs, though in the case of religion and customs, such accounts are scrappy indeed, and the history is generally a statement of contemporary actions and the relations of the Celts to the favoured races of Rome and Greece. Next to these come the monuments and inscriptions of ancient Gaul and Britain. These comprise mostly the votive inscriptions to the deities, the statues, and the coinage of the period. The names of places, especially of rivers, have indicated Celtic localities, migrations, and religious beliefs; for how numerous are, for instance, the rivers with the name Dee (goddess), showing the wide-spread worship of water and rivers among the Celts? Examination also of the rude stone monuments and the barrows of pre-historic times has elucidated much that is dark in Celtic history, while the examination of physical characteristics in the race has helped even more to clear up difficulties of ethnology. A judicious use of the oldest heroic and folk tales must divulge some secrets in regard to Mythology, if not to History; while modern folk-tales and customs lend special aid in reflecting light on the past. An intelligent scrutiny of the Roman calendar of saints will disclose a few more Celtic divinities in the realms of saintdom; for where the Church did not make demons or heroes of the ancient gods, it did the next best thing—it made saints of them. In the same way we can recognise Pagan festivals and customs in a Christian guise; the Church festivals are nearly all the result of assimilating the existing religious customs. And, lastly, to steady our whole results, we have to remember that the Celts are an Aryan people, and that explanations of their customs and religions must follow the ordinary lines of the other Aryan nations. Where there are differences—and there are many such—these must be caused by the fact that the Celts assimilated with themselves an earlier population. Notice has already been taken of the Pictish law of succession, where descent is traced through the mother. This implies clearly a low view of the state of matrimony, and one clearly opposed to an Aryan source. We are therefore fairly

justified in regarding the Picts as strongly admixed with a non-Aryan race.

In thus reconstructing the past history of the Celts, at least three classes of *savants* are pressed into our service. First and foremost is the philologist, who has within the last generation or two completely revolutionised the science of ethnology. He has shown in the clearest manner possible the common descent of most of the European nations, at least as far as language is concerned, and that means a vast amount, for language is followed by a common mythology, and, in a less degree, by common customs. The next savant we draw upon is the anthropologist, or, rather, the physiologist; he examines the remains of ancient man and the characteristics of modern man, and classifies accordingly. And, thirdly, we have the archæologist, who examines prehistoric remains and implements. These three classes of workers do not well agree; Professor Huxley despises the ethnological results of linguistic science, while Professor Rhys does not conceal his contempt for those who decide on national descent by "skin and skull;" and Mr Ferguson will not leave his "rude stone monuments" to consider what either of them may say. Two such men as Mr Tylor and Mr Elton are, therefore, to the ordinary student, simply invaluable guides, from the fact that they attempt to combine the researches of all three. From the materials collected from these three sources, we shall proceed to give a short account of the Celts and their religion.

The Celts.

When or where the people lived who spoke the original Aryan tongue is not known with any certainty. "It seems probable," says one writer, "that their home was somewhere in South-western Asia, and the time of their dispersion not less than three thousand years before Christ." Fick holds that they split up first into two parts, answering to the modern Asiatic and European Aryans. The European branch again broke up into two—the South-western European division and the Northern European division. The latter included the Slavonic (Russians and old Prussians), and the Teutonic (English, Germans, Norse, &c.) races; while the Southern branch comprised the Greek, Latin, and Celtic races. The order in which they are enumer-

ated above shows the order of their arrival in Europe; first came the Celts leading the van of the Southern division, while the Sclavs brought up the rear of all. It has been remarked that for the purpose of attaining political greatness the Celts came too soon, the Sclavs too late. The line of Celtic migration across Europe has been traced in the names of places, especially the river names. The Don and the Dnieper would appear to prove that they crossed the Russian steppes. Yet there are evident traces of the Celts on the Ægean sea, which itself may be from the root of the Gaelic *aigean;* and we have the River Strumon on the Thracian coast, which is clearly Celtic from the existence of the *s*, which was lost in Greek itself; and we may add the famous Mount Pindus—the black mount (?), in Greece. In any case, however, be their route whatever we please, we find the Celts in the earliest records we have of them in possession of the greatest portion of Western Europe. At the time of their taking Rome in 390 B.C., the Celts would appear to have possessed, as they certainly did two centuries later, Northern Italy, France, Belgium, and part of Germany, most of Spain, Britain, and Ireland. How much of the middle of Europe they then held is unknown, but that they did possess part of what now is Germany is clear from the names of places, and also from the fact that the Germans have, in common with the Celts, many myths which must have then been absorbed by the Germans in absorbing the Celtic population. About 220 B.C. the Romans conquered Northern Italy, a hundred years later they conquered the Mediterranean coast of France, and seventy years afterwards Cæsar conquered the whole of France and completely crushed the Gallic power.

That is briefly the political side of their history. But there are two points to notice in their internal history of special importance in the present inquiry. The Celts, in entering Europe, found the country inhabited, and this previous population, a non-Aryan one of course, they either exterminated or absorbed. It is, therefore, of vital importance to know as much as possible about this previous population, for, naturally, its customs, beliefs, and, in a much less degree, its language, were absorbed by the conquering Celt. From the evidence of language and customs alone, Professor Rhys has, in his work on "Celtic Britain," been able to prove the existence of a previous non-Celtic and non-

Aryan population in Britain. The Pictish custom of succession already mentioned, and the continual reference in classical writers to some British nations who had community of wives—Cæsar erroneously attributes this to all Britain alike, Celt and non-Celt —point to a low idea of matrimony that must have belonged to the previous population. Again, in the list of Kings given for the Picts, the names are not of an Aryan or Celtic type; Aryan names were always compounds, however much denuded by time, but these Pictish names are monosyllabic and unmeaning. The frequency of animal names in Pictish districts has also been adduced as a proof in the same direction, though not a convincing argument, for most nations have animal names among their personal names. Mr Elton has pointed out some peculiar legal customs with regard to the right of the youngest son to succeed to the father's property, and these, he thinks, indicate a non-Aryan source. But the matter is rendered practically a certainty, if we summon to our aid the physiologist. He finds the British nation divided into two or more races. These are, at the least, the small dark-skinned race and the fair-skinned race. "All the Celts," says Mr Elton, "according to a remarkable consensus of authorities, were tall, pale, and light-haired." The dark-skinned race evidently belong to a different race from the Celts, and when we consider that Europe has been inhabited for several thousand years, and that men have existed here who used stone weapons, and thereafter bronze, before iron came into vogue, which it probably did along with the Celts, we must believe that there was a race before the Celts in Europe, who used stone and bronze weapons. But the evidence does not stop here. From the contents of the barrows and tombs of the stone and bronze ages, it has been proved by the skeletons and skulls that there were two races at least previous to the Celts; one race being the dark-skinned and small one already mentioned, with long skulls; the other with fair skin and hair and broad skulls, a tall race, rough-featured, beetle-browed, with the nose overhung at its root, heavy cheek-bones, and prominent chin; these last differing much from the straight-faced, oval-headed men who are recognised as Celts and Aryans. The dark-skinned race of Britain is called the "Silurian," from the ancient tribe so named by Tacitus in the Vale of the Severn, and described by him as "Iberian" in

appearance. The fair race Mr Elton designates the "Finnish," from its apparent Finnish or Ugrian affinities. The Picts would appear to be for the most part of this race, doubtless, with a strong admixture in after times of the pure Celtic stock. The archæologist, unfortunately, cannot help us much, but it is believed that this Finnish race were the builders of the huge stone monuments scattered all over Europe—dolmens, cromlechs, and Druid circles, while the barrows of both the ante-Celtic races exist.

The influence exerted by these previous races on Celtic customs and religion must doubtless have been considerable. "The strangeness of the 'lower mythology' prevailing in Wales and Britanny might afford some evidence in favour of its pre-Celtic origin. But no country in Europe is free from those gross superstitions which seem to indicate an underworld of barbarism and remnants of forgotten nations not wholly permeated by the culture of the dominant races." Professor Rhys goes so far as to refer Druidism to the Silurian race, because Cæsar mentions Britain as the birthplace of that cultus, and it is of a character which he considers non-Aryan. It is almost certain that second-sight and other ecstatic moods must be referred to the pre-Celtic races.

Welsh and Gaels.

The second point in the internal history of the Celts is the fact that the race is divided into two great divisions, caused by the languages used by each. The difference between Welsh and Gaelic is very great, yet not so great as to preclude their being classed as one race, making up one of the Aryan branches. The difference between the two languages can be traced as far back as history goes, and, by monuments and inscriptions can be followed back for two thousand years, when still the Gaelic race was very different in language from the Welsh or British. It would appear that the Celts overran Europe in two successive waves of conquest. The first wave was the Gaelic one; it was followed by the Welsh—we may rather call it the Gaulish wave. The Gauls push the Gaels from France into Britain and Ireland, and then followed them into Britain. When British history begins with the Christian era, France and Belgium were Gaulish or Welsh-speaking, and so also was the Eastern part of England, and the Scotch Lowlands; while Cornwall and Devon, most of

Wales, Cumberland, Galloway, and the surrounding counties, north of the Forth, and all Ireland belonged to the Gaels. It must be remembered that a good portion of the population north of the Grampians were probably non-Celtic. By the end of the seventh century of this era no Gael lived in England; the British tribes had been driven back to the corners of the country by the Saxons, and they absorbed the old Gaelic population. Ireland was still altogether Celtic, and so remained practically till the 13th century and later.

The last wave of the Celts was in its turn pressed on from two sides. First the Romans overran and garrisoned Gaul, and then England, which they kept for four hundred years, much as we keep India at present. Then the Teutonic nations pressed on France from the north, conquered it and were absorbed; while in England they conquered and absorbed the old population, leaving the old Welsh population to the western shores. The eastern portion of Ireland was conquered and settled in, and the rest has been gradually falling under the sway of the English tongue. The Celtic speaking peoples at present are the Bretons of Britanny, the Welsh, the Irish, and the Highlanders. The total number who can understand a Celtic tongue is, according to M. Sebillot, three millions and a-half *(Rev. Celt., iv., 278).*

(To be continued.)

A TRULY NOBLE ACT.—The Earl of Kilmarnock, who fought bravely for Prince Charles during the disastrous rebellion of 1745, was one of the last men to leave the terrible field of Culloden. In the head-long flight which followed that battle, the old nobleman stumbled along, blinded by smoke, and almost paralysed with cold. At last he heard the tramp of cavalry, and thinking it was some of Fitz-James's Horse, who were on the Prince's side, he made towards the sound, but, too late, he discovered that it was a party of Cumberland's dragoons. He was at once taken prisoner by them, and brought to the English lines. His eldest son, Lord Boyd, was a youth of about eighteen or nineteen, and held a commission as an ensign in a regiment of English foot. The aged Earl was triumphantly led through the lines, and, having lost his hat in the fight, his long white hair was blown about his face by the storm. As he approached the spot where his son stood, the youth, moved by filial emotions and the respect due to his venerable sire, stepped out of the ranks, regardless of discipline, and, before the whole Royalist army, removed his own hat, and with it covered his father's snowy head.

THE HIGHLAND DRESS.

By J. G. Mackay.

V.—Highland Arms—Archery.

Gu chéile tharruing na suinn
Mar shruth làidir o dha chraig,
'G aomadh, taomadh, air an rèidh,
Fuaimear, dorcha, garbh sa' bhlàr
Thachair Innisfail is Lochlin.
Ceannard a spealt-cleas ri ceannard,
Is duine 'n aghaidh gach duine:
Bha cruaidh a' screadan air cruaidh,
Bha clogaide shuas'gan sgoltadh,
Fuil a dortadh dlùth mu'n cuairt,
Taifeid a fuaim air min iuthar,
Gathan a siubhal ro 'n speur,
Sleagha bualadh a' tuiteam thall
Mar dhealain oidhche sa' bheinn,
Mar onfha beucach a' chuain,
'Nuair ghluaiseas an tonn gu h-ard,
Mar thorrunn air cul nan cruach,
Bha gruaim is farum a' bhlàir.—*Fionn—Duan I.*

The ancient Highlanders, as might be expected from their country and mode of life, were expert bowmen. They were naturally given to the chase, and before the days of Game Laws and English sportsmen, they had every opportunity of practising an art, which, in our day, has very much degenerated in the hands of the modern Nimrod. The Highlanders were considered superior to their Lowland brethren in the use of the bow, and were always employed as archers in the wars with England.

At the Battle of Pinkie (1548) there were 10,000 Highlanders present, many of them armed with longbows. Beague, in his History of the Scottish Campaigns, in describing that battle (in which the Scots were defeated), says that "The Highlanders, who show their courage on all occasions, gave proof of their conduct at this time, for they kept together in one body, and made a very handsome retreat. They were armed with broadswords, long bows, and targets."

The bows were usually made of yew—the badge of the Clan Fraser. The yew was used for bows from the earliest times. In *Dan an Deirg* the following mention is made of it :—

"Mar shaighead o ghlacaibh an iughair,
Bha chasan a siubhal nam barra-thonn;"

And also in *Diarmaid*, who is made to say—

"A chraosnach dhearg ca' bheil thu?
'S ca' bheil m' iughar 's mo dhorlach?"

Among Highlanders of the Argyllshire district the yew which grew in Easragan, in Lorn, was considered the best, the feathers for the arrows from the eagles of Loch-Treig, the wax for the string from Baile-na-Gailbhinn, and the arrow-heads by the smiths of the race of Mac Pheidearan. This, as in the case of most other useful lore, was couched in verse.—

"Bogha dh' iughar Easragain,
Is ite firein Locha-Treig,
Cèir bhuidhe Bhaile-na-Gailbhinn,
'S ceann o'n cheard Mac Pheidearain."

The yew was so much prized, on account of the many purposes for which it was suitable, that it was considered a sacred tree, and was frequently planted in burying-grounds as a mark of respect to the departed. This was a very ancient custom. Ossian, in describing the grave of Crimor and Brasolis, says—

"'N so fein a Chuchullàin tha 'n uir,
'S caoin iuthar 'tha fas o'n uaigh."

"In this same spot, Cuchullin, is their dust,
And fresh the yew tree grows upon their grave."

The yew tree attains to a most extraordinary age, and remains of very old forests of it are still to be found in the Highlands, the most famous being that in Glenure, in Lorn (named from the tree), and Fortingal, in Perthshire. Decandolle finds, as the result of his inquiries, that of all the European species of trees, the yew is that which attains the greatest age. He assigns to the yew of Braborne, in the county of Kent, thirty centuries; to the yew of Fortingal, in Perthshire, from twenty-five to twenty-six; and to those of Crowhurst, in Surrey, and Ripon, in Yorkshire, respectively, fourteen and a-half, and twelve centuries. Endlicher remarks that the age of another yew tree in the

churchyard of Gresford, in North Wales, which measures fifty-two English feet in circumference below the branches, is estimated at fourteen hundred years, and that of a yew in Derbyshire at two thousand and ninety-six years.

The bow was used in warfare in the Highlands as late as the reign of Charles II. Among the last instances of which we have any record we may mention the following :—After a long and protracted feud between the Mackintoshes and Camerons, commencing in a claim by the former to lands held by the latter, the Mackintoshes, with the assistance of the Macphersons, numbering in all 1500 men, marched to Lochaber, where they were met by the Camerons, with 300 Macgregors, numbering together 1200, of whom about 300 were armed with bows. When preparing to engage, Breadalbane, who was nearly related to both chiefs, made his appearance with 500 men, and sent them notice that if either side refused to agree to the terms he had to propose he should throw his force into the opposite scale. This argument was too strong to be refuted, and after some hesitation his offer of mediation was accepted, and the feud was amicably and finally settled.

Another instance happened about the same time, in a contest between the Macdonalds of Glencoe and the Breadalbane men. The former, being on their return from a foray in the low country, attempted to pass through Breadalbane without giving due notice and paying the usual compliment to the Earl (sharing a part of the plunder.) There happened at the time to be a great gathering at Finlarig Castle, on the occasion of the marriage of a daughter of the family, and, being enraged at the insult, the Campbells instantly rushed to arms, and following the Macdonalds with more ardour than prudence, attacked them on the top of a hill north from the village of Killin, where they had placed themselves in a position to defend their booty. The Breadalbane men were defeated with great loss, chiefly caused by the arrows of the Macdonalds. It is said that nineteen young gentlemen of the name of Campbell, immediate descendants of the Earl's family, were killed that day. Colonel Menzies of Culdores, who was also present, had as many as nine arrow wounds in his thighs and legs.—*Stewart's Sketches.*

It seems strange that, even in the Highlands, where firearms

were so common, bows were used in warfare at so late a period, but stranger still, when we find them employed by the Government, and that on board ship. The following account of an expedition of Highland archers, in August 1627, from *Chambers' Domestic Annals of Scotland*, will be found interesting :—

"In the exigencies of the unfortunate wars in which the king became involved with France and Spain, he was led to the strange idea of raising a small troop of Highland bowmen—most probably it was the Chief of the Macnaughtons, a member of the Privy Chamber, who had suggested such a levy to the king, for he it was who undertook to raise and command the corps. At the date noted Charles wrote to the Privy Council of Scotland, to the Earl of Morton, and the Laird of Glenorchy asking assistance and co-operation for Macnaughton in his endeavours to raise the men, it being declared that they should have 'as large privileges as any have had heretofore in the like kind.' Macnaughton came to the Highlands in autumn and engaged upwards of one hundred men for this extraordinary service. A ship lay at Loch-Kilcheran to receive them and carry them to the field of action. Departing in the middle of winter the ship encountered weather unusually tempestuous, and was chased by the enemy, and obliged to put into Falmouth. There Macnaughton wrote to the Earl of Morton, 'Our bagpipes and marlit plaids served us to guid wise in the pursuit of ane man of war that hetly followit us.' He told his lordship that he would come on to the Isle of Wight with his men as soon as possible, being afraid of a lack of victuals where he was, and meanwhile entreated his lordship that he would prepare clothes for the corps, for your lordship knows, though they be men of personages, they cannot muster before your lordship in their *plaids and blue caps.*"

The name Fletcher has arisen from the trade of arrow-making, in Gaelic *Mac-an-Leisdeir*, from "Leisdeir," an arrow-maker. Unfortunately their arrows have not always been on the side of their countrymen. One of their number at least, Fletcher of Saltoun, has thrown his poisoned shafts with bitter venom against the Highlanders.

(To be continued.)

THE ETHICS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VI.—The Reign of Universal Law.

"The analogy of the constitution and course of nature suggests and makes it credible that the moral government of God is *a system*, as distinguished from unconnected and desultory acts of distributive justice; and likewise that it is, and must be, a system so imperfectly comprehended by us as to afford a general direct answer to all objections against the goodness and justice of it."

* * * * * * * * * * * *

"Indeed the natural and moral constitution and government of the world are so connected as to make up together but one scheme; and it is highly probable that the first is formed and carried on merely in subserviency to the latter, as the vegetable world is for animals, and organised bodies for minds."—*Bishop Butler.*

1. The object for which these papers were commenced was to direct the mind of the reader to the phenomenon of natural rent, and to attempt to assign its law to design in connection with the government and progress of mankind, acting under the condition of labour, imposed upon man by his physical constitution, and in obedience to the original fiat—

"In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."

In drawing towards the conclusion of this argument I am very conscious of having too much imposed upon the patience of the reader by tedious discussions of those controversial parts of political economy which are involved in the question of rent. It was, however, unavoidable, as the greatest authorities have given a semblance of explanation by formulating theories which place the law in materiality, and through which they view the social disorder and inequalities which exist in the midst of plenty.

2. The scheme of nature is carried on by general laws, and land, in every country, being more or less subject to the same exigencies and vicissitudes, it must at once seem strange to the most unreflecting minds that there should be so many land laws in the world; and even in one country that these should be so various and of such complexity as to puzzle the most acute minds. Almost all the evils with which nations are afflicted may be referred to a transgression of ethical and moral laws. The transgression of any fundamental law of nature, and human nature is certain to produce endless disorder and wrong, which

no human legislation and ingenuity can wholly correct by the substitution of artificial laws. The perfection of law is that it should be harmonious with other laws, and so conceived and framed as to be capable of universal application.

3. The creation of man, subject to the condition of labour in the midst of all these gratuities, freely placed at his disposal, and adapted to meet his physical wants, combined with the existence of evil, which requires the institution of civil government are mysteries which no theory of evolution can explain, or at least which the human mind has not yet been able to penetrate. But regarding the phenomena of nature and of human society in the light of reason alone, we observe a process of increase and development leading to a higher destiny of the human race, corresponding with an aspiration of our nature, as well as with the hope of the Christian.

Labour, which we regard as a misfortune, and take every opportunity to evade, is evidently the means which has been ordained to subdue and civilise savage, rebellious man ; and for this end, and so finally, perhaps, to lighten the burden of labour and turn it into a source of pleasure and enjoyment has he been endowed with an inventive genius. In truth, the lot of the idler is not always a happy one, for he is often a burden to himself and a nuisance to others.

4. The process of animated nature is one of increase. These laws of increase appear to be harmonious and to proceed by design, in connection with man. The alarm that has been raised regarding the natural increase of population and the impious reflection that has been by implication cast on the Creator, by attributing poverty and want to the niggardliness of nature, are surely premature, whilst nine-tenths of the habitable and culturable area of the globe remain in a state of waste to be subdued and replenished, and the portion which is already occupied, still capable of greater improvement. Following this general law of increase, we find the action of nature silently but effectually co-operating —the evaporation from the ocean causing clouds and precipitating rain on the mountain tops, which, by the action of great rivers, conveys the disentegrated rocks in the shape of soil to form deltas in the sea and become green fields and pastures new for future generations. Likewise the upheaval of islands and the

elevation of submerged coasts by volcanic action ; and even the work of the tiny polype rearing coral reefs, which, when raised above the surface, become covered with mould and vegetation. This accretion of nature may be truly designated the "unearned increment," but holding that all exchange value consists in human labour the natural rent of land is more correctly defined, and must be regarded as a *labour residuum.*

5. The normal condition of the world is, therefore, one of increase and development, and mankind in a state of peaceful industry follow the general law, for we find that wealth, which is practically the means of life, is increasing more rapidly than population. But in every age of the world the progress of civilisation has been checked and retarded by one portion of mankind preying upon the industry of another portion. However much we may be left in the dark regarding the accidental occurrences incident to human life, which Bishop Butler terms desultory acts of distributive justice, we are not so left in ignorance in reference to the regular course of nature and the instincts and principles which have been implanted within us for our guidance.

Man, having been endowed with intellectual and moral faculties, under the condition of labour, it is not only credible but very reasonable to suppose that by a physical law which we do not rightly apprehend, by reason of being so materialistic and so little idealistic, provision has been beneficently made to meet the expenses of civil and moral government without falling a burden upon individual labour.

6. Having shown that the Ricardian theory of rent does not agree with facts, nor account for the ground rent of town lands in any intelligible way, whilst it leads to the pernicious conclusion that value resides in land apart from human labour, it remains to be explained how rent arises. The time is not very remote when land in the Highlands could afford no rent, just because the people were rebels against the law of labour, and were given to prey upon one another, and to other unlawful courses. In a former chapter I undertook to explain how, by the same law, an acre of land on a mountain side now affords a rent, upon which no *direct* individual labour has been bestowed, just the same as an acre of land in the City of London affords a rent.

In olden times the Highlands had no commerce and hardly a market town. But after the pacification the Government constructed roads and bridges, canals and forts; gave bounties for the development of the fisheries, and appointed civil officers for the administration of justice. This was labour and protection of the most valuable kind, and the Highlands were brought within the reach of markets, and under the civilising influence of the city. It cannot, therefore, be said that rent arose there from a resort to lower soils. In this case its first rise was from the direct labour of society through the action of Government; but the rent instead of accruing to society, or the nation, which bestowed the labour, was allowed to go into the pockets of the chieftains turned into landlords. If we accept it as a fundamental principle of justice that every person is entitled to the full fruits of his own labour and enterprise, we must also allow that society is entitled as a whole to that which arises from the united labour of society. In this instance we have a striking example of the beneficial effect of the united action of society upon all its members if *allowed free distribution*, but by the taxing *principle* of rent the *material* benefit was lost to the people.

7. As the above illustration presents the question in its double aspect: (1) as to economic value, and (2) as to its social and ethical bearing, let me here introduce a clause from the latter point of view.

Then, if we regard all mankind as subject to the condition of labour, or exchange of services, it must be a transgression of that law which awards anything to the idler. The constitution of a natural and harmonious society depends upon mutuality of services. The Lord Chancellor, sweating on his woolsack, exchanges his labour with the village blacksmith, sweating on his coalsack. The feudal chieftain was necessary to the tribe, to lead them in battle, and to administer law amongst them. He was their king to whom they paid homage, and to whose support they contributed from their labour. Converted into a landlord he is merely a taxgatherer in his own right, and the duties which he performed as a kinglet are now discharged by the State. The bond of union has ceased. There are no reciprocal services. Harmonious interests have become conflicting rights. This is out of harmony with the universal scheme—

"God working ever on a social plan,
By various ties attaches man to man."

The law requires that the words "value received" shall be written on the bill. In most cases the Highland Landlords' Bill represents no value.

8. There is, however, in addition to the direct expenditure of the Government on the Highlands the labour residuum which, in industrial life, and especially in a highly civilised state, constitutes rent, and is termed by Mr Mill the "unearned increment." This is the phenomenon which he regarded as the *pons assinorum* of political economy, and from the materialistic view which he took of man and of nature it was, perhaps, impossible for him to solve the problem.

This *appreciation of the superficies* is most striking in new countries where labour is active and population increases very rapidly—such, for instance, as the Australian Colonies. Less than forty years ago land might have been had for little or nothing where Melbourne now stands; but in that city, and for a considerable radius round about it, land has attained a value equal to what it is in old countries in and about centres of equal population. It is evident that the powers of the soil and a resort to lower *gradations* of soil has nothing to do with this phenomenon.

Yet, there is a mental illusion which has to be dispelled. We do not distinguish between cause and effect. This illusion is produced by the marvels of a clump of soil, acted upon by sunshine and rain under the fertilising influence of the atmosphere.

I place this clump of soil in a flower-pot, and rear the seedling. I take it to market and sell it, but I find that the price only remunerates my labour. Nature works whilst man sleeps, and rank weeds grow apace, whilst the sluggard lies abed. Her work is a constant, but *gratuitous* factor. It is human labour only that has value.

Fixing their attention upon varieties of soil, and seeing that in all localities there are different degrees of fertility or quality, especially when newly broken up, it was, perhaps, not unnatural that economists had built a theory upon this. But at best it is only a question of more or less rent. This is not peculiar to land, for in all natural productions, and even in man himself, there are

degrees of quality. It will be seen, however, that this does not affect the general law, nor account for it.

9. Then, dismissing from our minds the delusive idea that value resides in the soil, we must account for the phenomenon of rent on much more intelligible grounds. In order to do so we have only to view the progress of civilisation and increase of population in the pursuit of peaceful industry at all times and in all places. From the fact that this natural rent of land has become a subject of gambling between individuals, it has given rise to specious arguments, which, indeed, are very difficult to combat so long as we admit that it is a lawful transaction.

Civilisation has always centred in and proceeded from towns. It is there that labour is most effective, on account of the saving in time and distance, which facilitates the sub-division of functions, not only in the production, but also in the distribution of commodities. The country, in fact, is subordinate to the city. The city is like the heart which circulates the blood in the system. Mr Mill places value in exchange, but exchange is only one form of labour, and the idea of value, being an undivided idea, is synonimous with all human labour necessary to society.

10. In a previous chapter I briefly adverted to this law of increase, and pointed out that it graduated from a focus. Only a few weeks ago the Committee of the London Stock Exchange bought 5000 feet of area for the extension of their premises, and paid £100,000 for this small portion. The trade and pressure of population being greater in the City of London than in any other part of the world, the price of land is also greater. Since the beginning of the century the population has quadrupled, and probably the rent has increased in the same proportion.

Now, the value *reverting on the superficies* of agricultural land follows the same law, and its supposed inherent qualities is but a delusion. Let us take the London Stock Exchange for the focus of a circle or parabola, which shall embrace the United Kingdom. At this point the pressure is greatest, and consequently land, or, as it were, standing room for business is most valuable, and it diminishes outward as the squares of the distances increase. Then if we form similar circles on the map round other large towns and cities, the same law obtains in a smaller degree, but always in proportion of population to area. Agricultural land

in the vicinity of these populous centres is more valuable than at greater distances, but not on account of any supposed inherent value. It would be an instructive subject, into which I cannot now enter, to examine the *proportion* that rent, or the acquired value of the superficies bears to the population within certain populous areas. Time and distance measured from the centre are the factors of calculation. The more these are overcome there is a greater equalisation established, but no absolute reduction in the total, as the law of increase follows numbers.

11. But it has already been pointed out that rent is the *effect* of price. Adam Smith makes use of a misleading expression, when he says—"It *enters* into price in a different way from wages and profit." If rent is the effect of price it cannot enter into it. But what is price? It is a portion of the labour of the consumer of produce. Therefore, speaking more correctly, the purchaser of the produce pays the rent of land in the price of the commodity. Then, on the assumption that, according to the beautiful theory of the English Constitution, the land belongs to the Sovereign as representing the people at large, and as the vicegerent of God, it must seem that the consumer of produce pays for the protection and hospitality of the Sovereign in the price of the commodity.

It is evident, therefore, that we must refer this law of appreciation of the superficies to increase of population, under the condition of labour and competition. In every other form of industry, however, competition always tends to keep down price, but competition in land forces up rent. Therefore that competition which is advantageous to society in other pursuits, is, in respect of rent, disadvantageous, unless appropriated by the Sovereign for the use of society, which, as I have said, appears by a law of nature to be its destination according to a beneficent design. If appropriated by an idle and prodigal class, in maintaining a retinue of unproductive dependents, it has a prejudicial tendency of withdrawing capital from the sphere of reproduction to the sphere of consumption. "Every prodigal man," says Adam Smith, "appears to be a public enemy, and every frugal man a public benefactor."

12. But in every age and in every country land has been recognised as the natural source of the Sovereign's revenue as

well as for the support of religion. It is clear, therefore, that if this natural rent is diverted from its proper purposes, and appropriated by individuals who do not perform public duties, there is a transgression of natural law which must result in injustice, and produce a disturbance of social harmonies. It may, indeed, be still supposed that it would be dangerous to social order to weaken the authority which has been always more or less wielded by material power. I am, however, disposed to think that the municipal organisation of our cities have so far advanced, and that the influence of education and religion has sufficiently extended into the rural districts, to confer equal freedom upon agriculturists. The reign of the individual must cease. Mankind must be governed on principles of justice in a condition of freedom and equal rights. If progress cannot be made, and social order preserved in this way, it is much less likely that landlords can assist government by wielding a law of necessity, and by acting, not on that principle of reciprocity and harmony of interests, in which feudal tenures had their origin, but as it were on the viscera of their unfortunate subjects.

13. In the "dismal" science of political economy the common argument in favour of private property in land is, that it has proved advantageous to society in producing a greater supply of produce than if it had remained in common. The question is not between private property in land and land in common, but between private property and landlordism. The latter is a mongrel tenure, which is neither private nor public, but a speices of sub-sovereignty which partakes of the character of despotism. Real property in land, in the proper sense of the word, is that which is held in *freehold* by the occupier, and in that form England attained her proud position, not only in industry and commerce, but also in civil and religious liberty. No subject can supply the future historian with more suggestive matter for comment and surprise than the indifference shown by the English people to the operation of class-made and unconstitutional laws, under which her freehold system was being slowly but surely undermined, and converted into feudal estates, whilst continental nations, in the throes of revolution, were reforming their systems on the principle and model of English freeholds. From the very nature of land there must be private property in it to the end of

time, because, for one thing, labour gets incorporated with it, and the antecedent labour bestowed on its reclamation under the condition of continuous labour is never lost, and by an instinct and law of human nature a man claims his own "for ever" to transmit by his own free will out of love for posterity.

It is sufficient that it be held as an abstract constitutional principle that the Sovereign is sole *allodial* owner, and the only way in which Government can overtake, and be safely entrusted with the duty of acting for society, is through its ever-active principle of taxation.

14. As a question between society and the landlords, it does not admit of any doubt that they are in possession of revenue, which, viewed both in a historic and philosophic light, of law appertains to the State. This, however, is but a small transgression of public justice. That which involves a restraint upon human freedom, and sanctions a system which enables the so-called owner to tax the powers and gifts of nature, by living in the sweat of another man's face whilst he even claims exemption from those risks and fortuitous accidents which are incident to human life in the sphere of industry, is a rebellion against the divine ordinance which is clear to human reason by the constitution and course of nature.

I am constrained to make the remark that, as the command "Thou shalt not lend land, nor charge usury upon the gratuitous gifts of God," has not been placed in the Decalogue, blind man has failed to perceive that it is written on the tablets of nature; and the ministers of a corrupted Christianity, ever aspiring to civil power, and caring more for loaves and fishes than for the cause of truth and justice, have lent themselves to preaching and propping up the divine and sacred rights of personal rule and material force.

Guernsey. MALCOLM MACKENZIE.

Mr MALCOLM MACKENZIE, author of the foregoing remarkably able article, visited Inverness, and attended the Annual Meeting of the Gaelic Society, held on the 12th of July, during the Wool Market week.

THE BRAVE OLD SKYE CROFTER.

THE name of Donald Nicolson has often turned up before the Royal Commission during its sojourn in the Isle of Skye. Donald was formerly of Totescore, and now of Solitot, Kilmuir. He appeared before the Commission at Uig, and rehearsed such a tale as elicited from Sheriff Nicolson the remark, "He is a brave old fellow." The short account of that incredible tale of factor tyranny and cruelty which has appeared in our home newspapers has since been translated and published in almost every language in Europe, and we propose to preserve it in full in these pages as a specimen of many cases which have occurred in recent years in the Highlands, but which have never reached the public ear.

Nicolson stated that he was past 78 years of age; that he was formerly a crofter, but that Captain Fraser all at once doubled his rent, which increase he most reluctantly agreed to pay. He was then asked to pay £1 more, which he naturally refused, after which he was forcibly evicted, and his lot given to Mr Macleod, the tacksman of Monkstadt, local factotum for Captain Fraser, who sent round word that any one who gave Nicolson a night's shelter would be treated in a similar manner next year. Having related how he was evicted from his home and lands and turned outside, he continued—

My son's wife and her two young children were with me, and we were all that night in the cart shed, and our neighbours were afraid to let us in, and were crying over us. There was plenty of meal outside, but we had no fire to make a cake. We lived in the stable all the summer. I could only erect one bed in it, and my daughter and my son's wife and two children slept in the bed, and myself slept on the stones. During a vacancy the Presbytery of the Established Church allowed me to enter the glebe. After that I got refuge in the house of a poor woman at Duntulm, and the factor, Mr Alexander Macdonald, Portree, challenged the tacksman of Duntulm for allowing this poor woman to keep me in her house. Mr Grant, the parish minister, supports me now. That happened five years ago.

The witness then appealed to Mr Dugald Maclachlan, banker, Portree, who was present as interpreter, for confirmation of his story; and at the request of Lord Napier Mr Maclachlan gave the following explanation :—

After Nicolson was put out of his house he entered a cart-shed, and thereafter he entered the stable: then he was evicted a second time, and an interdict taken out against him forbidding him to enter for ever his dwelling-house, or at all to enter upon the lands, except for the purpose of preserving his crop, which Mr Macleod had refused to take over with the croft. Under stress of circumstances, he entered the barn with his family. He was had up for breach of interdict, and for this breach of interdict he was fined 10s, with the alternative of five days' imprisonment. The expenses of the interdict were £8. Then there was a year's rent due, and in addition to that he was charged with "violent profits," which means the doubling of the rent for remaining in possession after the term. The whole came to £35 odds, which the man paid.

Lord Napier—But do you mean to say that that money was really exacted, and passed into the factor's hands?

Mr Maclachlan—Yes. I arranged with the factor for him, and advanced the money out of the bank. When the markets came round he realised his stock, and paid me every penny of it.

In conclusion, Nicolson said that his family was all scattered now, but if he got a piece of land, although he was now 78 years of age, he would gather his family again about him.

When Mr Alex. Macdonald was afterwards giving his account, at Portree, of Skye affairs—*de rebus Sgiathanorum*—to the Royal Commissioners, the case of the "Brave Old Crofter" was referred to. The burden of Mr Macdonald's explanation was—

That Nicolson was a litigious and disagreeable neighbour who kept more stock than he was entitled to, and allowed those to stray on neighbouring lands. Many complaints were made of him. There was a decree got against him for about £55 3s. 2d., and off that he (Mr Macdonald) struck voluntarily £25; that left £30, and against that he was credited with the value of his house and effects to the extent of £16. He had only the remainder, £14, to pay. The law expenses, so far as he personally was concerned, were £9 to £10. £6 was paid to sheriff-officers, and the remainder was put to the credit of the incoming tenant, who had been kept out of the croft for a considerable time.

This explanation did not agree with the statement made by Mr Maclachlan, who had corroborated Nicolson, at Uig; and at the close of his examination subsequently, at Portree, Mr Maclachlan desired to make a further explanation regarding the case. He said that he feared an impression had gone abroad that there was a discrepancy between the two statements. There were some outsiders who did not altogether understand the question.

Lord Napier—I don't altogether understand it myself. (Laughter.)

Mr Maclachlan stated that the whole sum of £35. 11s. 8d was paid to the landlord—and no portion of it was returned;

and he produced a receipted account under Mr Macdonald's hand, being a note of "Rent and violent profits and expenses due by D. Nicolson to Captain Fraser of Kilmuir." The note, which Mr Maclachlan produced, was as follows:—

Rent and Violent Profits	£16	0	0
Expenses decerned for	4	18	8
Do. further	3	4	0
Extracting	0	10	6
Officer ejecting and party	2	18	0
Expenses of Interdict proceedings	8	0	6
Total	£35	11	8
Less Valuation of House	15	17	6
Balance paid in cash	£19	14	2

The proprietor thus got the total sum of £35. 11s. 8d. from Nicolson. Of that sum, £15. 17s. 6d. was the valuation of Nicolson's own property, while the balance of £19. 14s. 2d. was paid by Mr Maclachlan (acting for Nicolson) to the factor on 5th December 1877, and for which he held the receipt produced.

Mr Macdonald here said that anything which was got for violent profits went to the incoming tenant to pay the damage which he was entitled to for not getting possession at Whitsunday. The proprietor got the rent, and nothing but the rent; and, of course, Mr Maclachlan did not know that.

Mr Maclachlan—Of course, I don't; but Nicolson paid to you, in the first place, the sum that I have mentioned.

Lord Napier, to Mr Macdonald—Have you any other statement to make? Nicolson's statement was that his rent had been doubled, and that he was willing to stick to his land for all that, but that he was charged £1 more, which really was the straw that broke this tenant's back.

Mr Macdonald—That was his statement, but we deny it. It was for his own misconduct we put him out.

Lord Napier—Was Nicolson's rent doubled?

Mr Macdonald—It was, my lord.

Lord Napier—Now, Mr Macdonald, why was his rent doubled.

Mr Macdonald—It was doubled when all the other rents were doubled. (Great laughter.)

Lord Napier—Were all the other rents doubled?

Mr Macdonald—His rent was doubled like all the other rents of that township,

and it was according to the valuation of Mr Malcolm, Nairn. This man was evicted for his own misconduct.

The Chairman—Mr Maclachlan alluded to a model eviction on another estate—a case in which all the tenants petitioned the proprietor to have a certain tenant removed. Now, was the case of this poor man Nicolson as bad as that one?

Mr Macdonald—I think it was a worse case—("Oh")—or, at least, fully as bad. (Laughter.) Mr Macdonald added that the other tenants complained of this crofter (Nicolson), but he himself had no ill-will towards him. He thought, however, his eviction was perfectly justifiable.

Mr Maclachlan had no doubt it would involve a long inquiry to prove Nicolson's misconduct; but he would say that the impression which this eviction left on his mind at the time was that it was a most high-handed and arbitrary exercise of the landlord's legal rights. (Loud applause.)

Mr Macdonald—That was only your impression.

Lord Napier—We are quite sure that in this matter Mr Maclachlan acted a most honourable and humane part according to his judgment. (Loud applause.)

At a subsequent stage of the proceedings, Mr John Macleod, late of Monkstadt, and now of Duntulm, was examined. He presented a most melancholy appearance, spoke in a low tone, heaved a deep sigh after each answer, and to the questions of Sheriff Nicolson generally responded with a doleful "Oh, yes" or "Oh, no." At the close of his examination the factor urged him to make a statement about Donald Nicolson. This he did, to the effect that a long time ago another man had been evicted to make room for the brave old crofter. This "Brave Old Crofter," however, soon became a disagreeable neighbour, and allowed his stock to wander over Macleod's ground. On one occasion the stock was pounded. Nicolson was requested to pay a certain sum for the trespass, but he refused out and out. The stock was left for several days on Macleod's hands, and ultimately, to his great annoyance, he had to return the animals without receiving any pounding money from their owner.

As stated at the outset, an incomplete account of this shameful story appeared in almost every newspaper and every language in Europe. It has been the theme of conversation and adverse criticism in every club and household in the kingdom, and any comment here is quite unnecessary. The mere record of the facts is enough to make every free-born Briton blush for the fair fame of his native land.

W. M.

IAIN MAC MHURCHAIDH'S SONGS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

TE ANTE, HAWKE'S BAY, NEW ZEALAND,
14th May 1883.

SIR,—A friend kindly sent to me copies of the *Celtic Magazine* containing some of Iain Mac Mhurchaidh's songs, and as you wish for more of them, I take pleasure in writing to you anent the bard's productions. I had all, or versions of all, you published. The following is the version I had of one of them:—

ORAN LE IAIN MAC MHURCHAIDH.

Rinn e 'n t-òran so air dha fein 's do nàbuidh bh'aig ann an Achaghairgean dhol an aghaidh a chéile.

'S a' mhadainn 's mi 'g éiridh,
Cha'n éibhinn mo shuain dhomh,
Bho na chaidh gluasad fodh'm thar a' Mhàim.
Measg dhaoine gun aithne,
Bha 'n t-aineolas fuaighte,
Riutha m' an d'fhuair iad mise 'n am pàirt.

Thog mo nàbuidh le breugan
Droch sgeula nach cual e,
Dh'aindeoin a thuaileis ga chuir orm os-àird.
Ged rachadh e h-uca,
Gheibh e cuid nach toir cluas d'a,
Eadar Strath Chluanaidh 's Bealach-a-spàirn.

Gleann dorcha gun chuideachd,
Gun suigeart, gun suairceas,
Tha mise fo ghruaim o thainig mi 'n àit,
A nall air a' bhealach,
'S e 'm braman a ghluais mi,
Thighinn o 'n tuath 's an robh tuigse 's an dàimh.

Cha b'e carraid an òtraich,
Bu deòin leis an tuath sin,
Ach cleachdadh a b' uaisle ghabh iad os làimh.
Bhi 'g òl air a cheile,
Le reidhbheart gun ghruaman,
'S buinidh dh'fhear suarach fuireach o 'm pàirt.

ORAN LEIS AN UGHDAR CHEUDNA (A Fragment).

Thoir an t-soraidh so uam-sa,
Gu mnaoi uasail tha thall a' so,
B' i mo bhana-charaid chòir i,
'Nuair a b' òg mi gun leannan.
Chuir i sgeul orm os àird,
Nach b' àraidh air caileig mi,
'S nach fhaighinn-se té dhiubh,
A ghréidheadh an t-aran dhomh.
Thubhairt ise—cha chòrdadh,
Duin' òg 'us e falamh rium,
'S e gu misgeach gle, òlar,
Air bheag storais gu 'cheannach,
Cha chluinnear a' spréidh aig
A' geumnaich m' an bhaile,
'S cha'n 'eil fios gu de 's feum dha,
'S fear gun chéill a bheir bean da.

Thuirt Iain:—

Ged tha mi gun nì,
Cha'n 'eil m' inntinn a' gearain,
'S cha bhi mi gun mhnaoi,
Mur do mhill air mo bharail.
Tha caileagan òga
Gun phòsadh 's gach baile,
'Us gheibh mise dhiubh tè
Mu's èighear mi falamh.
Tha fear eile 's an dùthaich
Thug a rùin do na chaileig,
'S cha tugadh is' dha i,
Ged dh'fhàgadh e 'n talamh;
Ged sgriobhadh e mhàn
Air clàr le *penna*,
B'fhearr leath' mart anns gach làimh,
Gu pàidheadh an fhearainn.

Thuirt am fear eile 'n am b'fhior:—

Ge math mart anns gach làimh,
Tuitidh pairt dhuibh gu neo-ni,
'S bi'dh mo *phenna*-sa làthair,
Dh'aindeoin failingeadh earraich,
Theid mi 'chuideachd dhaoin-uaisle,
Tharruing cluasan mo sporain,
'Nuair bhios es' air an ùrlar,
'Gleidheadh cùraim an doruis.

DUANAG, LEIS AN AON CHEUDNA.

Rinn e 'n duanag so air dha togail air gu dhol a dh'America, 's càirdean da air dol an sin roimhe.

Fonn—Togamaid fonn air na feara,
Dh'fhalbh uainn a null's a chaidh thairis,
Togamaid fonn air na feara.

B'fhearr leam gu'n cluinninn uaibh sgeula,
Cia mar tha sibh 'n déigh na mara?
Togamaid fonn, &c.

'M bi sibh 'g iarraidh tuilleadh chàirdean,
Dh'fhios an àite d' rinn sibh fantainn.
Togamaid fonn, &c.

Tha sinn an so troimh a chèile,
Leis gach sgeul' a tha-sa 'g aithris.
Togamaid fonn, &c.

'S iomadh fear tha ann am breislich,
'N dùil ri teisteanas m' an earrach.
Togamaid fonn, &c.

'M fear tha falamh cha'n eil diù dha,
Ge b'fhearr e na triùir 'an carraid.
Togamaid fonn, &c.

Aig uachdaran cha bhi spèis dha,
Bho nach fhaic e 'spréidh 's na gleannaibh.
Togamaid fonn, &c.

'M fear gam bi nì cuirear sàradh annt',
Gus am pàidhear màl an fhearainn.
Togamaid fonn, &c.

Cuiridh dhaoine féin e suarach,
'S e mo thruaighe 'n duine falamh.
Togamaid fonn, &c.

'Fhir thairg am baile fo bharr dhomh,
Gu'n d'fhàg thu mo bhràthair falamh.
Togamaid fonn air na feara,
Dh'fhalbh uainn a null 's a chaidh thairis.
Togamaid fonn air na feara.

As I have seen in an issue of the *Inverness Courier*, which came to my hand recently, that the Earl of Dunmore has been elected Chief by the Inverness Gaelic Society, I will fill up this sheet by giving a copy of a "Duanag" which I composed to him some years ago on seeing him and hearing about him in Tarbert, Harris.—

DUANAG, DO DH-IARLA DHUNMOR, TRIATH NA H-EARADH.

Seinn ŏ-hŏ laill ŏ-hŏ,
Seinn ŏ-hŏ ro ù-o,
Seinn ŏ-hŏ laill ŏ-hŏ,
Laill ŏ-hŏ ro-ù-o.

An diugh dh'eiltich mo chàileachd,
Ris a' Bhraigheach dheas, shunndach,
'S fair a nuas a dheoch-slàinte,
Ged phàidhinn na crùin oirr'.
Seinn o-ho, &c.

Sud air slàinte 'n fhior àrmuinn,
So a mhàn i le dùrachd,
'Us mo gheibh e mo mhiann-sa,
Gur riarach gach cùis dhà.
Seinn o-ho, &c.

Bi'dh e fallain gun fhàilling,
Caitheamh 'làithean gu mùirneach,
Gur a pailt bhios gach maoin dha,
'S cha bhi 'n t-Aog dha 'n a chùram.
Seinn o-ho, &c.

'S ann bha 'n ulaidh ro cheutach,
Anns a' chéis rinn do ghiùlain,
Sud an t-ultach bha éibhinn,
Leis an té thog m'a glùn thu.
Seinn o-ho, &c.

'S ann tha 'n t-achlasan speiseil,
Aig an té rinn thu phòsadh,
Fhuair i coluinn a chaoimhneis,
Agus moighre na dùthcha.
Seinn o-ho, &c.

'S foinnidh, leòmhant' am mac thu,
Pearsa thaiceil 's i sùbailt',
Aghaidh cholgail, 's sùil ghaisgeil,
'S glan lainnir do ghnùise.
Seinn o-ho, &c.

'Fhleasgaich òig a chùil dualaich,
Fhir na h-uaisle neo-lûbaich,
'S ann tha taghadh nan uachd'ran,
Aig an tuath tha fo d' stiùireadh.
Seinn o-ho, &c.

Gum beil d'fhearann mar bhà e,
Cha deach àird air 'an cùinneadh,
'S fhad 's a bhios iad 'an slàinte,
Cha bhi màl a' cur sgùig orr'.
Seinn o-ho, &c.

'S mòr gum b'fhearr leat bhi agad,
Fior cheatharnach diùmhlaich,
Na fear liùgach bheir 'anam
Air son beartais nach fhiù e.
Seinn o-ho, &c.

'Nuair a bhios tu le d' isnich,
Dol tro' fhireach nan ùdlaich,
Bi'dh do chòmhlan gad leanmhuinn,
'Ruith gu meanmnach 's na stùcan.
Seinn o-ho, &c.

Sud an fhaoghaid neo-chearbach,
A bhios sealbhach fo d' iùil-sa,
'S tu a' leagail nan garbh dhamh,
Leis an arm ud nach diùlt dhuit.
Seinn o-ho, &c.

Tuitidh 'n eilid bheag, luaineach,
Dh'aindeoin luaitheid a cùrsachd,
Sin 's an coileach 's a' liath-chearc,
Air an sgiathaibh ge siùbhlach.
Seinn o-ho, &c.

Cha bhi beathach 'am bealach,
No 'an glacaig nach duisg sibh,
'S thig do ghillean gu h-anmoch
Le 'n ęallachan gu d' ùrlar.
Seinn o-ho, &c.

Sud an t-ùrlar 'm bi 'm pailteas,
Chuir an airtneal 'n a smùid dhiùbh,
'S deoch 'am pìosan ga leagail,
Aig na fleasgaich ga sùghadh.
Seinn o-ho, &c.

'N Caisteal-Fhinn nan clach snaidhte,
Dhaingean, bhaidealach, thùrach,
Ionad tathaich nan gaisgeach
Ealamh, sgaiteach lann dù-ghorm.
Seinn o-ho, &c.

'S pailt do thuath air gach taobh dhiot,
'S iad a dh-aon-toil 'n an ùrnuigh,
Guidhidh slàinte 's fad saoghail
Dhuit a laochain mo rùin-se.
Seinn o-ho, &c.

Ceann na tuath' thu 's nan déirceach,
Ceann na céille, 's na ciùine,
Ceann feartach nan camag,
'S glan a laidheadh an crùn air.

Seinn ŏ-hŏ, laill ô-hô,
Seinn ŏ-hŏ, ro ù-o,
Seinn ŏ-hŏ, laill ô-hô,
Laill ŏ-hŏ, ro-ù-o.

F. D. MACDONELL.

THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

VIII.

THE FAMOUS SIR EWEN DUBH—HIS YOUTH.

XVI. EWEN CAMERON of Lochiel, generally known among the Highlanders as "Eoghainn Dubh," was, as already seen, a minor when his grandfather died. Allan, the fifteenth chief, having died before his father, Ewen succeeded as his grandfather's heir. He was born in February 1629, in the Castle of Kilchurn, the residence of his mother's family, the Campbells of Glenorchy, immediate ancestors of the Earls of Breadalbane. For the first seven years of his life Ewen was brought up, according to the custom of the times, in the house of his foster-father, "an antient gentleman, and captain of a numerous tribe of the Clan Cameron, called by his patronimick, the tribe of Mackmartins," after which his care and education devolved upon his uncle, Donald, who, as his guardian, by his skill and industry, preserved to him the remaining portion of the estate, most of which was lost during Allan's later years, when, from old age and infirmities, he was unable to look after his own interests.

The Marquis of Argyll, whose interest in Lochiel and his property had become more marked in recent years, feared that the youth's education might be neglected in Lochaber, and he strongly urged the propriety that he should be handed over to his Lordship's care. After considerable difficulty and hesitation on the part of the clan this was agreed to, and Ewen, when twelve years of age, proceeded to Inveraray, where, in 1641, he was placed under the charge of a special teacher. This was an important period in the history of Scotland. Argyll and Montrose were soon to lead two opposing armies—the one for the Covenant and the other for the King. Argyll ravaged, burnt, and plundered the lands of Montrose, and Montrose retaliated by returning the compliment ten-fold, carrying the war into the county of Argyll, even to Inveraray. Soon after, on the 2nd of February 1645, the Battle of Inverlochy was fought, on which occasion three

hundred Camerons joined Montrose, although their young Chief was still under Argyll's charge. The result of this battle is too well known to need recapitulation here. It is stated that old Allan, who was still alive, but too frail to lead his men, looked on from a distance, and, immediately after the battle, congratulated Montrose on his great victory, and entertained him for four days in Lochaber. It will appear strange that Argyll still continued favourable to the Camerons and their young Chief, and carefully attended to his education, but he had hopes, no doubt, of instilling his own views into the mind of his youthful charge, and, through him, ultimately secure the clan in support of his own crooked policy. In this, however, he was completely disappointed. Our hero had already begun to give evidence of the qualities which he exhibited in so remarkable a degree during his long and glorious career as a Highland Chief. Pennant says that the Marquis of Argyll, intending to bring him up "in the principles of the Covenanters, sent him to school at Inverara, under the inspection of a gentleman of his own appointment. But young Lochiel preferred the sports of the field to the labours of the school. Argyll, observing this, brought him back to himself, and kept a watchful eye over him, carrying him along with him wherever he went." This is fully corroborated by the author of the *Memoirs*, who says that "His Lordship had omitted nothing that he thought could contribute to the improvement of the fine qualities which he daily found increasing in his young ward." When about fourteen years of age, he was "of a good growth, healthful, vigorous, and sprightly. Though he had a good genius for letters, and a quick conception, yet his excessive fondness for hunting, shooting, fencing, and such exercises so carried his mind that he showed no inclination for his book, which obliged his preceptor often to execute his authority." The Marquis, after the Battle of Inverlochy, went South on some State business, taking his ward along with him, with the view of entering him at Oxford to complete his education. Passing through Stirling, on his way, he halted, that his companions and followers might obtain refreshments, but the pestilence, which at that time raged through the kingdom, did so to such an extent in the town, that Argyll deemed it not prudent to leave his carriage. Lochiel, however, stole away unperceived, and wandered through the town without any idea or

concern as to the risk he was incurring. A search was made for him, when he was found in a house where the whole family was infected with the plague, but he marvellously escaped, to the great gratification of the Marquis and his friends.

On the way South they remained a few days in Edinburgh, and afterwards at Berwick, where Lochiel often ran "the risk of getting his brains dashed out in quarrels, which he was daily engaged in with the youth of that town; so soon did he begin to act the patriot, and to employ his courage in vindication of the honour of his country." Argyll found it necessary not to permit him to go out of doors without a guard of two or three men to keep him out of mischief, if any one reflected in the slightest degree upon his Highland countrymen.

On another occasion, when Montrose attacked Castle Campbell, a stronghold on the borders of Fifeshire, then in possession of Argyll, a party of the Macleans, who were out with Montrose, marched up to the very walls of the Castle. Though the garrison was six times the number of the Islanders, the inmates of the Castle "had not the courage so much as to fire a gun, or even to look them in the face." Young Lochiel, who was present, was so disgusted with the cowardly conduct of the Governor of the Castle that he turned upon him and told him to his face that he and every one of his garrison ought to be hanged; and then turning to Argyll he exclaimed, "For what purpose, my lord, are these people kept here? Your lordship sees the country destroyed; and that they may be easily cut to pieces, one by one, without their being capable to unite and help one another; but your fellows are so unfit for the business for which they were brought here, that they have not courage so much as to look over the walls." Argyll made scarcely any answer at the time, but he soon after dismissed the Governor, making him the scapegoat for what had actually occurred before his own eyes, while he was present in the Castle and could have assumed the command himself.

After the Battle of Philipshaugh, which had proved so disastrous to Montrose, a Parliament was held by the Covenanters at St Andrews, and several of the leading prisoners were taken thither to receive their doom. Among those condemned to death, on that occasion, were the Earl of Hartfell, Lord Ogilvy, and Sir Robert Spotiswood. Argyll took Lochiel along with

him to that "bloody assembly." Though yet "too young to make any solid reflections on the conduct of his guardian, yet he soon discovered an aversion to the cruelty of that barbarous faction." He was in the habit of visiting the prisoners personally in their dungeons as he travelled from place to place; but, as he was not acquainted with the reasons of their confinement, he is said to have had no other object in view than to satisfy his curiosity. Lord Ogilvy, one of those condemned to die, had cleverly effected his escape the night before the day appointed for his execution. Another, the Earl of Hartfell, was saved through the influence of Argyll, "out of mere spite" to the Hamiltons, "whose blood [Hartfell's] they thirsted for." In consequence of Lord Ogilvy's escape, Sir Robert Spotiswood, and the others under sentence of death, were so strictly guarded that their nearest friends and relatives were denied access to them. Lochiel, however, determined to see the unfortunate men before their execution, and the difficulty of effecting his purpose only increased his curiosity and resolution to carry it into effect. He chose his opportunity when Argyll was otherwise busily engaged, and finding his way alone to the stronghold in which the doomed Royalists were confined, he called for the Captain of the Guard, and boldly demanded admittance. The officer, hesitating as to what he should do, excused himself by the strictness of his orders. Lochiel, nothing daunted or put out, answered, "What! I thought you had known me better than to fancy that I was included in these orders! In plain terms, I am resolved not only to see these gentlemen, but expect you will convey me to their apartments." These words were spoken with such assurance that the Captain of the Guard, fearing the frowns of the Marquis if he disobliged his favourite, ordered the doors to be opened, personally showed Lochiel into Sir Robert Spotiswood's room, made excuse that he could not stay, and then retired, leaving the two alone together. This interview became the turning point in Lochiel's career, and what took place is altogether so interesting, and so eloquently told by the author of the *Memoirs*, that it is thought best to give it in his own words, merely modernising the spelling. Our author says:—That venerable person [Sir Robert Spotiswood] appeared no way dejected, but received his visitant with as much cheerfulness, as if he had enjoyed full liberty. He viewed him attentively all

over; and, having informed himself who he was, and of the occasion of his being in that place, "Are you," said he, "the son of John Cameron, my late worthy friend and acquaintance, and the grandchild of the loyal Allan MacCoilduy, who was not only instrumental in procuring that great victory to the gallant Marquis of Montrose, which he lately obtained at Inverlochy, but likewise assistant to him in the brave actions that followed, by the stout party of able men that he sent along with him;" and then embracing him with great tenderness, he asked how he came to be put in the hands of the Marquis of Argyll? And Lochiel, having satisfied him as well as he could, he continued, "It is surprising to me that your friends, who are loyal men, should have entrusted the care of your education to a person so opposite to them in principles, as well with respect to the Church as to the State! Can they expect you will learn anything at that school but treachery, ingratitude, enthusiasm, cruelty, treason, disloyalty, and avarice." Lochiel excused his friends and answered that Argyll was as civil and careful of him as his father could possibly be, and he wished to know why he charged Argyll with such vices. Sir Robert answered, that he was sorry he had so much reason; and that, though the civility and kindness he spoke of were dangerous snares for one of his years, yet he hoped, from his own good disposition, and the loyalty and good principles of his relations, he would imitate the example of his predecessors, and not of his patron. Sir Robert then proceeded to explain the history of the Rebellion from its very beginning, the different factions that had conspired against the Crown, the nature of the Constitution, insisting much on "the piety, innocence, and integrity of the King." He omitted no circumstance which he thought necessary to give Lochiel a clear conception of the state of affairs. The youth was amazed at the narrative, to which he listened with great attention. It greatly affected him, and "he felt such a strange variety of motions in his breast, and conceived such a hatred and antipathy against the perfidious authors of these calamities, that the impression continued with him" for the remainder of his life.

Sir Robert Spotiswood was naturally much pleased that his remarks had produced the desired effect. He urged upon Lochiel to leave Argyll as soon as he possibly could, and exhorted him, "as he valued his honour and prosperity in this life, and his

immortal happiness in the next, not to allow himself to be seduced by the artful insinuations of subtle rebels, who never wanted plausible pretexts to cover their treasons; nor to be ensnared by the hypocritical sanctity of distracted enthusiasts; and observed that the present saints and apostles, who arrogantly assumed to themselves a title to reform the Church, and to compel mankind to believe their impious, wild, and indigested notions as so many articles of faith, were either excessively ignorant or stupid, or monstrously selfish, perverse, and wicked. Judge always of mankind, by their actions; there is no knowing the heart. Religion and virtue are inseparable, and are the only sure and infallible guides to pleasure and happiness. As they teach us our several duties to God, to our neighbour, to ourselves, and to our king and country, so it is impossible that a person can be imbued with either, who is deficient in any of these indispensable duties, whatever he may pretend. Remember, young man, that you hear this from one who is to die to-morrow, for endeavouring to perform these sacred obligations, and who can have no interest in what he says, but a real concern for your prosperity, happiness, and honour."

Several hours had elapsed, while he listened to the eloquent and doomed Royalist, before Lochiel became aware that he remained too long. "He took leave with tears in his eyes, and a heart bursting with a swell of passions which he had not formerly felt." He next visited the apartments of Colonel Nathaniel Gordon and William Murray, brother of the Earl of Tulliebardine, both under sentence of death. Murray was a youth of uncommon vigour and vivacity, and, though only in his nineteenth year, he bore his misfortune with such a heroic spirit as greatly impressed Lochiel, to whom the doomed youth stated that he was not afraid to die, since he was to die for the performance of his duty, and was assured of a happy immortality for his reward." Next day these unfortunate men were executed in presence of the young and generous Lochiel.

The effect of Sir Robert Spotiswood's eloquence on the scaffold was so much dreaded by the dominant faction that his mouth was actually stopped by the gag, while he was at the same time tormented with the canting exhortations and rhapsodies of the officiating bloodthirsty ministers of the Kirk.

Lochiel occupied a window, in company with Argyll and

other leaders, directly opposite the scaffold, and the horrid proceedings carried out before his eyes, in the name of religion, so impressed his young, but heroic spirit, that he gave open expression to his excessive grief; and, it is on record, that the exemplary fortitude and resignation of the noble sufferers drew tears from the eyes of most of the spectators, though they had all been prepossessed against the victims by the clergy and other fanatics, as accursed wretches, guilty of the most enormous crimes, and "indicted by God himself, whose Providence had retaliated upon themselves the mischiefs they had so often done to His servants." When the bloody work was over, Lochiel, who still maintained complete secrecy regarding his visit to the doomed men on the previous evening, asked, "What were their crimes? for nothing of the criminal," he remarked, "appeared in their behaviour; they had the face and courage of gentlemen, and they died with the meekness and resignation of men that were not conscious of guilt. I expected to have heard an open confession of their crimes from their own mouths; but they were not allowed to speak, though I am informed that the most wicked robbers and murderers are never debarred that freedom." Argyll was much surprised and not a little startled and amazed upon hearing such observations from so young and inexperienced a man, and he used all his arts and eloquence to remove the impressions which he found had been made on the generous mind of his ward. He justified the conduct of his own party, and painted the actions of his opponents in the most odious colours, saying, "that the behaviour of the sufferers did not proceed from their innocence, but from certain confirmed opinions and principles which were very mischievous to the public, and had produced very fatal effects; that the crimes of robbery, murder, theft, and the like were commonly committed by mean people, and were too glaring, ugly, and odious in their nature to bear any justification, and that, therefore, it was for the benefit of mankind that the criminals should be allowed to recite them in public; because the design was not to make converts, but to strike the audience with horror; that the Provost did wisely in not allowing the criminals to speak, and especially Sir Robert Spotiswood, for he was a man of very pernicious principles, a great Statesman, a subtle lawyer, and very learned and eloquent, and, therefore, the more capable to deduce his wicked maxims and dangerous principles in such

an artful and insinuating manner as would be apt to fix the attention of the people, and to impose upon their understanding. There is such a sympathy in human nature, and the mind is so naturally moved by a melancholy object, that whatever horror we may have at the crime, yet we immediately forget it, and pity the criminal when he comes to suffer; the mind is then so softened, that it is very apt to take such impressions as an artful speaker is inclined to impress upon it; the misery of his condition is an advocate for his sincerity; and we never suspect being imposed upon by a person who is so soon to die, and who can have no interest in what he endeavours to convince us of; and yet experience shows us great numbers who die in the most palpable and pernicious errors, which they are as anxious to proprogate even at the point of death as they were formerly when their passions were most high." His Lordship then proceeded to open the cause of the wars, and accused the King and the Ministers as the sole authors. He alleged that the massacre of the Protestants in Ireland was by his Majesty's warrant; that all the oppressions in England, the open encroachments upon the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of Scotland, and all their other grievances, were the effect of the King's assuming an absolute and tyrannical authority over the lives, liberties, and properties of his subjects; he inveighed against Montrose and his followers, not as the abettors of slavery and tyranny, but as common robbers, and as the public enemies of mankind. He said that the malefactors who had been executed were guilty of the same crimes, and that they justly suffered for murder, robbery, sacrilege, and rebellion. In a word, he pled his cause with such a persuasive eloquence, and with such seeming force of argument and reason, that his discourse would have doubtless made dangerous impressions upon the mind of his young pupil, if it had not been wholly prepossessed by the more solid reasonings of Sir Robert Spotiswood. That great man had fully informed him of all that was necessary to prevent his being thereafter imposed upon; and there is such a beautiful uniformity in truth that it seldom misses to prevail with the generous and unprejudiced."

Lochiel did not then think it proper to answer at any length, or to reveal his real sentiments. All he said was that he had been informed that Montrose was a very brave man, and

that, though he had killed many in battle, he had never heard of any who he had put to death in cold blood; that he wondered that so good a man as the King was said to be could be guilty of so much wickedness; and that he believed the charge either to be the misrepresentations of his enemies, or that such things were the doings of those who managed for him;" that he was himself perhaps too young to judge, but he thought it hard that any man should suffer for what he believed to be true; and that, if the gentlemen whom he saw meeting death that day with so much courage were guilty of no other crimes than fighting for the King—whom they owned as their master—and differing in points of religion, he thought that the laws were far too severe.*

Lochiel was so horrified at the number of executions, the injustice, in his opinion, done to the King, and the aversion which he had conceived to his Majesty's enemies, that he resolved upon leaving Argyll, and returning to Lochaber on the first opportunity that presented itself, fully determined to join Montrose in the cause of the King. Meanwhile, the Battle of Preston had been fought and lost by the Royalists; Cromwell was supreme in the South. He had been invited to Scotland by Argyll and his adherents. Berwick and Carlisle had been delivered up to him by their orders, and, soon after, the King himself was brought to trial and executed. Argyll had meantime returned to Inveraray. Some sanguinary work followed. The Marquis of Argyll and Mr John Newry, "a bloody preacher," induced David Leslie, who commanded the Covenanting troops, to break his word of honour; and after disarming the country people—who surrendered on condition that they would be granted their lives and liberty—were mercilessly put to the sword and massacred in cold blood. Leslie was so horrified with the barbarous slaughter of the disarmed and helpless people that he turned round to Newry—who gloated over the atrocious work as only a religious fanatic could, and who was at the time walking along with Argyll, ankle deep in human blood—and asked him, "Now, Mess John, have you not, for once, gotten your fill of human blood?" These words had the effect of saving eighteen persons, who were, however, immediately carried prisoners to Inveraray, where they would have been allowed to die from starvation were

* *Memoirs of Lochiel*, pp. 76-82.

it not for the humane and generous action of Lochiel, who secretly visited them once a day, and directed food to be conveyed to them, unknown to their enemies, by his own body-servants, or others in whom he could place implicit confidence.

All these inhuman proceedings made Lochiel still more anxious to return home, but as Argyll still continued personally very kind and agreeable to him, he was unwilling or afraid to intimate his wishes to him. He, however, privately wrote to his uncle, in Lochaber, asking him to demand his return home, for some important purpose, promising to send him back to Inveraray whenever the Marquis should require him to do so. On receipt of this communication from his nephew, the Tutor convened a meeting of the leading men of the clan, and, soon after, Argyll was addressed by the clan in a body, while his Lordship was in Moidart to reduce Castletirrim, the stronghold of Clanranald, and the last which held out for the Royal cause in those parts of the Highlands. His Lordship, we are told, the more easily complied with the demand of the Camerons "that he foresaw he would quickly have business enough on his hands in settling the State, which then changed as often as the moon." Lochiel, soon after, in the eighteenth year of his age, returned to Lochaber, amid the plaudits of his retainers, who received him with great pomp, and came a day's journey to meet him. We shall follow him thither in our next.

(To be continued.)

PROCLAMATION AGAINST ROB ROY MACGREGOR.

THE following Proclamation has been sent by a valued correspondent. The original is still in good preservation, among the Records at Inveraray. Curiously, no reference is made to it in Millar's recently published Life of Rob Roy:—

Dieu et mon Droit—BY THE KING. A PROCLAMATION *for the discovering and apprehending* ROBERT CAMPBELL *alias* MACGREGOR, *commonly called* ROB ROY, *for the several crimes therein mentioned.*

George R.

WHEREAS, We have received Information, That upon the Eight and Twentieth day

of *January* last, a party, consisting of an Officer and Twenty Men, marched in order to join another party of the Tenants of the Duke of *Montrose*, that were following a Parcel of Cattle, that had been stolen from one *Drunkie*, a Tenant to the Said Duke of *Montrose*; but it growing very dark the said Party were obliged to take Quarters at *Glanfallow*, in that part of our United Kingdom of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, where they were informed, that *Robert Campbel* alias *MacGregor*, commonly called *Rob Roy*, was that moment gone from thence with a Strong Party, consisting of near Fifty Men well armed: That the said Officer placed Three Sentinels upon the House as soon as he came there, not being able to go further that Night, and that they had not been there above Half an Hour before they heard several shots; Upon which they went out and found one of the Sentinels killed; That the said *Rob Roy's* party fired several Times into the House; but finding that to no Purpose, they followed the Party that belonged to the Duke of *Montrose*, and disarmed them all; and that the said *Rob Roy* shot one of the men as he lay in his bed; We, out of our Royal Inclination to Justice, and to the Intent that the said *Robert Campbel*, alias *MacGregor*, commonly called *Rob Roy*, may be apprehended and punished for his said Offences, in contempt of Our Royal Authority, and to the Destruction of the Lives of Our Subjects, whereby all others may be deterr'd from committing the like Crimes, have thought fit, by the Advice of Our Privy Council, to issue this Our Royal Proclamation; And We are hereby graciously pleased to promoise, That if any Person shall discover the said *Robert Campbel* alias *MacGregor*, commonly called *Rob Roy*, so as he be apprehended and brought to Justice for his said offences, such Discoverer shall have and receive, as a Reward for such Discovery, the sum of Two Hundred Pounds *Sterling;* Whereof our Commissioners for Executing the Office of Treasurer of Our Exchequer, are hereby required to make Payment accordingly; and if any Person who is a Rebel or an Accomplice with the said *Rob Roy*, shall make such Discovery, as aforesaid, such Discoverer shall have and receive the said Reward of Two Hundred Pounds *Sterling*, and also Our Gracious Pardon for his said Offences. And We do hereby strictly Charge and Command all Our Justices of the Peace, and all other Our Officers, and all other Our loving Subjects, that they do use their utmost diligence in their several Places and Capacities, to find out, discover and apprehend the said Offender, in Order to his being brought to Justice. And We do hereby Command that this Our Proclamation be published in the usual Form, that none may pretend Ignorance; And We ordain these presents to be printed, and Our Solicitor to dispatch Copies in the usual Manner.

Given at Our Court at St James's *the 10th Day of* March 1719, *in the 5th Year of Our Reign.*

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Printed by James Watson, One of His Majesty's Printers, 1719.

The document is endorsed as follows:—Proclamation for Discovering and Apprehending Robert roy Campbell alias M'Grigar. Dated 10th March 1719. 27th March 1719 published at the Mercat Cross of Inveraray by John McPhun, Mesgr., before these witnesses—James Campbell, late Provost there; Archd. Campbell, and Charles Stewart, Writers there, with divarse others.

NEIL MACLEOD'S GAELIC SONGS AND POEMS.—A review of this book, just published, held over for our next issue.

THE HISTORY OF THE HIGHLAND CLEARANCES.

THIS is an extremely interesting book for any reader, of whatever nationality, and it has a special charm for Irish readers. It deals with the Scotch phase of the crime, known in this country by the ill-omened name of "evictions," and it draws a horrifying picture of the barbarities perpetrated in the Highlands some half century ago. Mr Mackenzie, living in the present, as well as in the past, carries on his thrilling narrative down to the oppressions of the Skye Crofters of to-day, and his statement all through, from first to last, is nothing less than a ghastly record of landlord rapacity and tenant suffering. Our readers will probably remember that last year we despatched a Commissioner of our own to see for himself and report upon the actual condition of the Skye Crofters, and if we needed any corroboration of Mr Mackenzie's narrative, we have it in our own Commissioner's lucid and impartial letters, written on the spot, out of facts as he saw and found them. A further corroboration is supplied by the appointment of the Royal Commission to inquire into the Crofters' condition. Deserving of every philanthropic, humanitarian, and anti-sham consideration is Mr Mackenzie's matter-of-fact and graphic account of the "clearances" on the ducal estate of Sutherland some half century ago. The details are harrowing, and they read like a description of the performances of our own native crow-bar brigade in the famine period. The ruthless violation of rights, the oppression, the barbarous heartlessness, the tyranny, the legalised wrong-doing, the misery, and the wretchedness, were the same in both countries. The landlord greed was the same in both, and the odious cant about contracts and God's mysterious dispensations were the same also. In the two processes there was this difference, that whereas the Irish landlord officials only levelled the houses of the tenantry, in Scotland they burned down the houses. There was also the further repulsive difference that while in Ireland the Catholic priests to a man sympathised with the people, and identified themselves with the people, in Scotland the Kirk ministers went against their people, and for selfish purposes fraternised with the exterminators. While all this wretchedness and ruin were being forced on their tenantry, the ducal house of Sutherland was posing as conspicuously generous and considerate, and was basking in the beams of the highest Royal favour. Occasionally they visited or held a sort of splendid tournament at Dunrobin Castle, when the starving tenants were compelled to subscribe for gorgeous presentations that were offered up by the ministers and by the evictors. The descendants of the men who fought at Sheriff Muir and Killecrankie, and who had their titles from the Cameronian times, were in a day stripped of all their holdings, were refused all compensation for improvements, and by a modern "Hell of Connaught" migration were literaly driven into the sea. We who know from personal observation in Donegal, and Kerry, etc., what is meant by "patches" on the cliffs, can realise to the full the accuracy of Mr Mackenzie's descriptions of the deplorable plight of the evicted people. The author, we are glad to see, sustains his opinions and judgments by quotations from such writers as Hugh Miller, Professor Blackie, General Stewart, and Rev. Dr Kennedy.—*Freeman's Journal.*

A RUN THROUGH CANADA AND THE STATES.

By Kenneth Macdonald, F.S.A., Scot.

VIII.—Niagara—*(Continued.)*

I committed the mistake of expecting too much. I would not have been surprised had I heard the roar of the Falls at the river mouth, fourteen miles away, or even in the middle of Lake Ontario. But when, after walking down from the station to the river, a turn brought me in front of the Horse-Shoe Fall, where, over a breadth of nearly half-a-mile, the mighty river which carries to the Atlantic the waters of Lakes Superior, Huron, and Erie, poured itself over a precipice one hundred and sixty feet in height into a basin of unknown depth below, it was the comparative silence of the scene that struck me, not the noise. The thunders of Niagara must be sought, not above the Falls, but below them. Above the banks of the river the country is comparatively flat, and furnishes no echoing surface to reinforce the shock of the water. Down below the fall, however, between the steep rocks which form the sides of the river the roar is deafening. I did not, however, go down for a while. I looked at the Horse-Shoe Fall, at Goat Island, and at the American Fall beyond. I knew that the Horse-Shoe Fall, near which I stood, was higher than a building with which I was well acquainted—the Inverness Steeple—and yet I could not realise that it was so high. The disproportion between the height and the breadth of the Fall had something to do with this, but while I looked, a very prosaic thought occurred to me—I would have a smoke. A square log floated down by last spring's floods lay stranded on the river bank, and while I sit on it enjoying the philosophic weed and contemplating the Horse Shoe-Fall, let me explain.

This Fall extends from the Canadian shore to Goat Island. Between Goat Island and the American shore are the American Falls. The Horse-Shoe Fall, although a few feet less in perpendicular height than the American Falls, is by far the grander sight. The Horse-Shoe is not only about double the width of the American Falls, but, according to Sir Charles Lyell's estimate, while

one-hundred and fifty million cubic feet of water passes over the American Falls every minute, nine times that quantity passes over the Horse-Shoe in the same time. The name "Horse-Shoe" is derived from what was once the shape of the Fall, but through a recession of the river, it now bears little resemblance to a horse-shoe, the shape being more like an inverted letter A. The volume of water passing over this Fall is estimated to be fully twenty feet thick in the centre, and this calculation was once confirmed in a somewhat singular manner. In 1829, a ship named the "Detroit" having been condemned, was brought and sent over the Falls. On board there were put a live bear, a deer, a buffalo, and several smaller animals. The vessel was almost knocked to pieces in the Rapids, but a large portion of her hull went over entire. She drew eighteen feet of water, but she took the awful plunge over the Fall without touching the rock.

After resting for a while at the side of the Fall, I walked up the river towards the Clarkhill Islands, and over the twin Suspension Bridges, Castor and Pollux. There is little to see in the islands that cannot be as well seen without going there, but having satisfied the demands of a benevolent looking gentleman, who is licensed to lighten the purses of simple strangers, I crossed the first bridge and went onwards through the Islands. Apart from the view of the Rapids, the only object of interest which the visitor to the Islands is privileged to see is the "Burning Spring." This is merely a natural flow of imflammable hydrogen out of a crevice in a rock below water. The gas is collected in a cylinder, and led to the surface in an inch pipe. After showing that the gas will burn at the end of the pipe, the obliging attendant removes the pipe and applies a lighted taper to the surface of the water in the well, which is immediately covered with the flame of the escaping gas. Nothing wonderful in all this—certainly nothing to see which any intelligent schoolboy cannot substantially reproduce at home. The name "Burning Spring" is, however, a good name to conjure with. Visitors to Niagara are prepared to be astonished, and they do not always take time to reflect that although water runs down hill rather rapidly there, it is not likely to become sufficiently heated to burn readily. A vague notion, however, that the Niagara river may set its waters on fire transfers

a goodly number of dollars to the wallet of the benevolent looking gentleman at the end of the bridge during the season. At the Burning Spring, as at every other place about Niagara where visitors are likely to call, there is a collection of trinkets and books, more or less connected with the locality, which the innocent stranger is permitted to acquire at about three times their value. If he does not show his appreciation of the privilege by purchasing voluntarily, he is pressed so persistently to purchase one article after another that he is at last glad to escape at no greater sacrifice than that of all his loose change. On my return through the Clarkhill Islands I took advantage of the facilities they afforded for observing the Rapids closely. Here the river rushes down towards the Falls, over its uneven limestone bed, with tremendous speed, the fall in the Rapids being about 80 feet in less than a mile. The water is broken into waves and eddies as it rushes past, but before wave or eddy has time to form itself the swift current has carried it far below the obstacle which caused it.

Returning again to the Falls their grandeur and impressiveness seem to grow. The great height of the Falls is now manifest, notwithstanding their breadth. At first sight the breadth seems to dwarf the height—now the height from which the water falls; the great body of the water itself and the dull roar with which it tumbles into the cauldron beneath makes an impression which can hardly be described. The impulse to go down among the roaring waters, to see all that man can see of them and know all that can be known, is irresistible. A winding staircase leads down the edge of the precipice to a ledge below the Fall, but the visitor who desires to make this journey must first be rendered waterproof. In a short time I found myself inside of a waterproof coat and trousers, the former tightly secured round the neck and wrists, and the latter fastened round the ankles and overlapping the boot. A waterproof cap completed my outfit, and when it was complete I felt that I ran very little risk of a wetting if all Niagara fell on top of me. Having paid my dollar and obtained a check I crossed the road—feeling, I must confess, somewhat ashamed of the figure I cut—and proceeded down the stairway. Half-way down I met two or three gentlemen ascending, and they presented so drenched an appearance—water run-

ing from their hair, down their faces, over their waterproof suits, and oozing from them all over—that I wondered if they had taken a "header" into the river. I soon learned that this was not necessary. Behind them came a guide, who turned back with me. As we neared the bottom of the stairs, they became wet and slippery, and I hardly needed the guide's warning to step carefully. When the stair ended we stepped on to the ledge, and moved along it carefully. Gradually it became narrower, and, as we came to the narrowest part, where a bare foothold is all that the wet and slippery limestone shelf affords, and where the slightest slip, or even a little nervousness, might precipitate the unfamiliar visitor on to the jagged boulders at the bottom of the precipice, the guide, who all along went in front, grasped me firmly by the wrist, and, again cautioning me, moved slowly onwards. Long before we had gone far enough to satisfy me the guide stopped—to go further was impossible. At one time the ledge extended some distance further, but the continual wearing away of the rock by the erosive action of the water rendering it dangerous, it was blown up by order of the Government. What the scene was which presented itself to the fortunate visitor of earlier years I cannot say, but at this point of lesser vantage it was very grand. Clinging to the wet wall of rock behind, and looking through the thick rain-like downpour of spray which fills the whole space between the main body of the water and the rock, the waters of Niagara are seen to pour over the edge of the Fall in a solid layer which curves over and out from the rock, and reaches the pool below not only without again touching the rock over which it falls, but at a considerable distance from its base. In the Rapids the waters rush onwards and downwards as if hurrying to their fall. At the Fall there is no hurry—all is deliberate, irresistible, sublime. Seen from below, the waters come over the Fall as if the need for haste was past, and they were reaching their rest. Here the rush of the Rapids is hushed—the waters take their wonderful leap in silence—through the solid, crystal-like mass the brilliant sunlight is reflected with a tinge of emerald green, and all above is peace. But from below comes a thundering, deafening roar, constant, awful. From rock to rock the dull reverberations of the falling water are hurled back multiplied a thousand-fold until the whole space is filled with the thunders of

Niagara. It is here, right down in the heart of the chasm, that the thunders of the great river are to be heard—those who desire to hear them must seek them. Down at the foot of the precipice are heaped up mighty fragments torn by the resistless waters from the hard limestone rock over which it pours—these are the chips of Niagara's workshop, and considering the amount of work which Niagara has done, and is doing, the number of chips is marvellously small. But like all great rivers, one of the features of Niagara's work is the removal of the chips. For thousands of years the river has been cutting back through the solid rock over which it runs, with such effect that the Niagara Falls are now seven miles nearer Lake Erie than they were when that lake first sent its waters by the Niagara River into Lake Ontario. Of the enormous mass of rock removed during this process all that remains in sight is what is now at the foot of the Falls—all the rest has been carried in the shape of boulders, pebbles, or sand, down the river and into Lake Ontario by the Niagara. Part of the work has no doubt been done by ice, but the ice was Niagara's. And when, in the course of centuries, the Falls which are now receding at the rate of something like a foot per annum, have receded beyond Goat Island, and have left the American Fall a dry precipice, all that will remain visible of the solid rock on which the river now runs will be a few heaps of boulders at the foot of the Horse Shoe Fall, which may even then retain enough of its present shape to entitle it to retain its present name. Down there, too, among the boulders lies the secret of the comparatively rapid recession of the Falls. Had the river only to deal with the hard limestone which forms the face of the whole upper part of the cliff and bed of the river, there would be comparatively little erosion, and the Falls, instead of being where they now are, would probably be several miles further down the river, for the erosive action of river water upon compact limestone is small. But down at the base of this limestone formation there is a bed of shale, upon which the recoiling eddies at the foot of the Fall act with an effect which would be impossible with a more compact rock. Little by little the action of the water removes the shale from below the limestone, until the latter, losing its support, first cracks and then tumbles down in broken masses to the foot. In this way new

rock faces are presented to the water, and the process of destruction is ever being renewed.

All this while my guide is waiting for me. I ask him a few questions, yelling them into his ear, but conversation is impossible, and we start on the return. By this time I have realised that it is not necessary to take a header to present such a drenched appearance as my predecessors did. So far as I can judge, I am more moist than even they were. A good rub with a rough towel puts me right, however, and having doffed my strange toggery, I make for the doorway, but again the ubiquitous man with something to sell intervenes. He sees me making for the door, and addressing one of his assistants—who, grateful, I believe, for a "quarter" tip, is attempting to save my purse by landing me safely outside—he asked whether the gentleman had been through the museum. The gentleman had not, and didn't want to. But a refusal would not be taken—the museum was *free* and very interesting, and go I must. What was in that museum I have not the slightest idea. I never saw anything but a devouring horde of salesmen and women, each pressing the purchase of his or her wares. Photographs, jewellery, books, Indian work, and rubbish of all kinds were for sale. I attempted to escape, but it was no use. At last I offered to compromise with them—they were all the servants of the gentlemanly spider who had induced me to walk into his little parlour—I would select and pay for *one* article on condition no attempt was made to get me to purchase more. This was agreed to, and I selected some Spar trinkets, price nine dollars, value rather less than one. While my purchase was being packed up, nature asserted itself in one of the horde, who thought he had got a good thing; but a threat to cancel my past purchase for breach of contract secured me peace and escape at no greater sacrifice than thirty-six shillings for the privilege of not seeing a *free* museum, and of becoming the happy possessor of a few trifles of little value and less use. I was by this time getting my eye teeth cut, and, as I left the place, I felt that the only safe course was to treat every person about Niagara as a scoundrel until he proved he was something else. I wished to see the whirlpool, which is about three miles lower down the river than the Falls, and, as the day was hot and my time limited, I resolved to make a trial of the Niagara hackmen.

K. M'D.

GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS

PATRIOTIC SPEECH BY MR HENRY COCKBURN MACANDREW.

THE twelfth annual gathering of the Gaelic Society took place in the New Town Hall on Thursday evening, 12th of July. Mr H. C. Macandrew, Sheriff-Clerk of Inverness-shire, occupied the chair, supported on the platform by Captain Chisholm of Glassburn, Mr Malcolm Mackenzie, Guernsey; Mr George Swann, of Burmah; Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Mr William Mackay, solicitor; Dr F. M. Mackenzie, Inverness; Mr Colin Chisholm, do.; Bailie Smith, Bailie Macbean, Bailie Melven, Councillor Simpson, Mr Samuel Maclaren, merchant, Leith; Mr George Miller Sutherland, Wick; and Councillor Charles Mackay. There was a crowded attendance, many being unable to gain admission to the Hall.

Apologies for unavoidable absence were intimated from Sheriff Nicolson, the Earl of Dunmore, Lord Archibald Campbell, Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P.; Sir George Macpherson-Grant, Bart. of Ballindalloch, M.P.; Mr Cameron of Lochiel, M.P.; Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch, Bart; Professor Mackinnon, of the Celtic Chair; Cluny Macpherson of Cluny; Mr Mackenzie, yr. of Kintail; Mackintosh of Mackintosh; Mr John Mackay, Hereford; Mr Lachlan Macdonald of Skaebost; Professor Blackie, Mr Mackintosh of Holme, Mr Kenneth Macdonald, Town-Clerk of Inverness; and others.

The Chairman, who was received with loud applause, after a few preliminary remarks, said—On the first occasion on which I spoke at a meeting of this Society I ventured to say that the object and the duty of societies like this ought to lie in the direction of endeavouring to preserve the remnant of the Highland people in their native land. (Applause.) At that time this question had not come so prominently before the public as it has since; but what I said then I still maintain—what I said then is still true—that our paramount object ought to be to preserve the remnant of the Highland population on their native soil. (Applause.) We know that, not very long ago, there were a great many people who thought that the best thing that could be done for the Highlander was to transplant him from his native soil to somewhere else. In my opinion, great wrong and mischief were done by the carrying out of that idea. And I say that, while we may give all possible credit for the motives of the people who, in times past, acted in ways, the result of which we so strongly disapprove and deplore, we cannot help expressing our opinion that wrong was done, that mischief was done—wrong and mischief which, in great part, can never be repaired. (Applause.) At the same time, we must recognise that there is much that may yet be done for the people that now live on the soil, and it is, therefore, our duty to consider carefully the position in which we stand in relationship to them. Not so very long ago, it was a common opinion on the part of travellers from all parts of the world, that the Highlanders of Scotland were a barbarous race, and had always been so. Now, I think that the researches that have been going on for a long time, and which are still going on, tend to show us, and to show us very conclusively, that even our remote ancestors were not such barbarians as they are too generally supposed to have been. We find that there existed in remote ages, among our forefathers, a native school of art; and we all know that many of the materials of the art of these remote ancestors would do no discredit to the art of the present day. (Applause.) And although architecture was never the forte of the Highlanders, still we know that there are remains in this country of things

which were undoubtedly constructed by our ancestors, which show excellent skill in adapting the scanty means within their command to the ends in architecture which they had in view. (Applause.) In metals we know that, even as long ago as the Roman occupation, a system of art was developed which has expression in the fact that the people—even these barbarians, as they were called—who fought against the Roman soldiery, fought with weapons constructed with considerable artistic skill. So that, considering these and many other well ascertained facts regarding our ancestors, it is perfectly clear that we are descended from a race who, at neither a remote nor at a comparatively recent time, could, with any sense of justice, be designated as savages or barbarians. (Applause.) And while we hear and read a great deal from a class of travellers, who came into the country in recent times as to the wretchedness and barbarity which characterised the lives of the people, still I think we find that, when the Highland people came into contact—even into hostile contact—with the people of the Southern country, they did not appear to be either the wretched or the savage people they were supposed to be. There are, for instance, several remarkable occasions on which Highlanders marched into the South country, even into England; and while some there are who say that in disbanded bodies they were ready to commit ravages, yet their conduct with those in the South with whom they came in contact was such as to be remarkably the reverse of all this. It is a trite story that, when the Highlanders were retreating from England, after the march from Derby, they received far more kindness and consideration from the people than did the King's soldiers, who were pursuing them. (Applause.) But, coming to a more recent time—the time when the ancient system of things in the Highlands was breaking up—and when a great Minister found it to be to the advantage of this country to recruit, as soldiers, from those wretched subjects—from those barbarians—(A laugh)—we find that the regiments then raised—I say nothing about their bravery—had, in all the virtues of modern civilisation, attained a very high standard. (Applause.) Their conduct in the field and in the barracks was very much higher than that of any other regiments in the service, and all those qualities—prudence, temperance, self-denial—which go to constitute a good man and a good soldier—which go to constitute a good soldier, because they tend to preserve in the man the physical and the moral fibre—all these qualities, I say, were displayed by those Highland regiments in a very remarkable degree indeed. (Loud applause.) There is no finer example of these characteristics in any soldier in any other country in the world—not even in that remarkable German army which invaded France a few years ago. (Loud applause.) These being some of the facts regarding the people from whom we are descended, and whose characteristics we trace in our blood, I think I am right in saying that we ought to be possessed of the means of preserving that race on its native soil, under the conditions with and by which their virtues, their manliness, and the temperance and prudence which characterised them grew up. (Applause.) Now, what were these conditions? What I said before, and I repeat now, is that the conditions which produced the virtues which distinguished the people of the Highlands was a state of pastoral and agricultural life, and that the Highlander appeared in that state in his true and best character. He was master of his own house and household, he was a cultivator of the land, and he was the owner of flocks and herds. Now, if we wish the people to remain on their native soil, and to retain that degree of civilisation—not the highest, certainly—but that degree of civilisation which produced the most admirable qualities in men, that ancient state of society and land distribution to which I have referred must be restored. The subject is now demanding the attention of the Crown, of the Legis-

lature, and of the people of the country, and, while I express no opinion as to the results which may accrue from the Royal Commission that is now pursuing its labours, I venture to hope that these results may be such that they will aid such societies as this in the object that ought to animate them—the object, namely, of preserving these people in their native land. (Loud applause.) One thing has come very prominently before us already, and that is that, among the people of the Highlands themselves, at all events, the idea is that they require to be restored to that state to which I have referred, under which they were masters of their houses and households, cultivators of the soil, and masters of flocks and herds—that state which, it is conclusively proved, was that of their ancestors, and which developed a people of the most admirable character. (Applause.) That opinion was expressed by many long before the Commission sat. It is one that has been frequently stated, and it is one which the little experience I have had, as a business man, and as a man residing here, led me to form long ago, and to form very strongly indeed. I expressed that before the Commission sat, and I express it now more confidently than ever—that, if the people must be what their forefathers were, there must be an entire change in the system by which land is distributed among the people of this country. (Applause.) My own opinion may not coincide with that of many, but I think you will all agree with me in expressing the hope that it may be brought about without division among classes, without strife among contending interests—that it may be brought about by men of ancient families, who still possess land, reverting to the policy of their forefathers, and cherishing the people before their pockets—that is, looking to the people rather than to the material revenue which they derive from their estates. (Applause.) The mistake of the past has been that land and money were put before the people that lived upon the soil. The policy of the future will be to put a man above his meat; and to see that the production of men will be of greater importance than the production of food for men who live elsewhere. We hear that there are too many people in the land, and that a great many of them are very poor. Well, the land at one time did maintain a great many more people than it does now. Very frequently, no doubt, there was a great want of food in the remote districts, but I have not the least doubt, I have not the least hesitation in saying, from all that I know, and all that I have read, that, while that may have happened, and it did happen oftener in times past, perhaps, than in late years—I have no hesitation in saying that I feel that the people led happier and more cheerful lives than they now do. They recognised that man does not live by bread alone, and that there is a great deal more required for human life than the mere clothes that one wears, or the bread that one eats. Those who constantly cry about poverty, and the want of riches among the people, and who urge poverty as a reason for driving the people out of the country, remind me of a saying of Dr Johnson, who, out of his contempt for mere money, said, when he was told of a man who had married a lady for her riches, "Poor devil, he can only eat three meals a-day, and wear only one suit of clothes at a time." (Laughter.) All that we can eat, or drink, or put on is a small part of the life of man; and I have no hesitation in saying that, with the advantages which our forefathers possessed, they led much happier lives than we do. The wretchedness they endured was temporary and not general. On the whole, I think they had much more of what went to constitute the happiness of life than we have. What may be the reason of the change I cannot say, but there is no doubt that the joyousness has gone out of the life of the Highland people, and societies of this kind, with all other kindred bodies, ought to keep the cultivation of music, of sports, and

all things that lend life and joyousness to the people continually before their minds and inclinations. (Applause.) As I have already said, if we are to keep the people, there must be some change in the system by which land is to be distributed. It is said there are too many people in the country, and that those that are in it are poor. That, no doubt, is very true. But there is no man living, no sane man certainly in any society, who will suppose, or who can expect that, in days like these, we shall have no such thing as poverty, or no such thing as wretchedness. But, I should like to ask, are poverty and wretchedness confined to the Highlands? Are poor dwellings confined to the Highlands? (Hear, hear.) It is only lately that I read appalling statistics regarding the people in large towns, and that I found that half the population of Glasgow lived in one room—whole families in one room. Now, we don't see it proposed—it has never, so far as I know, been proposed—that, because these people are poor, and because these people live in wretched houses, they ought to be prevented from living there, and that they should be forced to go where they don't want to go—(Applause)—and where, probably, they might be better off. I would put no bar in the way of emigration, but all the virtue and all the good are taken out of emigration unless it is undertaken voluntarily, or as the result of the spirit or aspiration of the man himself. (Applause.) My point is this—that because we have poverty in the Highlands that is no reason why we should not have people. (Renewed applause.) We have the highest authority for the saying that the poor we shall have always with us, for no system will prevent the idle, the intemperate, or the improvident from degenerating into poverty. I fear, however, that there is no sufficient inducement to people in the condition to which I refer—the people of the Highlands—to be provident, to be saving, to be industrious. It would be wrong to blame one class of men for this. But there can be no doubt that the great part of the population of the Highlands has been reduced to a dead level, from which there is no outlook. If there was a re-distribution of land to something like what was the case, as we see in the evidence before the Commission, in the times of our fathers and our grandfathers—times when there was something from the Chief lower than the Chief, and something lower than that, and something lower still, and all actually possessing some home and some cattle—if there was some distribution of that kind there would be something for the people to look out for; whereas now, the outlook is merely the possession of a croft of the smallest dimensions with no possibility of improvement in condition, no matter what degree of thrift or industry a man may exercise. And the great reason of this is that there is nothing between this little croft and the great sheep run which requires thousands and thousands of pounds to stock it. (Applause.) That is the burden of my song. I wish that the people would remain at home, a considerable number of hem at least, and would be happy and prosperous in their native land. And if we cannot reform the laws, and if we cannot find any scheme of laws which might carry out what in this respect we wish, yet we can all hope for this—we can all, by turning our mind and energies to it, bring about at all events a state of public opinion which will make it the pride and the honour of the men who have the power to raise on the soil a comfortable and an independent class of small farmers. (Applause.) I say, in conclusion, to all who have the power to make laws, to all who have the power or money at their command, to all who have property to defend, to take to heart the lines addressed to Cumberland—

> "But you and yours may yet be glad
> To Trust an honest Highland lad;
> Wi' bonnet blue, and belted plaid,
> He'll stan' the best o' three men."

(Loud cheers.)

Dr F. M. Mackenzie followed with a Gaelic address. He said—Fhir-na-cathrach, a bhaintighearnan, agus a dhaoin-uaisle, cha'n fhios domh ciod a chuir an cinn luchd riaghlaidh a chomuinn m'ainmse chuir sios airson oraid Ghailig thoirt dhuibh air an fheasgar so. Aon ni tha mi 'n dochas nach eil an Comunn tinn, agus uime sin a cuir feum air leighiche. Cho fada sa 's leir dhomhsa tha e ann am brod slàinte. Ged nach eil am balachan dusan bliadhna dh'aois tur fathast, tha e air fàs na ghille tapaidh, le ruthadh na slàinte na ghruaidhibh, agus a shuil gu soillear, beothal, glan. Aig an aois sin, mar tha fios agaibh, bidh an gille beag gle dhualach air a bhi 'g 'iarraidh a thoil fein, agus a deanamh tàire air muinntear is sine agus is glice na e fein. Math a fheudta gu'n dean e dimeas air lighte agus bainne, agus aran coirce; agus gum bi e am barail gur aran cruithneachd agus cupan deth 'n ti gu mòr is fearr. Is aithne dhomh moran muinntear a tha corr us dusan bliadhna dh-aois a tha dheth 'n bharail amaideach so. "Ach is olc a ghaoth nach seid seol cuideigin." Tha iad sin a toirt moran oibear do leighiche, agus mar sin tha iad nam muinntear ro-theumal 'san t-saoghal. Bidh an gille beag dualach cuideachd air tàir a dheanamh air cainnt a mhathar—a Ghailig bhinn cheolmhor. Mur dean e sin, gu dearbh cha'n e sin coire cuid de luchd teagaisg. "You canna get on if you speak the Gaelic" ars iadsan. "Get on" ann, no "get on" as, innsidh mi so dhuibh—cha chum a Ghailig air ais aon agaibh gu bràth. Biodh Beurla aig na h-uile neach gun teagamh; ach ma bhios dà fhaobhar air a chlaidheamh, 's ann gu cinnteach is mo ni e mharbhadh. So their mi—ma tha balachan am eisdeachd a runachadh a bhi na leighiche 'san Taobh-tuath, biodh fios aige gun cuir a Ghailig iomadh punnd Sassunach 'sa bhliadhna na sporan, mar is urrain dhomh a dhearbhadh o m' fhiosrachadh fhein. Ni àraidh eile, agus se so e—mo thruaigh an gille beag ma ni e tàir 'us dimeas air an aois agus an ceann liath! Cha chreid mi ni math gu brath as a leth ma bhios e ciontach do ghiulan cho maslach. Ann sa bhaile so, 's gann là nach eil comhradh agam ri seann mhuinntear—daoine 'us mnathan a rugadh 'sa dh'araicheach 's na glinn. 'S gann tha focal Beurla na'n ceann. So seann duine agaibh, le chiabhan liath, le aodann air preasadh, a dhruim a bha aon uair direach mar chraobh ghiuthais a nise air cromadh gu làr. Tha sporan aotrom, agus uime sin tha chridhe trom. Tha e gearan laigse agus di-cail. Dheoraich mi dheth ciod a thug na bhaile so e. Gu dearbh cha b' ann le m' dheoin, ars esan, am baile grannda, 's bochd gu 'm faca mi riamh e. Chan fhaighear ni gun an sgillin an so, agus gu tric cha'n 'eil an sgillin ann. 'S bochd nach robh mi 's an *Achadh Bhuidhe*, le mo ghearran math eich, mo dha mhart bainne, agus mo leth cheud caora. 'Se achadh *dubh* a bh'ann an là fhuair mis' e, le fraoch, 'us pris, 'us conas; ach le fallas mo ghruaidh thionndaidh mi e gu bhi na achadh *buidhe*. Carson a dh'fhag sibh e? ars' mise. Thainig uachdaran ùr a stigh do 'n oighreachd, ars esan, agus cha b-fhiach leis ach frith fheidh a dheanamh deth 'n talamh; agus, ged bu chruaidh e, b-fheudar fhagal. Cha chuirinn dragh fada orra, oir tha mi fagus do chrich mo thurais. 'Nan robh e nam chomas, arsa mise, so an leigheas a bheirinn dhuibh, sibh dhol air ais gus an *Achadh Bhuidhe* far am faigh sibh pailteas ìm agus bainne; agus an aite glagraich nan sraid g'an 'ur bodhradh, bithidh ceilearan an eoin agus cronan nan sruth ri 'r cluais. Tha fios agaibh gu'n d'ordaich a Bhan-righ choir do dhaoin' uasal urramach teachd a rannsachadh a mach aobhar gearan croitearan na Gaidhealtachd—agus is cinnteach mise gu'n coimhearlaich iad ceartas a dheanamh eadar duine agus duine. Tha aobhar gearan agaibhse, a dhuine choir, bhur cuir a mach as an dachaidh a rinn sibh le bhur lamhan fein, nar seann aois, 'nuair nach robh sibh comasach air dachaidh eile dheanamh. Cha tachair a leithid sin tuilleadh nar tìr. Tha ghrian ag eiridh air na Gael. Tha na laithean mun do sgriobh am bard gu cinnteach air teachd dlu :—

Theid aineolas nis as an tìr,
'S gach cleachdadh neo-dhireach crom,
A's mealaidh sinn sonas a's sìth,
Gun fharmad no strì 'n ar fonn ;
Theid sgoilean chuir suas anns gach cearn,
Bidh leabhraichean Gàelig pailt ;
Bidh eolas a's diadhachd a fàs,
Thig gach duine gu stà 's gu rath.

Nis "togaidh na Gàeil an ceann,
'S bha bhi iad am fang ni's mò ;"
Bi'dh aca ard fhoghlum nan Gall,
A's tuigse neo mhall na chòir :
Theid innleachdan 's oibribh air bonn,
Chuireas saibhreas 'n ar fonn gu pailt,
Bidh 'n dìblidh cho laidir ri sonn,
'S am bochd cha bhi lom le airc !

This speech was well delivered, well received, and warmly applauded throughout.

The vocal and instrumental programme, as usual, embraced an excellent selection of Gaelic airs and melodies. Miss Watt contributed two songs—"The Standard on the Braes o' Mar," and "Doun the Burn, Davie, Lad," both of which she rendered in a rich tone of voice, and with fine feeling. Encores were demanded in each case, Miss Watt replying on the first occasion with "Home, Sweet Home." Miss Hutcheson rendered two Gaelic songs in a very tasteful and feeling manner, and was heartily encored. Mr Paul Fraser, Mr Hugh Fraser, and Mr John Whyte also contributed Gaelic songs with much success, being accompanied on the pianoforte by Miss Chisholm. Pipe music, by Pipe-Major Maclennan, and Highland dancing, by Pipe-Major D. H. Ferguson, Inverness; Mr Kenneth Macdonald, Castle Street, Inverness; Mr Donald Munro, Millburn ; and Mr John Fraser, Highland Railway Station, Inverness, all in full Highland costume, made up a most successful programme.

Mr William Mackay, solicitor, moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman for his excellent address, and to the ladies and gentlemen who had contributed so much to the evening's enjoyment, which was heartily accorded.

The Secretary, Mr William Mackenzie, as usual, did his work well, and deserves the warm recognition of the Society for the success of his efforts in the peculiar circumstances attending this year's meeting.

A CELTIC DEPARTMENT IN MORNINGSIDE COLLEGE.—Celtic matters are pressing more and more to the front. It will be seen by reference elsewhere that the Directors of Morningside College, Edinburgh, intimate a new department, where "Celtic students will receive special aid from the Principal," who is himself a well-known Celtic scholar. "The Celtic languages may be taken as an alternative subject in the modern subjects" taught in the College ; and "should a sufficient number of Gaelic students offer themselves for competition, prizes will be offered for practical and theoretical knowledge of the language." This should make the College specially attractive to Northern students ; and all interested in Celtic learning should encourage a patriotic movement like this on the part of the Directors in such a way as will ensure its complete success, and consequent imitation by others, especially by the Royal Academy of the Highland Capital, where in its palmy days a similar department was maintained, but for many years it has been very shortsightedly and unpatriotically excluded from its curriculum.

THE

CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

No. XCV. SEPTEMBER 1883. VOL. VIII.

CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.

By Alexander Macbain, M.A.

V—.Celtic Characteristics.

Of the physical characteristics of the Celts, except to show unity or diversity of descent, it would be needless to speak in discussing their Mythology; but there are so many Irish legends bearing upon the early ethnology of these islands, with continual reference to small dark men, tall brown-haired and fair-haired races, that it is necessary to at least glance at the question. The unanimity of ancient opinion in making the Celts tall and fair-haired has already been noticed, and in the myths the ideal of beauty is, as a rule, what is told of the summer isles of the West, where dwelt a divine race of the pure Celtic type, "long-faced, yellow-haired hunters" and goddesses with hair like gold or the flower of the broom. Another type of beauty was recognised: Peredur or Percival of Wales, as well as the lady Deirdre of Irish story, would have no consort unless the hair was black as the raven's wing, the skin as white as snow, and the two red spots in the cheeks as red as the blood of the bird which the raven was eating in the snow. But, "if you look at the Celtic countries," says the author of "Loch-Etive and the Sons of Uisnach," "that is, countries in which Celtic was spoken in old time, or is spoken now, you find a predominance of dark hair." There would seem,

therefore, to have been a decided change in the colour of the hair among the Celts since the times of Cæsar and Tacitus; but whether this is due to mingling of races or is connected with a higher nervous activity, for fair-haired children become dark-haired as the nervous system becomes more active by years, is a question which, though important for the mythologist to know in its bearing on the migration and borrowing of myths and manners, yet cannot be decided in the present state of knowledge. We have still among us the remnants of the small dark people, and, if Professor Rhys is right, the Highlands must mostly in race be of the fair Finnish type that anteceded the Celts, with just sufficient of the Celtic conqueror among them as to take his language and general manners.

There is, however, a more wonderful agreement in the mental characteristics formerly attributed to the Celts with what we now regard as the Celtic character. Roman writers have noticed their wonderful quickness of apprehension, their impressibility and great craving for knowledge, qualities which have rendered the Celt a very assimilable being in the fusion of races. They were generous to a degree; prompt in action, but not very capable of sustained effort. Cæsar is never tired speaking of the "mobilitas" —changeableness—of the Gauls, and also of their "celerity," both mental and physical. Another feature noticed from the very first, and still noticeable in the Celts, is their fondness for colour; "loudness," we might say, both in colour and sound, musical or other, has been especially attractive to them. They appear in flaming tartan dresses before the walls of Rome in 390 B.C., as we see from both Livy and Virgil. "They wear," says Diodorus Siculus, a writer of the 1st century, "bracelets and armlets, and round their necks thick rings, all of gold, and costly finger rings, and even golden corselets; they have dyed tunics, flowered with colours of every kind, and striped cloaks fastened with a brooch, and divided into numerous many-coloured squares." In this description we have the tartan, but unfortunately the kilt had not yet made its appearance; the Gauls and ancient Britons actually wore tartan trousers! Their love of ornament and colour appears strongly in the mythic tales equally of Wales, Ireland, and the Highlands; indeed, so rich is the description in one Welsh tale that at the end of it we are told that "no one knows

the 'Dream of Rhonabwy' without a book, neither bard nor gifted seer; because of the various colours that were on the horses, and the many wondrous colours of the arms, and of the panoply and of the precious scarfs, and of the virtue-bearing stones."

We can trace among the Celts the same succession of political life that we find in some of the other Aryan nations, notably the Greeks and the Romans. The patriarchal system of Aryan times had given place on European soil to kings, who were merely larger editions of the patriarchs of old. They were kings of the Homeric type; for the Irish kings are not accurately represented in the lives of the saints as Pharaohs surrounded with Druids and magicians. The king consulted the chiefs beneath him, and the people, after this consultation, were told of his pleasure, but could only, apparently, murmur approval or disapproval. In the course of time, the chiefs abolished the kingly power, and conducted matters themselves as an oligarchy, often cruelly oppressing the common people. In Greece, the oligarchy was overthrown by some clever man who sided with the common people and, through them, made himself "tyrant," as they called it. The last step was the abolition of tyranny and the setting up of a democracy. Rome shows much the same historical sequence, only the tyrant does not appear; the oligarchy extended some privileges to the commons, and a sort of union was established, which, however, in the end, failed, and gave place to an Imperial sway. Among the Gauls we have distinct traces of all these phenomena, "though," as Professor Rhys says, "no Gaulish Herodotus or Livy was found to commit them to the pages of history." Gaul would appear to have just passed through the stage when tyrants and oligarchs were struggling with the people; for Cæsar found everywhere "the sulking and plotting representatives of the fallen dynasties, and readily turned them into use, either in bringing information about what was going on in the senates of the peoples who had expelled their ancestors from the office of king, or in keeping their states in subjection by appointing them kings in the room of their fathers and under Roman protection." No wonder then that Cæsar tells us that Gaul was torn asunder by factions. Britain had yet retained its kings, and appears to have lost them only when the Island was conquered by the

Romans. Ireland had its five kings even within historic times; and the history of Scotland during the Stuart period shows how nearly an oligarchy came to rule this country.

The old Celtic population of both Gaul and Britain appears to have been very prosperous. They were excellent farmers, but their chief riches lay in their cattle; and their food, especially in Britain, was mostly flesh, milk, and cheese. Posidonius, in the first century before Christ, has left us a description of a Gaulish banquet which is important as reflecting light on the myths and tales of later Irish times. He was delighted at the antique simplicity of his entertainers, and amused at their Gallic frivolity and readiness for fighting at meal times. "They were just like the people in Homer's time." The guest was not asked his name or the purpose of his journey until the feast was over. They sat on a carpet of rushes or on the skins of animals in front of little tables. There was plenty of meat, roast and boiled, which they ate, after the fashion of lions, gnawing the joint, but they would at times use their small bronze knives, kept in a separate sheath by the side of the sword. Beer was their drink, which they poured through their long moustaches like water through a sieve or funnel. "The minstrels sang and the harpers played, and, as the company drank, they bowed to the right in honour of their god. The guests sat in three rings—nobles, shield-bearers, and javelin-men—all in order of their precedence." If they quarrelled about the food, they would get up and fight it to the death; and sometimes the guests were entertained with sword-play, and sometimes even a man would consent to die to amuse the rest, so careless were they of life. Their conduct and appearance in battle and in the chase is no less important for us to notice. "We seem," says Mr Elton, "to see the Brigantian soldier, with his brightly-painted shield, his pair of javelins and his sword hilt 'as white as the whale's-bone': his matted hair supplied the want of a helmet, and a leather jerkin served as a cuirass. When the line of battle was formed, the champions ran out to insult and provoke the foe; the chiefs rode up and down on their white chargers shining in golden breastplates, others drove the war chariots along the front, with soldiers leaning out before their captain to cast their spears and handstones; the ground shook with the prancing of horses, and the

noise of the chariot wheels. We are recalled to scenes of old Irish life which so strangely reproduce the world of the Greek heroes and the war upon the plains of Troy. We see the hunters following the cry of the hounds through the green plains and sloping glens; the ladies at the feast in the woods, the game roasting on the hazel-spits, 'fish and flesh of boar and badger,' and the great bronze cauldrons at the fireplace in the cave. The hero, Cuchulain, passes in his chariot brandishing the heads of the slain; he speaks with his horses, the Gray and 'Dewy-Red,' like Achilles on the banks of Scamander. The horses, in Homeric fashion, weep tears of blood and fight by their master's side; his sword shines redly in his hand, the 'light of valour' hovers round him, and a goddess takes an earthly form to be near him and to help him in the fray."

The Gaulish Religion.

The religion of the Gauls is the only Celtic religion of which we have any description, such as it is, left. Now, we should be justified in assuming that the Gaulish religion is fairly representative of what the old religion of the British and Irish Celts was, even though we had not Tacitus' direct testimony to this being the case. The descriptions we have of the Gaulish religion are sufficiently meagre. Three chapters of Cæsar, a few lines from Diodorus, Mela, and Strabo, some scattered allusions in Pliny, five lines from Lucan, and a statement from the Greek Timagenes reproduced in Ammianus Marcellinus, are practically all our authorities. The statues and inscriptions preserved to our time are almost our only authority for the names of the deities; while the calendar of the Church saints, local festivities and traditions, render some little help in this and also in matters of ritual.

Cæsar's sketch of the Gaulish pantheon, though meagre, is yet the best. We owe it entirely to the fact that for practical purposes the Gaulish religion was much the same as the Roman, with the exception of Druidism, which he doubtless saw would be a source of danger, unless it could be assimilated to Roman ideas and practices. We are, therefore, prepared, from our knowledge of the Aryan descent of the Celts, to believe what Cæsar says when he writes that the ideas of the Gauls with regard to the gods were much the same as those of other nations, meaning

especially Romans and Greeks. He tells us that the god most worshipped was Mercury; that is to say, the Gaulish god was not named Mercury, but corresponded in his attributes to that Roman deity. Cæsar, unfortunately, does not record the native names for these deities. They regarded Mercury as the inventor of arts, presiding over trade and commerce, and means of communication between people. After him came the deities answering to the Roman Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva; Apollo drove away diseases, Minerva taught the useful arts of life, Jupiter held the sway of Heaven, and Mars ruled the department of war. To Mars they would vow what they should capture in war, and when they conquered they would sacrifice the cattle, and heap up the other wealth in mounds, in consecrated places, and no one would dare touch or steal these treasures, both from fear of the gods and from the extreme cruelty of the punishment that would follow detection. Cæsar also notices a feature of Celtic character which is still persistent in the race. The nation, he says, is very much given to religious matters. And on this account, he proceeds, those who are affected with diseases of a rather serious character, and those who are in great dangers, either sacrifice human beings, or make a vow to that effect; and at these sacrifices they employ the Druids. They think, he says, that the Deity cannot be appeased unless human life is given up for human life, and they have even national sacrifices of this kind. They make huge images of wickerwork, inside which they place human beings alive; and this they set on fire, and the victims perish. Generally the victims are criminals, but if criminals are wanting, they have recourse to innocent persons. These human sacrifices seem horrible to our modern minds, and to the Romans, though familiar with the idea of human sacrifice, for in the time of the Second Punic war, they, themselves, resorted in their religious terror to the sacrificing of a male and female Gaul, and it was not until the 1st century before Christ that the Senate formally forbade such sacrifices even in Rome—to the Romans even the Gauls appeared reckless in their massacres, such occurring, too, when there did not appear to be any special danger. Strabo says that it was a tenet of the Druids that the harvest would be rich in proportion to the richness of the harvest of death.

Another article of the Gaulish creed is given by Cæsar. The Gauls, he says, assert that they are all sprung from Pluto

(the god of the lower world), for so the Druids teach. Hence, therefore, they reckon by nights instead of days. In regard to the belief which Cæsar records, it is probably only a mythical way of recording a belief common to most nations in their barbarous state, that they are the aboriginal inhabitants and sprung from the soil on which they dwell. As to the Gauls reckoning by nights instead of days, Cæsar is scarcely right in tracing it to the belief that they are sprung from Pluto ; the Greeks originally thus counted their time, and the Germans also computed their time the same way, just as we still speak of fortnights and "sennights," while the Welsh word for week, *wythnos*, means "eight-nights." The mythical meaning of the custom is quite clear ; the night was supposed to give birth to the day and the sun ; for Chaos is before Kosmos, Night before Day, in mythology. Hence the night is before the day in the order of time. This fact is embodied in the well-known Gaelic expression, "Thig an oidhche roimh 'n latha," which applies to all the festivals of the calendar, with the exception of that referred to in the other phrase, "An Inid bheadaidh, thig an latha roimh 'n oidhche."

We have thus seen from Cæsar that in the Gaulish religion a Pluto reigned in darkness, and a Jupiter in heaven ; that Mars was the lord of war ; that Apollo, Mercury, and Minerva brought precious gifts to mankind. The poet Lucan has preserved to us, though in an obscure fashion, the names of three Gaulish gods in the celebrated lines—

> "Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
> Teutates horrensque feris altaribus Esus,
> Et Taranis Scythicae non mitior Dianae."

We have here the grim Teutates, Esus with fearful sacrifices, and Taranis, whose altars were no less cruel than those of Scythian Diana. Of Esus but little can be said; no trace of him exists outside Gaul, where statues and, at least, one inscription bearing his name have been found. Teutates, likely from the same root as the Gaelic *tuath*, people, has been identified with various deities; probably he was the war-god, defender of the people, at whose altars captives poured forth their blood. It does not appear that his name was used on British soil; Mr Elton thinks that his place in this country was filled by "Camulus," a word which appears on British coins in connection with warlike emblems, and is used as a compound in the names of several military stations

of the Roman period. Taranis was the Northern Jupiter, worshipped by the Britons, also, under epithets derived from the words for thunder and rain. He answers to the Norse god Thor, the head of the "meteorological" gods, who regulate the weather and the seasons—"who can withhold the rain and the dew, or blacken the heavens with clouds and wind, or drive in the tempest with chariot and horses of fire." The Irish *Dinn-Senchus* mentions this "thunder" god as "Etirun, an idol of the Britons."

Two other names of deities are preserved to us in the classical writers. Lucian speaks of a sort of Gaulish Hercules, represented as an old man drawing a large multitude after him by cords fastened to their ears and his tongue, and he was their god of letters and eloquence, and they called him Ogmios. This name appears afterwards as that of the Irish sacred or runic alphabet, so named from its inventor, Ogma, the son of Elathan, evidently a degraded deity. Again, one or two other writers mention the god Belenus, a name common in inscriptions and in proper names of persons. The inscriptions also give, according to the Gallo-Romanic habit, the Latin God as well, with whom he was identified: we have such a combination often as Belenus Apollo, thus making him the equivalent to the Roman sun and healing-god. This Belenus is the famous deity of the Druids according to the school of Neo-Druidists, the investigators into the system of the Druids, lately rampant among us. As a rule, Belenus, or rather Bel, as he was called by them, was identified with the Phenician Baal, and no end of theories were started on such suppositions. The word Belenus may, however, be from the same root as Apollo, and probably is from that root, as Mr Moberly has pointed out in his notes to Caesar. That his worship was connected with solar rites is evident from the manner in which Ausonius describes his temple at Bayeux; but he was also especially connected with health-giving waters and herbs, and was worshipped at medicinal resorts under various local titles, the most important of which are Borvo (Bourbon) and Grannus. The latter title is doubtless connected with the Gaelic *grian*, sun, and it is interesting to note that an altar was once found at Inveresk with the inscription, "Apollini Granno," which clearly shows the worship of this sun-god in ancient Scotland. It is probably in connection with the service of Belenus that the cutting of the mistletoe took place, as related by Pliny. The passage is given either in full or in

abstract in almost all our school books of history, and it is there wrongly given out as a "Druidic" rite. It is merely a case of herb worship, common to all nations. The mistletoe is far more famous in Teutonic Mythology, and the gallant rites at modern Christmases are merely a remembrance of its ancient efficacy as a preserver and defender from harm. Pliny tells us that on the sixth day of the moon, the commencement of the Gaulish month, a Druid or priest, clothed in white, mounted the tree and cut the plant with a golden sickle. It was received on a white cloth, and two white bulls were sacrificed, while the people burst forth in prayer for the favour of the god. The mistletoe was supposed thus to be a cure for sterility, and a safeguard against poisons. This is just merely a form of *fetishism.*

The Gaulish inscriptions give us quite a host of minor deities. The Roman system of assimilating conquered peoples appears extremely well in these inscriptions; in nearly every case the Roman deity is given as the principal name to which is attached as epithet the local Gaulish equivalent. We, therefore, meet with combinations like these: "Marti Segomoni," "Marti Caturigi," "Mercurio Artaio," "Iovi Bagniati," "Apollini Virotuti," etc. The Gaulish and British goddess, Belisama, is the most important to notice; she answered to the Latin Minerva, goddess of arts, who, along with "Mercury," was the most human of all the deities of Gaul. The goddesses of the healing springs were honoured as the companions of Apollo. "Divine beings everywhere mediated between man and heaven." Fountains, rivers, and hills had their deities, and the sea-nymph of the Breton shore is still revered under the title of St Anne. Every village was protected by local deities, with the generic title of "Matris" or "Mothers," names which appear in great numbers on the inscriptions, and which survive, we are told, in mediæval legends as the White Ladies, the "Three Fairies," the Weird Sisters, and the Wild Women of the Woods. Some, again, of the lesser deities appear as the giants of our folk-tales. Such has been the fate of "Gargantua," an old Gaulish deity of Normandy, whose festivals are not unknown yet, and whose fame appears on the pages of Rabelais. There were also innumerable private or family gods, answering to the Roman Penates and Lares, of whom inscriptions and statues testify.

(To be continued.)

LORD PRESIDENT FORBES OF CULLODEN.

Thee Forbes too, whom every worth attends,
As truth sincere, as weeping friendship kind ;
Thee truly generous and in silence great,
Thy country feels through her reviving arts,
Plann'd by thy wisdom, by thy soul inform'd,
And seldom has she known a friend like thee.

—THOMSON.

THERE are few men to whom the country is more indebted than to Duncan Forbes, and there are few men who have received less honour for their deeds. He had always the best interests of the country at heart, but it is an old and a true proverb which says, that "a prophet hath no honour in his own country." A short sketch of his life, however, will, we think, fully substantiate his claim to the good opinion of all thinking Scotchmen, and, at the same time, prove not a little interesting.

He was born on 10th February 1685, at Bunchrew, or, as some say, at Culloden. His father, after whom he was named, was a Member of the Scottish Parliament for Nairnshire, and his mother was Mary Innes, a daughter of the laird of that ilk, a Morayshire baronet. Duncan was the second son, his elder brother, John, succeeding to the estates. The two boys received their first education in Inverness, where Duncan far excelled his brother, especially in Latin. In 1704, he entered the University of Edinburgh, where he devoted himself with remarkable assiduity to the study of Scottish Law, Civil and Criminal, under John Spottiswood. About this time his father died, and John took possession of the patrimony. Even at this early period of his life—he was scarcely out of his teens—Duncan gave evidence of that nobility of character which was his chief characteristic in after-life, and which often prompted him to take the side of the weak or oppressed, without calculating the consequences to himself. One instance of this quality may be laid before the reader. During his attendance at the University, an English ship, commanded by a Captain Green, was driven into Leith harbour by a violent storm. There was considerable excitement in Leith and Edinburgh at the time about a rumour which had got abroad, to the effect that certain Scottish vessels had been attacked and

plundered, and their captains and crews murdered with shocking attendant circumstances, on the high seas, by the crew of an English pirate. Some mischief-maker noised it abroad that Captain Green was the supposed sea-robber, and, on the strength of this supposition, the unfortunate man and his whole crew were apprehended and lodged in the Tolbooth. Some of his sailors, in peril of their lives, swore to having been engaged in the alleged piracy, and Captain Green and three of his officers were, on the evidence of these wretches, condemned to death.

Young Forbes had all through evinced a deep interest in the fate of the prisoners and was seized with the utmost indignation when he heard their doom pronounced by the ghastly and grotesque individual who held the much-detested office of "Doomster." When the fatal day came round upon which these innocent men were to be launched into eternity, Forbes attended them to the scaffold, at the imminent peril of his life from an insatiate and blood-thirsty mob—only to be equalled by the Porteous one, many years after—and he it was that carried Captain Green's head to the grave. It was a noble act, and one that, like charity, should have washed away a multitude of sins. The event proved that his compassion was well deserved, for, to the eternal infamy of the miserable perjurers who had sworn away these three lives, the vessel and crew upon whom the piracy was said to have been committed arrived safely in port.

Shortly after this tragic affair, Duncan went to the University of Leyden, where he remained for about two years. About the end of 1707 he returned to Scotland, a proficient in Latin, Hebrew, and several other languages, and, in the following year, he married Mary, daughter of Hugh Rose, 12th Baron of Kilravock. This lady was very beautiful and highly gifted, but, unfortunately, soon after the birth of a son, who was baptized John, she was carried away by a severe illness.

In 1709, Duncan was admitted a Fellow of the Scottish Faculty of Advocates, and in this favourable sphere for his great talents, he soon became distinguished for surpassing eloquence and quick perception. Soon after, through the influence of the Duke of Argyll, he was appointed Sheriff of Midlothian. He was particularly favoured by this peer, and, in the noble Lord's absence, acted as a sort of factor on his estates, for which service

he always refused any fee, alleging that he did it out of friendship for his benefactor.

In 1715, the Rising under the Earl of Mar took place, and Duncan and his elder brother, the Laird of Culloden, rendered great service to the Government in the North. They stood a siege in Culloden House, and ultimately beat off the besiegers ; and, not content with this, marched to Inverness, which was in the hands of the Jacobites, at the head of the Clans Grant and Fraser, and forced it to surrender. On the final collapse of the Earl of Mar's attempt, Duncan Forbes was appointed Advocate-Depute, which office he entered upon with the greatest reluctance, as he was of opinion that the trying of the Jacobite prisoners in England was against the law, and he was only persuaded to take office by the earnest entreaties of the Earl of Islay, afterwards Duke of Argyll. Whilst holding this office he exhibited another instance of his generosity by collecting and subscribing money to aid in the defence of the Scotsmen who were lying in prison, awaiting their trial for participation in the Rising. He also urged the Government several times to deal mildly with the political prisoners, but with no effect. In 1717, he was appointed Solicitor-General for Scotland, and he took a great share in the work of bringing in and conducting appeals from the Court of Session to the House of Lords. In 1722, he tried to get into Parliament, and contested the Inverness Burghs with Mr Alexander Gordon of Ardoch, but he was at first unsuccessful. Undaunted, however, by this rebuff, Mr Forbes presented a petition to the House of Commons, and his opponent's election was declared void, Mr Forbes taking his place.

In 1725 the then Lord Advocate, Lord Dundas, resigned his office, and Mr Forbes stepped into it, holding it for twelve years. In June of the same year a new and very much disliked tax, amounting to sixpence per bushel, was imposed upon malt, and this tax caused great dissatisfaction among brewers and others, who strongly protested against its introduction, more especially the Glasgow brewers. The Act empowering the tax came into force on the 23rd of June, and on the following day the lower classes in Glasgow were in a very excited state. The train was laid, and it only required the tiniest spark to make it burst into a flame. So riotous became the

Glasgow crowd towards nightfall, that a body of soldiers were drafted into the town to protect life and property, in case of a serious outbreak occurring. That night the rabble proceeded to the residence of Mr Campbell of Shawfield, M.P. for the Burgh, who had all along supported the obnoxious measure, and totally destroyed his house. Next day the rioters marched to the Town House, about which the soldiers were formed in square, under the command of one Captain Bushell. The mob began hostilities by throwing decomposed fish, eggs, and other savoury missiles at the soldiers, but the Provost refused to give the troops orders to fire upon the crowd. At last the officer's patience, for some time at a very low ebb, went down altogether, and he ordered his men to fire. The soldiers did so at once, killing eight of the mob outright, and wounding many more. The survivors, exasperated beyond measure, rushed away to an armoury, returned with a formidable array of offensive and defensive weapons, and were about to fall upon the military, when the latter fled to Dumbarton. The report of this riot coming to the ears of Mr Forbes, the new Lord Advocate, he marched to Glasgow with a large body of troops, and arrested the Provost, three Bailies, Dean of Guild, and Deacon Convener of the City, on suspicion of taking part with the rioters. These gentlemen were taken to Edinburgh and imprisoned in the Tolbooth, but, owing to the harshness of the action, and the idea that the prisoners were martyrs to the common cause, they had the undivided sympathy of the whole community, and, an objection being raised as to the legality of their committal, they were soon liberated. The brewers of Edinburgh then declined to brew any more ale until the tax were abolished. Here was a pretty state of matters! What would become of the City if the supply of *tuppenny* ran short? The sagacious, though, perhaps, over-zealous Forbes was equal to the occasion, and carried an Act through both Houses, which ordained that if the brewers persisted in striking work in this fashion, they must go to prison! The courageous brewers were not to be beat; they would go to prison in a body, and be martyrs in the noble cause of supplying cheap beer to the people. Hearing this, the Lord Advocate proposed that they should be indicted for conspiracy, and this last blow so completely dissolved the courage of the poor brewers, that they gave in, and

Forbes came out of the fight triumphant, receiving great commendation from the Government for his prompt action.

In 1734, his brother John died without issue, and he entered into possession of the estates. Two years afterwards the Porteous Riot broke out in Edinburgh, when he opposed with all his might the futile attempt of the Government to punish the Corporation of the City by depriving it of its privileges. In June 1737, he succeeded Sir Hugh Dalrymple as Lord-President of the Court of Session, in which position he displayed great justice and impartiality. He often turned his mind to the unsettled state of the Highlands. In 1738 he proposed to raise a few regiments of Highlanders, and send them abroad into active service, in order to shake their loyalty to the Stuart cause. Sir Robert Walpole highly commended this plan of the Lord-President's, but it was finally rejected to please the King, who put more trust in long-moustachioed and long-booted Germans than red-bearded and short-kilted Highlanders. When the Stuart Rising broke out in 1745, the Lord-President exerted his utmost endeavours to prevent the dissaffection spreading, and succeeded in securing the loyalty of Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod. He expended the greater part of his moderate fortune in the service of his thankless monarch ; but it is a fact, and a very disgraceful one, that he never received a single farthing of it back from the Government, although he had their written promise that they would pay all the expenses he might incur on their behalf. But the motto of the Government of that day appears to have been—

"What we do determine, oft we break."

and, no doubt, the promise was made without the slightest intention of its being kept.

After the Battle of Culloden, the kind heart of the Lord-President was sadly hurt at the fearful barbarities practised upon the Highlanders by the English soldiery, and he ventured to address the "Royal Butcher" himself upon the subject, hinting that even the army of a Duke of Cumberland ought to pay some deference to the laws of God and man. The answer he received was characteristic of the brute that gave it:—"The laws of the country, my Lord! I'll make a brigade give laws, by God!" The ingratitude of the Government and his own inability to mitigate

the sufferings of the poor Highlanders shortened the Lord-President's life, and, on the 10th of December 1747, little more than a year after the decisive Battle of Culloden, this good man died at the comparatively early age of sixty-two years.

Of his character we need say but little. He was learned, eloquent, honest, liberal, and though he was, perhaps, sometimes rather apt to be harsh, yet it may be said, in the words of Shakespeare—

> "His life was gentle, and the elements
> So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, *This was a man.*"

His literary works were principally upon religious subjects, but he collected a great quantity of curious correspondence and other documents, which were published after his death, under the name of the "Culloden Papers." H. R. M.

THE NEW FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

SIR,—It may interest some of the numerous readers of your excellent and interesting magazine, to learn that the newly-appointed French Ambassador to Great Britain—M. Waddington—is closely connected with one of the clans of the North. His mother was a Chisholm! and her father would have been chief of the Clan Chisholm had not the two sons of "Lady Ramsay" succeeded to the Chisholm estates and title.

In order to show clearly that the new Ambassador is, at least, half a Chisholm, it is necessary to look back to the time of the '45, when Roderick, the chief of the clan, reigned or ruled in Strathglass. He was the fourteenth chief from Sir John de Chisholm (the first chief of the Chisholms of the North), who married Anne, daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Lauder of Quarrelwood, constable of Urquhart Castle, A.D. 1334.

This Roderick (who was "An Siosalach," *i.e.*, emphatically "*The Chisholm*," as the chief of the Chisholms of Strathglass) was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Macdonell of Glengarry.

He had five sons, viz.:—Alexander, James, John, *William*, and Roderick. Alexander succeeded to the estates and title, and married a daughter of Mackenzie of Applecross. James and John became Captains in the 71st Regiment, and fought for King George.

Roderick, the youngest, was a Colonel in the army of Prince Charles, and was killed at the Battle of Culloden, at the head of the Chisholms of Strathglass.

William, the fourth son (great-grandfather of M. Waddington), was a physician and Provost of Inverness. He was married twice. His first wife was daughter of

Mackintosh of Kyllachy; and his second was Miss Baillie of Dochfour. By the first wife he had one *son* and three daughters. His *son* was educated for the medical profession, and practised at Clifton. He married, and had one son and three *daughters*. One of these daughters married a Mr Waddington, and she became the mother of our present French Ambassador, who, also, was at one time head of a French Ministry, and Minister of Foreign Affairs. M. Waddington was educated in England, and his present appointment is calculated to give every satisfaction to North and South Britons, and be especially popular in the Highlands.

I believe I am correct in stating that, a few years ago, M. Waddington was on a tour in the Highlands, and paid a visit to his connections or relatives, the Mackintoshes of Balnespick.

I should, perhaps, mention that a daughter of William Chisholm (Provost), by his second wife, Miss Baillie of Dochfour, married Mackintosh of Balnespick, and, I believe, she was the mother of the present proprietor. An estimable and highly-connected lady, now residing near Nairn (mother of the martial and gallant Lord-Lieutenant of that county), is, I am credibly informed, intimately acquainted with Madame Waddington, and with one of her sisters. The Baillies and Waddingtons have come to know each other through the Mackintoshes of Balnespick, who are related to both.

In continuation of the above—*re* the French Ambassador—perhaps, it will not be out of place to add the following, which I quote from a paper, now before me, which shows that the last Ambassador from the King and Queen of Scotland to Rome was a Chisholm! viz.:—William Chisholm, the last Catholic Bishop of the ancient Hierarchy of Scotland, who, on the death of his uncle, Bishop Chisholm, became Bishop of Dunblane, but, in a short time, was compelled, by the sacrilegious revolution, to leave Scotland. He was a good theologian, and able to preach fluently in the French language.

He was not long in Rome when Cardinal St Charles Borromeo, then Arch-priest of St Mary Major, made him his vicar in that Basilica; and the name of William Chisholm appears in the Records of the Chapter as quoted by Paul De Angelis in his description of St Mary's. On the ides of November 1570, Pius IV. created him Bishop of Vaison, near Avignon. For 16 years Bishop Chisholm discharged the duties of his See with much profit to the Diocese, and then resigned it into the hands of Pope Pius V., who gave it to his nephew, another William Chisholm. The ex-Bishop then (in 1586) retired into the Carthusian Hermitage of Grenoble, became a novice, and performed all the exercises of the regular observance with zeal and humility. After some years, he was sent as Rector to the Carthusian House of the Holy Spirit, in the city of Lyons. Pope Clement VIII. intended to send Bishop Chisholm as his Legate to James, King of Scotland, whom he (Bishop Chisholm) had baptized! but this plan was not carried out. Bishop Chisholm became Prior of the Certosa, at Rome. In this post he died on the 26th September, 1593, leaving behind him a great reputation for sanctity and learning. After his death it was discovered that he wore an iron shirt of mail next his skin, which must have caused him constant suffering.

Apologising for the length of this letter,—I am, sir, yours faithfully,

A. M. CHISHOLM (late Captain, Black Watch).

Glassburn, Strathglass, 23rd July 1883.

[The above interesting communication reached us too late for the August issue.]

"SIN CNAIMH IS CNAIM E."

THIS is an old Gaelic proverb which may be translated thus—"That is a bone for you to pick." This proverb, like most others, has a history. It originated in a woman's revenge administered most effectually. She had married that happily rare individual—a selfish man—and she seems to have borne her fate through the years without murmuring. It had been her husband's daily habit to help himself to all the meat on the dinner table, whilst he placed an occasional bone on her plate, saying in the words that have become proverbial, "Sin cnaimh is cnaim e." She took her daily bone quietly, possessed her soul in patience, but under a calm exterior she hid a deeply rankling sense of wrong, whether from being denied her due portion of the food, or from the effects that her hidden sense of injury had upon her, I know not, but at length she lay upon her death-bed after becoming the mother of six children. She knew that she was dying, and she determined then to have her pound of flesh and leave a bone to pick for her husband. Calling him to her bedside, she told him gravely that she had something of great importance to tell him, whilst yet she could speak. He asked anxiously what it was, when she told him that one of the children did not belong to him. "Which of them? which of them?" he cried wildly; and in broken accents she whispered, "Sin cnaimh is cnaim e." She never spoke again although he was urging her to speak when she was breathing her last. She verily left him a bone to pick, and he sat from day to day gazing critically at the children, one and all. He could not ill-use any of them, not knowing which of them was not really his. Donald had his own eyes and red hair, Morag had his sister's very face, and Ewen had the family formation of teeth, and jaws, as well as of hands and feet. He thus found traces of his own race in each, and he knew not whom to turn out of his home. The neighbours believed that all the children were his, and this impression has been handed down traditionally to the present day; but there was great satisfaction among all in the terrible punishment that fell upon this selfish man; for the bone given him to pick, by his dying wife, set his teeth on edge, and filled him with unrest through all the years of his after life.

MARY MACKELLAR.

THE HIGHLAND DRESS.

By J. G. Mackay.

VI. and Last.—Highland Arms—Fire-Arms.

Ho-rò mo chuid chuideachd thu,
Gur muladach leam uam thu,
Ho-rò mo chuid chuideachd thu
'S mi 'direadh bheann 'us uchdanan
B'ait leam thu 'bhi cuide rium,
'S do chudthrom air mo ghualainn.

Since the invention of fire-arms they were very common among the Highlanders, who displayed great expertness in using them. Martin, as already quoted, says, "they are early accustomed to use them, and carry their pieces with them wherever they go."

The old Highland musket was very long and was frequently beautifully ornamented with devices of birds and animals—many of them are supposed to have been of Spanish manufacture; some were certainly brought to the country during the rising of 1715 by the unfortunate Spanish expedition, which terminated so fatally in Glenshiel. Large quantities of arms were also imported from France and Germany during the Jacobite times, but it is most probable that muskets were manufactured among themselves, as they were to be found in abundance among the non-Jacobite clans as well. In the manufacture of Pistols, however, the Highlanders excelled, and their weapons were highly prized even on the Continent. They were made wholly of metal, and were of a peculiar and beautiful manufacture, being richly engraved and ornamented with heraldic and other devices.

Doune, in Perthshire, was for a long time famous for the manufacture of these weapons. They were at one time considered a necessary adjunct to the Highland dress, but now are seldom to be met with. They were worn on the left side, one on the waist and the other on the shoulder belt.

A real Doune pistol is now only to be met with in antiquarian collections, and is valued at a very high figure.

The Highlanders at all times considered fire-arms unfair and

unmanly instruments of warfare. At one time they were said to hold cannon in great dread, but this feeling, if it ever existed, very soon wore away, as at the '45 they were known to march fearlessly up to the cannon's mouth. The claymore was, in their opinion, the weapon with which a warrior could display his skill and dexterity, and give a good account of himself; while, on the other hand, the musket was equally deadly in the hands of an insignificant individual.

The "Lament for the Four Johns of Scotland" (*Ceithir Iainean na h-Alba*) gives us a very good illustration of this. A few verses of it run thus :—

'S ann a Ceanntaile dh-fhalbh na suinn,
Cha robh an aicheadh fo bhrataich Fhinn,
Na fir bha dàicheil 's iad sgaiteach laidir,
Gur e mu chradh-lot mar tharladh dhaibh.

An latha 'dhirich sinn ris an aird,
Bha fearg a's fraochan air fir mo ghraidh,
A's claidheamh dubailte 'n crios gach diunnlaich,
A's Spainntich dhu-ghorm an glaic 'ar laimh.

Ach a dhaoine nach cruaidh an càs,
Uilleam cliuiteach a dhol 'n an dail;
Bha fhuil le ghruaidhean le siubhal luaidhe,
'S bu chulaidh-uamhais 'n uair bhuail e 'ghraisg.

Mur b'e luaithead 's a rinn iad olc,
'S gu'n d' rinn a luaidhe gu cruaidh do lot,
Bhiodh claignean ciurrt' aig luchd bhriogsan duinte
Le lannaibh dhu-ghorm bu mhath 's an trod.

From their mode of life the ancient Highlanders had every opportunity of practising the use of their arms. Whether in the glens herding their cattle, or on the hill hunting the deer, they were always fully equipped. The author of "*Certayne Matters*," already quoted, says, "that perhaps no nation goes about better armed, and I assure you they know how to use them with dexterity." Being at all times subject to marauding expeditions from neighbouring clans with whom they might be at feud, they practised the use of their weapons as much from necessity as for pastime. It was counted a disgrace to appear in the presence of an enemy unarmed. There is a tradition that when the famous Rob Roy Macgregor was on his death-bed, he was visited by a MacLaren, with whom he was at one time at enmity. When the

aged warrior heard who his visitor was, "Raise me from my bed," said he, "throw my plaid about me, and bring me my claymore, dirk, and pistols; it shall never be said that a foeman saw Rob Roy Macgregor defenceless and unarmed."

The Highlanders were very partial to all kinds of manly exercises and games. Whole districts turned out at stated periods to compete at the different feats, which were contested with great spirit. Sunday was frequently the great day for these fêtes. The whole male population of a parish would gather in a field adjoining the kirkyard, and engage in exercises hardly of a devotional character. The minister had frequently to join in the games on week days, in order to coax the people to go to the church on Sunday. It is related of the Rev. Lachlan Mackenzie of Lochcarron, that he had on one occasion to join in the games on the Sabbath, in order to lure the people with him, and having beaten the champion, he ever afterwards got a large congregation of eager and attentive listeners. These were the days of "muscular Christianity." It was quite common for the minister to go to the pulpit armed with a good stout cudgel, in order to punish any refractory worshipper. Many stories might be told of these "good old days" before the Reformation brought about such a change in the reverence of the people for the Day of Rest.

The games popular among the Highlanders were:—Putting the stone, lifting a heavy weight known as "*Clach neart*," tossing the caber, wrestling, running, leaping, swimming, shooting, shinty, football, etc. Besides these matches, there were periodical weaponshaws, held by order of Government, in each clan district. In this connection the following curious Act of Privy Council will be read with interest. It is dated—

At Holyrood House, 31st January 1602.

Forsamekle as albeit the Kingis Majestie and his predicessouris of guid memorie, be divers actis of Parliament statute, and ordaint that Wapponshawings sould be maid over all the partis of this realme twyce in the yeir, and that all his Hienes subjectis sould be armit in forme and maner prescryvit in the saidis actis; notwithstanding as his Majestie is informit the saidis actis hes at na tyme ressavit executioun in the Hieland pairtis of this realme, bot hes bene altogidder neglectit and misregairdit, quhairthrow the inhabitantis thairof, ar nowther provydit nor furnisht with armour conforme to the tennour of the saidis actis, nor yit ar thay trayned up and exercised in the use and handling of thair armes: And his Majestie being cairfull to undirstand the trew estaite of the saidis Hielandis, and in quhat forme and maner the inhabitantis thairof ar armit; his Majestie for this effect hes appointit a generale mustare and

Wapponshawing, to be maid be thame upoun the dayis following, in presence of thair masteris, cheifes, and chiftanes of clans under written. That is to say, the haill inhabitantis of the Lennox and otheris Hieland boundis perteining to the Duke of Lennox, in presence of the said Duke, or sic as he sall appoint to ressave thair musteris: The inhabitantis within the haill boundis perteining to the Erllis of Ergyle, Athole, and Menteith, and within the stewartries of Stratherne and Menteith, in presence of the said Erllis of Ergyle and Athole, or thair deputis, everie ane within thair boundis and in presence of the Abbot of Inchaffray, the Lairdis of Tullibairdin and Lundy for Menteith and Straitherne, and all to be on the first of March next to come. And the lyke mustouris to be maid upoun the same day be Allaster MacGregour of Glenstra, of his haill clan and surename: And that the inhabitantis within the Hieland boundis perteining to the Marques of Huntly, the Erllis of Sutherland and Caithnes, and the haill men, tennentis, serventis, and dependeris, and otheris of the clans of the Laird of Grant, MacIntoshe, Balnagowne (Ross), the Lord Lovate, the Laird of Fowlis (Munro), Macky, Glengarrie, Mackenzie, the Capitane of Clanrannald, MacConnill duy (Lochiel), and MacRannald to be reddy to make thair mustaris upon the tent day of Marche in the presence everie ane of thame of thair masteris chiefes and chiftanes, etc., etc.

In an interesting letter by John Elder, a Highland priest to King Henry VIII., A.D. 1543, he says—"Our delite and pleasure is not only in huntynge of redd deir, wolfes, foxes, and graies, wherof we abounde, and have greate plentie, but also in rynninge, leapinge, swymmynge, shootynge, and throwinge of dartis."

Slogans or War-Cries.

In the event of any sudden surprise, each clan had its own war-cry; in most cases these were chosen from some particular circumstance or incident in the history of the clan, sometimes from some rallying point to which all were to hasten when the cry was raised. The raising of the slogan was sure to bring his clansmen to a Highlander's assistance if at all within hearing—

The Buchanans had "*Clar-Innis*," an island in Loch-Lomond.

Campbells—"*Beinn Cruachan*," or "*'S fhad an eigh gu Loch Ogha*"—'Tis a far cry to Loch Ow.

Farquharsons—"*Carn na Cuimhne*"—The cairn of remembrance.

Frasers—"*Mor-faigh*"—Get more. Later, "*Casteal Dhuinidh.*"—Castle Downie.

Forbes—"*Lonach*"—A mountain in Strath Don.

Grant—"*Creag Eileachaidh*"—The rock of alarm in Strathspey. Another branch of the Grants called "Clann Chirin," have "*Creag Rabhadh.*"—The rock of warning.

MacDonald—"*Fraoch Eilean*"—The heathery isle.

MacDonald, Keppoch—"*Dia 's Naomh Andra*"—God and St Andrew.

MacDonald, Clan Ranald—"*Aodann Othannaich.*"

MacDonell, Glengarry—"*Creag an Fhithich*"—The raven's rock.

MACFARLAN—"*Loch Sloigh*"—The loch of the host.
MACGREGOR—"*Ard-Choille*"—The woody height.
MACINTOSH—"*Loch na Maoidh*"—Loch Moy.
MACKAY—"*Bratach bhan Chlann Aoidh*"—The white banner of Mackay.
MACKENZIE—"*Tulloch Ard*"—A mountain in Kintail.
MACKINNON—"*Cuimhnich bas Ailpein*"—Remember the death of Alpin.
MACPHERSON—"*Creag dhubh Chlann Chatain*"—A rock in Badenoch.
MENZIES—"*Geal a's dearg a suas*"—White and red above, from the checks of their tartan.
MUNRO—"*Caisteal Fhulais na theine*"—Fowlis Castle on fire.
STEWART—"*Creag an Sgairbh*"—A rock in Appin.
SUTHERLAND—"*Ceann na drochaide bige*"—A bridge at Dunrobin.

"*Eighe Co'raig*," or "*Gaoir Chatha*," was the name given by ancient Highlanders to the shouts used when about to engage in battle. Any loud clamour is still compared to *Gaoir Chatha*. We have often heard the remarks "*Cha Chluinnte Gaoir Chatha leibh*," a war shout couldn't be heard for you—made to a person making a loud noise.

PIPE MUSIC.

The different clans had each their own appropriate rallying tunes, marches, quicksteps, and laments, and as in the case of the war cries, etc., were generally connected with some important historical incident which called forth the courage of the clansmen. A few of these may be given as follows :—

CAMERON—Salute—"*Failte Shir Eobhain*"—Sir Ewen's salute. Gathering—"*Ceann na drochaide moire*"—The end of the great bridge. March—"*Piobaireachd Dhonuill Duibh*—The pibroch of Donald Dubh.

CAMPBELLS of Argyle—Salute—"*Failte 'Mharcuis*"—The Marquis' salute. March—"*Baile Ionar Aora*"—The Campbell's are coming.

CAMPBELLS of Breadalbane—March—"*Bodaich nam brigisean*"—The carles with the breeks, or Lord Breadalbane's march.

DAVIDSON'S—Salute—"*Failte Thighearna Thulaich.*"

DRUMMOND'S—March—"*Spaidsearachd Dhiuc Pheairt*"—The Duke of Perth's march.

FORBES—March—"*Cath Ghlinn Eurann.*"

FRASER'S Lament—"*Cumha Mhic Shimidh*"—Lovat's lament.

GORDON—Salute—"*Failte nan Gordanach*"—The Gordon's salute.

GRANT—March—"*Stad Creag Eileachaidh*—Stand fast *Creag* Eileachaidh.

GRAHAM—Gathering—"*Latha Alt-Eire.*" March—"*Raon-Ruairi.*" Lament—"*Cumha Chlebhers.*"

MACDONALD of the Isles—Salute—"*Failte Shir Seumas*"—Sir James' salute.

MACDONALD, Glengarry—Salute—"*Failte Mhic Alastair*"—Glengarry's salute. Gathering—"*Cille Chriost.*" March—"*Spaidsearachd Mhic Mhic-Alastair ard Sheanna bhean bhochd*"—Glengarry's march. Lament—*Cumha Mhic Mhic-Alastair*"—Glengarry's lament.

MacDonald, Keppoch—Salute—"*An tarbh breac dearg*"—The spreckled red bull. Lament—"*Cumha na peathar*"—The sister's lament.

MacDonald, Glencoe—Lament—"*Mort Ghlinne Comhann*"—The Massacre of Glencoe.

MacDonald, Clan Ranald—March—"*Spaidsearachd Mhic Mhic-Ailein*"—Clan Ranald's march. Lament—"*Cumha Mhic Mhic-Ailein*"—Clan Ranald's lament.

MacFarlan—Gathering—"*Togail nam bo*"—Lifting the cattle.

MacGregor—Gathering—"*Ruaig Ghlinne Freoine*"—The chase of Glen Fruin.

MacIntosh—Lament—"*Cumha Mhic an Toisich*"—Mackintosh lament.

MacKay—Gathering—"*Bhratach bhan*"—The white banner. March—"*Piobearachd Chlann Aoidh*"—The Mackay's march. Lament—"*Cumha Shrath-Alladail.*"

MacKenzie—Salute—"*Failte Uilleim Dhuibh*"—Black William's salute. Gathering—"*Co-thional Chlann Choinnich*"—Mackenzie's gathering. March—"*Cabar Feidh.*" Lament—"*Cumha Thighearna Ghearrloch.*

MacLachlan—Salute.—"*Moladh Mairi.*"

MacLean—Salute—"*Birlinn Thighearna Cholla*"—Maclean of Coll's galley. March—"*Caismeachd Eachainn Mhic Ailein nan Sòp.*" March—"*Spaidsearachd Chlann 'Ill-Eathainn.*"

MacLeod—Lament—"*Cumha Mhic Leoid.*"

MacNab—Salute—"*Failte Mhic an Aba.*" Gathering—"*Co-thional Chlann an Aba.*"

MacNeil—March—"*Spaidsearachd Mhic Neill.*"

MacPherson—March. Macpherson's march—(*"'S fheudar dhomh fhein a bhi falbh dhachaidh direach leat."*)

MacRae—March—"*Blar na Pairc.*" Salute—"*Failte Loch Duthaich.*

Robertson—Salute—"*Failte Thighearna-Struthain*"—The Laird of Struan's salute. Gathering—"*Thainig Clann Donnachaidh*"—The Robertson's have come. March—"*Ribein-gorm*"—The Blue Ribbon.

Ross—March—"*Spaidsearachd Iarla Ros*"—The Earl of Ross's march.

Stewart—Salute—"*Earrach an aigh 's a' ghleann.* March—"*Birlinn nan tonn*"—The galley of the waves; and "*Gabhaidh sinn an rathad mor,*" commonly called kafusalem.

Sutherland—Gathering—"*Piobaireachd nan Catach*"—The Sutherland's "pibroch." March—"*Sbaidsearachd an Iarla Chataich*"—The Earl of Sutherland's march.

Banners.

Each clan had its own banner or standard. The use of banners among the Highlanders is of very ancient date. That of Fingal called the "Sunbeam" or "*Deo-ghreine*" was said to be particularly beautiful. Ossian gives a most inimitable description of it in Fingal, Book iv.

"Thog sinn 'Deo-ghreine' ri crann,
A' bhratach mhòr aig righ nan lann,
Bha solas an anam gach triath',
'Nuair thog i sgiath ri gaoith.

Bha' gorm-shlios bhallach le h-or
Mar shlige ghlais mhoir na h-oidhch'
'Nuair sheallas na reil o'n speur.
Bha bratach aig gach triath dha fein,
'S a ghaisgich bu treun m' a chruaidh."

The clan banners were usually made of silk, with the armorial bearings on a blue, green, red, or white field—each clan having its own particular colour, so as to be easily distinguished at a distance. Many of these banners have attained historic fame; the green banner of the Macphersons—"*Bratach mhor Chlann Mhuirich*," still preserved in Cluny Castle—dates as far back as 1672. The *Siol Alpein* (MacGregors, MacNabs, MacKinnons, MacPhees, MacQuarries, Grants, and MacAulays) had also a green banner, the famous "Pine Crested Banner." The Mackays had a white field—"*Bratach bhan Chlann-Aoidh*"—the terror of the Imperialists in the "Thirty Years' War." The MacLeods have also a famous flag still preserved at Dunvegan. It is supposed to have been presented by a fairy to one of the clan, and is only to be unfurled in cases of great danger. It is of yellow silk, and is now much tattered and decayed.

The "*Piobaire Dall*," John Mackay, thus describes the banner of Macdonald :—

"Cruinn-iubhair le brataichean sroil,
Loingeas air chòrs a's ròs-iuil,
Long a's leoghann a's lamh dhearg,
Ga'n cur suas, an ainm an Righ."

In bringing these articles to a close, we would express the hope that we have succeeded in creating an interest among our readers in the dress of our ancestors. We have frequently been surprised at the (to us) shameful and unpatriotic manner in which our national, and, at same time, so very comfortable and becoming a costume is neglected in the Highlands. So much is this the case in some districts, that a stranger appearing in the ancient dress of the country, is at once put down for an Englishman or gentleman's piper. The writer has seen, in what prides itself at being the most Highland county, the people actually astonished at a man in the kilt being able to speak Gaelic. Many Highlanders now-a-days do not know how to put the dress on, and few know the tartan of their own clan.

We think it was Hugh Miller who said that at his time "the

only persons who wore the dress were Englishmen who had no right to it, and soldiers who were paid for wearing it. We have been pleased, however, of late years to observe, along with the revival of other Celtic matters, an increasing attachment among Highlanders in towns for the dress of their fathers. Why it should be so neglected in the Highlands, it is difficult to understand? There is certainly no dress so suitable for the country, so comfortable for the wearer, so cleanly, so economical, or, when properly made up, so graceful and becoming on a well-proportioned Highlander. It has been proved by the severest tests to be the best dress, either for winter cold or summer heat. There is none equal to it for walking, climbing hills, or field work—in fact for any occupation necessary in the Highlands, with the exception of fishing and boating—and why it is so much ignored is difficult to understand."

While the dress is capable of considerable ornamentation, which necessarily makes it very expensive, it can also be worn very plain, and the plainer the more gentlemanly; in fact there is nothing that looks more out of place than a *full-dressed* Highlander on the street.

When the costume was worn regularly in the Highlands, such ornamentations were only used for special occasions, military parades, gatherings, etc., etc.

There is another thing we might mention in this connection, which is even much more out of place, and that is the appearing abroad of any one in the kilt under the influence of drink. Can such degenerate Highlanders not make beasts of themselves without at the same time advertising and degrading their country? The *London Club of True Highlanders* have a very commendable rule bearing on this point, which is worthy of imitation by other Celtic Societies, viz.:—That any member of the Society appearing abroad in the Highland dress under the influence of drink, is liable to expulsion from the Society. This is as it should be; any one who is not gentleman enough to conduct himself properly should never wear a kilt, for it is not on himself alone he brings disgrace, but on the race he so very badly represents.

J. G. MACKAY.

[At a future time we purpose giving a sketch on the Disarming Act and the Proscription of the Highland Dress.]

A RUN THROUGH CANADA AND THE STATES.

By Kenneth Macdonald, F.S.A., Scot.

VIII.—Niagara—*(Continued.)*

The first hackman I applied to demanded four dollars for the round trip to the Whirlpool and back, but, as I walked away, he reduced his demand to three. With the next two or three I was not more successful in making a bargain, but, at last, I came upon a respectable-looking middle-aged man standing with a fresh-looking team in the middle of the roadway. As I came up to him, he hailed me, and, on learning where I wanted to go, offered to do the journey for one dollar. This was what I was prepared to pay, but, as it is always well to have a margin, I told him I would give seventy-five cents for the trip, and this he agreed to take.

The Niagara hackman, however, has a trick of taking his fare to many other places than that innocent has any desire to go to, the result being that a dollar trip frequently ends in an expenditure of ten times that amount—not in payments to the hackman, but in fees for admission to places which are not worth visiting, or in levies made in places similar to the "free" Museum —fees and levies in which the hackman in charge of the victim is strongly suspected of sharing. I, therefore, stipulated that the party of the first part—myself—was to be taken to the Whirlpool and back along the Rapids *and nowhere else*—the penalty of a breach on the part of the party of the second part being the forfeiture of the fare. This being arranged, we started, but had not gone many yards when we were brought up by a demand for ten cents toll, which my friend on the box told me I should pay. I asked him how he proposed to earn his seventy-five cents if he carried me no further, and he drove on. Whether he paid then or afterwards I do not know.

A drive of about half-an-hour along a dusty road brought us to the house of the guardian of the Whirlpool. The admission fee—I forget what it was—being paid, I was conducted to the face of the river bank, and placed in a ricketty-looking little truck, which was slowly lowered by machinery, which I did not see, but which I presume to be hydraulic, down an inclined rail-

way to a level part of the bank near the water. Here I was alone—not even a guide being present to direct or distract—and I stood watching the rushing, whirling, boiling waters for I know not how long. Away over on the American side the waters pour out into the pool from the deep gully they have cut for themselves, in wildly tumbling, broken, foaming waves, and they rush madly onwards on the same side, passing in their hurry the opening by which they must somehow or other escape, until they reach the further end of the pool, when they return up the river on the Canadian side, in a smooth, swiftly-flowing current, which loses itself in the whirling waters in the centre and at the top of the pool. The opening through which the waters escape is on the American side, about half-way down the pool; and the course of the river below that point is at right angles to that of the Rapids above. *How* the waters escape is not very easily discovered from the Canadian side. They are seen pouring out through the opening, while all the surface water is rushing past towards the bottom of the pool without apparently contributing anything to the discharge. The escape is, therefore, probably by a strong and deep under-current, originating in the centre of the pool.

As we drove back along the banks of the river overlooking the Whirlpool Rapids, I sat on the box beside the driver. At several points on the way he set me down that I might obtain a better view of the Rapids. Looked at from the top of the ravine, which is from two hundred to three hundred feet deep, the river is seen rushing down the narrow space within which it is confined with a concentrated force, in presence of which even the power of the Rapids above the Falls seems insignificant. And yet the river above the Falls makes a descent of about eighty feet in one mile, while here the descent is only one hundred feet in seven miles; but above the Falls the river flows in a bed fully a mile wide in its narrowest part, while here its average width is only about one hundred yards. The sheet of water passing over the Horse Shoe Fall is supposed to be twenty feet deep—in the Whirlpool Rapids the depth is estimated at three hundred feet. No description can give an adequate idea of the scene. The waters of Superior, Huron, and Erie force their way through this rift in the rocks at the rate of twenty-seven miles an hour, and as

they thunder onwards they ever and anon whirl into angry waves rising twenty feet and upwards above the head of the astonished spectator standing on the shore. I had read the story of the "Maid of the Mist," and her perilous voyage from the pool below Niagara Falls to Lake Ontario, long before I had seen either the Whirlpool or the Whirlpool Rapids, but no conception can be formed of the magnificent daring and nerve of Joel R. Robinson, the hero of Niagara, who undertook and carried out this enterprise, until the waters through which he navigated his little steamer, with no greater loss than her funnel, have been seen.*

I found my hackman a very decent fellow—he did me no wrong. He made no secret of the fact that the Niagara hackman is familiar with ways that are dark and tricks that are vile—he did not even draw the line at his own son, an unpromising-looking youth whom he pointed out to me walking with a showily-dressed young lady, and whom he described as a boy who would cheat a stranger if he got a chance. He drew the line at himself, however. He never asks more than his legitimate hire, and is to some extent boycotted by his brother-hackmen in consequence, but he prospers nevertheless. He has land—whether as owner or tenant I forget—to which he devotes most of his time, and he is virtually independent of his team so far as hiring is concerned. An Englishman by birth and education, he has carried an Englishman's love of fairplay to Canada, and thirteen years' life among Niagara hackmen has not corrupted him. His son, the young gentleman pointed out to me, is not, however, a success, but the father goes on working his hardest at home in the early part of every day, and when he has an afternoon to spare, turns out his team to earn a few extra dollars to lay by for a possible time of need. Such was the story of my hackman as told by himself; and so far as his dealings with me were concerned, they bore out the character he gave himself. He was an entertaining and intelligent cicerone, and when I return to

* Since the foregoing was written, the death of poor Captain Webb, while attempting what cannot be characterised otherwise than the fool-hardy enterprise of swimming through the Rapids and the Whirlpool, has afforded another illustration, if one were needed, of the terrible power of the waters of Niagara at this place, and has given occasion for a good deal of descriptive writing (much of it singularly inexact) on the subject.

Niagara, if ever I do, I hope again to take my place on the box seat beside William Hibbert, of Niagara Falls, Ontario.

Train time was nearly up, and after a light meal I returned to have one more last look at the Falls, and this time it was my luck to see simultaneously two complete rainbows, one over the Horse Shoe, and the other over the American Falls. While I sat on my log at the river side above the Falls, the sun, which had been hidden by a cloud for a few minutes, shone out suddenly, and in the spray of the Falls were formed the two rainbows. The effect was very pretty, and the harsh features of the scene appeared subdued and softened by the delicate-tinted framing in which for the time they were set.

A hot walk up-hill to the Railway Station, a tiresome wait in a comfortless wooden shed, waiting for a late train ; a quick run down to the mouth of the Niagara river, and I find myself once more on board the "Chicora," heading for Toronto. As we got out upon the Lake, and the evening advanced, the air became chill, and I was glad to take refuge in the saloon, where snugly ensconsed on a sofa I slept until the movement on deck indicated that we were nearing our destination. The appearance of Toronto from the Lake in daylight is somewhat imposing, but at night—at all events on this night—it was by no means so, a few straggling lights along the Lake front being the only visible signs that a city lay before us. There was little time left for observation, however, as we were soon in harbour, and I hurried to my hotel to prepare for my journey westwards.

Shortly before midnight I took my place on the cars for Chicago. A Pullman car attached to the train afforded me a berth, and I was soon asleep, only to awake as we were being embarked, cars and passengers together, to be ferried across the River St Clair, which here divides British from American territory. The little town of Sarnia stands on the Canadian side of the river, and Port Huron on the American. The River St Clair, which runs between, is the channel by which the waters of Lakes Superior, Michigan, and Huron are emptied into Lakes St Clair and Erie, and, as might be expected, it is a deep, powerful stream, although at this point the banks are low, flat, and sandy. Why the river is not spanned by a bridge I know not. Compared with some of the works which Canadian and Ameri-

can Railway Companies have undertaken and accomplished, it does not present the appearance of a difficult engineering feat. Yet unbridged it is, and travellers passing by this route from Toronto or Montreal to Chicago are ferried across the river sitting in their seats, somewhat in the manner in which passengers from Cologne to Rotterdam by the Rhenish Railway are ferried across the Rhine at Elten, near the Dutch frontier, but with this difference in favour of the American transit, that whereas in the case of the Rhine the carriages are run into the river until the water reaches the footboards or the floor, and in some cases until they seem to be almost afloat, in the case of the St Clair there are properly constructed embarking and landing places, and everything is done so smoothly and safely that nothing is seen or felt which should disturb the most sensitive nerves. The double rows of carriages having been run on deck, and the gangway closed, the powerful steam barge soon ran us across the river, and we stood on American soil. The first demand made upon me by the great Republic was to see my valise, which, on being laid open, was found to contain nothing more dangerous to Uncle Sam than a change of linen and a report on Canadian agriculture. Pointing to my open valise, and looking towards the manly but somewhat seedy-looking bosom of the representative of American freedom, I asked whether there was a tax on clean linen, but the point was not seen, and I moved sadly off to breakfast, feeling that my first attempt to be smart at the expense of brother Jonathan had resulted in miserable failure, mainly through the obtuseness of that gentleman.

A journey of considerably over three hundred miles through the State of Michigan on a broiling day is not a pleasant experience. The natural features of the portion of the State through which we ran were not particularly interesting, and the clouds of sand which found their way into the cars by the constantly opening doors, and through the inevitable openings in the floors and windows, did nothing to add to the interest of the journey. Early in the afternoon the monotony was broken by a stoppage and a pleasant dinner at Battle Creek, the half-way house between Port Huron and Chicago. Passengers who had been scowling at each other all the forenoon, as if they were mutually responsible for each other's misery, now struck up acquaintance-

ships. The depot at Battle Creek enjoys the luxury of a clock—a comparative rarity in American railway stations—and as we put our watches back twenty-six minutes to get Chicago time (on which we were running), we gravely congratulated each other on being able to add nearly half-an-hour to so pleasant a day. The "All aboard" of the conductor sent most of the gentlemen to the smoking car, where conversation became general, and an hour or two passed rather agreeably. I here made the acquaintance of the Chicago Grain Inspector, to whom I have already referred, and from him I learned a good deal of the manner in which business is conducted in the metropolis of the Prairies.

K. M'D.

(To be continued.)

THE HIGHLANDS AND HIGHLANDERS OF SCOTLAND.—A work under this title, being historical, traditional, descriptive, anecdotal, and biographical sketches by James Cromb, of the *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, is in the press, and will be issued immediately. The author presents a series of interesting sketches of the Highlands, and of the habits of the Highland people prior to the battle of Culloden. The work deals with the Highland dress, its history and vicissitudes, Gaelic superstitions, Clan feuds, and modes of warfare; the functions in the Clan system of the Seer, the Minstrel, the Piper, and the Chieftain; the fidelity of the Clan to the Chiefs; with instances of Highland heroism in Clan warfare, and afterwards of the Highland Regiments in the field. Some of the more prominent events of Highland history will be dealt with at length, such as the Massacre of Glencoe, the Rising of 1745-6, with an account of the battle of Culloden, and the subsequent hardships of Prince Charles. Biographical sketches are given of Flora Macdonald, Rob Roy, Viscount Dundee, the Marquis of Montrose, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, and Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel. Altogether the work cannot fail to be attractive, especially to Highlanders.

"THE SOCIAL STATE OF THE ISLE OF SKYE IN 1882-3."—A work, under this title, by the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, author of the "History of the Highland Clearances," extending to over 250 pages, will be published immediately by A. & W. Mackenzie, Inverness. The book will present a very complete picture of the state of, and proceedings in, the Isle of Skye during the last two eventful years, to date of publication. The portion of the "Highland Clearances" referring to the Island is reproduced, and a full account is added of the Trial and Imprisonment of the Glendale Crofters, and of the events which led up to them. An introductory chapter of some fifty pages deals with the evidence submitted to the Royal Commission in the Island; and altogether the work will be found a very complete picture of the social state of Skye and its causes. In an appendix a full report is given of Patrick Sellar's trial, in connection with the Sutherland Clearances, while the recent attempt to whitewash him in the form of a book by his son, and the position taken up by the *Scotsman* on this and other questions of interest to the Highland people are briefly touched upon. The work will be issued at a price which will enable all those who take a special interest in the Western Isles, to procure it, viz.: 2s. 6d.

THE ETHICS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VII.—Distributive Justice.

Having in the preceding chapter ("The Reign of Universal Law"), pointed out that the order of nature, in its adaptation to the physical constitution and wants of man, is one of increase and development, and, further, that human labour, which appears to be a part of the same design, is in harmony with the universal scheme, inasmuch as it not only furnishes man with all his present wants, but also accumulates wealth for the benefit of posterity, it still remains to be demonstrated and proved that a dual system of land tenure is a transgression of a moral-physical law which is imprinted on nature and human nature.

What gives a title to immortal fame to the author of the "Wealth of Nations," is the great discovery that labour is the foundation and measure of value, and that he combined with the elucidation of that important truth, and as a necessary corollary, the removal of all restraints so as to give it its full development, under conditions of freedom, justice, and equality. It should, therefore, appear that if labour, or human *effort*, in the service of society, is the foundation of value, it should also be the foundation of economic justice.

His system of polity is, however, defective for two reasons. The first, and most fatal error, consists in his having, for logical purposes, divided human nature into two parts. His moral philosophy deals with the benevolent and sympathetic side, and in the "Wealth of Nations" he confines himself too exclusively to the selfish side. Yet it must be allowed, notwithstanding this mistake, that he outshines all successors in regard to a high conception of freedom and justice; for we find that the moral philosopher cannot completely disguise himself in the political economist, and the hard logic of the latter work is not unfrequently brightened up by flashes of virtuous indignation at the sordidness and injustice of "the masters of mankind."

The second defect arises from his not having rigorously adhered to and carried to their ultimate logical consequence his own fundamental propositions. It ought to have appeared to Adam

Smith, as it now appears to everyone, that landlordism, or a dual tenure, is a system of restraints and injustice. From this defect has arisen the vexed question of rent, which neither he nor his successors eliminated as a residuum to be appropriated by the State.

These defects, however, might have been easily pointed out and corrected, if the great philosopher had been succeeded by investigators capable of revising his works by his own method of deduction from fundamental principles; but economics and politics, under the term political economy, became the study of mere empirics who undertook to explain the phenomena of industrial and organised society by the method of induction, whilst leaving out of view the attributes and motives, individual and social, which form the very basis of progress and order. It must appear to everyone that the mere acquisition of wealth for its own sake is an ignoble pursuit if obtained at the expense of progress and order, and in violation of principles of freedom and justice. Yet writers on economics and politics have set themselves to construct a social edifice without laying its foundation in ethics, and it may well be said of their writings that—

> "Such reasoning falls like an inverted cone,
> Wanting its proper base to stand upon."

The reader will remember my quotation of Aristotle's formulæ of distributive justice, quoted in the chapter treating of Value. That peerless philosopher, whose insight into, and analysis of the fundamental laws of human nature, as bearing on individual conduct and on social life, will probably never be surpassed, divided his system of polity into three parts—ethics, economics, and politics—making ethics the foundation of his system. His argument is based on the theory that as the State is composed of individuals, and as the natural and normal condition of the soul leans towards natural virtue, it is essential to attend to good moral training of the intellect in order to constitute not only a happy family, but also a well-conditioned society and a prosperous State. He, therefore, recommended a national system of education—a measure, it is hardly necessary to remark, which the world is very slow in adopting.

Then, contemplating human society in a state of education, he regarded it as an indispensible condition that citizens should

enjoy perfect freedom under the reign of universal laws, for without freedom you cannot establish responsibility—the feeling which works human prudence. For example, the landlords say that the crofters are increasing too rapidly. But they are not in the enjoyment of freedom; therefore you cannot establish responsibility, and it is a well ascertained fact that slaves and serfs, or men nearly allied to the brute creation, increase more rapidly than in a state of freedom and responsibility. On the other hand, and by way of contrast, I find in these Channel Islands, with a dense population in a state of perfect freedom, that there is great comfort and happiness with hardly any increase of population. If immortality were assigned to man on earth, and that he were relieved from bodily sickness and pain, I could hardly imagine a greater paradise on earth than these islands of freeholders.

But the most profound and brilliant conception of this prince of philosophers was the application of proportionals to commutative justice or economic relationships. His idea of progress and social order was combination of effort with distribution of function—to the exclusion of idleness in virtue of power or privilege. Reference has already been made to the observations of Buckle, to the effect that the distribution of wealth was governed entirely by physical laws, which are so active as to have kept a vast majority of the inhabitants of the fairest portions of the globe in a condition of constant poverty; and that if these could be demonstrated, it would be of immense advantage. He adds, that the great law of the *ratio* between the cost of labour and the profits of stock is the highest generalisation political economists have reached respecting the distribution of wealth. Now, the amelioration of the condition of mankind by the discovery of some *physical* law may possibly be in store for us, but, even in our present state of knowledge, the economists could have found, in the ethics of Aristotle, not only the ratio which they claim to have discovered, but formulæ of *moral* law which they have hitherto failed to apply to economic life. Indeed, these do not appear to be understood, owing probably to the confused theories of political economists, for Archdeacon Browne, the learned translator and editor of my edition of Aristotle, remarks as follows :—

"There still remain to be considered the principles of commutative justice; but these Aristotle has not laid down quite so clearly as he has those of the other two divisions. He, evidently, as far as can be seen from the fifth chapter, considers it a branch of corrective justice; but, at the same time, as regulated in some degree by the principles of distributive justice also. Equality is maintained by an equivalent payment for the commodities exchanged or purchased; and, therefore, arithmetical proportion is observed, as in corrective justice; but this equivalent is estimated, and the commodities and parties compared, according to the law of geometrical proportion.

"There is one point which requires observation as presenting an apparent difficulty. How is it that Aristotle considers natural justice as a division of political justice, whereas it might be supposed that immutable principles of justice were implanted in, and formed a part of man's nature, antecedently even to any idea of his social condition as a member of political society? The answer to this question is, that the natural state of man is the social condition. Under any other circumstances, it would be in vain to look for the development of any one of his faculties. The history of the human race never presents man to us except in relation to his fellow-man. Even in savage life, the rude elements of civil society are discoverable. If we could conceive the existence of an individual isolated from the rest of his species, he would be a man only in outward form, he would possess no sense of right and wrong, no moral sentiments, no ideas on the subject of natural justice. The principles of natural justice are doubtless immutable and eternal, and would be the same had man never existed; but as far as man is concerned, the development of them must be sought for in him as we find him; that is, in his social condition, and no other."

The reader may readily believe that the want of clearness was not in the mind of the incomparable Aristotle, but in the minds of modern political economists. In my chapter on Value, I pointed out that the landlord, as such, could not come within the equation of justice, and I may add now that he is outside what Aristotle considered a society constituted on principles of justice.

Now, let it be observed that Aristotle gives two formulæ of distributive justice, and states of both that they are according to geometrical proportion, which accounts for whole quantities according to ratios, and not arithmetical, as in corrective justice, which is judicial; as, for instance, in the case of fines and penalties. He terms the one "disjunctive," and the other "continuous." It is evident that these are intended to embrace all the relations and transactions of economic life. Of the disjunctive proportion an illustration has already been given, but at the risk of being thought tedious, if I can hope to make myself perspicuous, I now repeat it. With regard to labour and capital, wages and profits, we can say, as wages to profits so is labour to capital, and there is a perception of the mind, according to fundamental principles

of human nature, as to the proportion in which these ought to be divided or distributed. Now, trade has become so largely and systematically organised that these fundamental principles manifest themselves in practice so far that a ratio has been discovered by modern political economists! In *industrial* life there are only two persons and two things. The two persons are the capitalist and the labourer; the two things wages and profits, which are the rewards of labour and capital. In the business of exchange, as well as production, it is the same thing, and although wages and profits are sometimes indifferently denominated fees, commissions, interest, salaries, etc., they may be all classed under either or both of these terms, and sometimes they are both united in one person.

This is not the place to discuss the phenomenon of interest, which by false analogy, and a certain vagueness of ideas, is sometimes confounded with and regarded the same thing as the gross rent of land. It is sufficient here to point out that the term arises from the charge made for the use of money, which is the standard of value, and that interest is to be regarded not only as profit, but also as the standard of the current rate of profit.

There is, therefore, no ambiguity in regard to the "disjunctive" proportion; but what are we to understand by the "continuous" proportion in which the mean term is mentioned twice, thus:—As A is to B, so is B to C—and how are we to apply it? It has been pointed out in the chapter referred to, that the landlord could not be equated under the disjunctive formula, because there are three persons—the landlord, the farmer, and the labourer—and only two things, capital and labour. By inadvertance I mentioned land instead of capital, and I wish to make the correction here. In commutative justice we have still to deal with land and the revenue of the State. These could not have been left out of consideration by so comprehensive and luminous a mind as that of Aristotle, and it is evident, from the term "continuous," that this formula is intended to apply to the revenue of the State.

However, before entering on this subject, it will be necessary to make some further explanations. A definition of Land and Value has already been given, and I have at some length discussed, and, as I think, solved the question—"What is Rent?" In order to some more accurate conception than those conveyed by the de-

finitions of the economists, it will be necessary to define what is Wealth, what is Capital, and what is Labour, and to show how these range themselves under the ideas of Power and Force.

Guernsey. MALCOLM MACKENZIE.

CLARSACH AN DOIRE: GAELIC POEMS AND SONGS. By NEIL MACLEOD. Edinburgh: Maclachlan and Stewart. Inverness: A. & W. Mackenzie.

THE entire stock of Celtic literature, and of Gaelic literature in particular, is but limited, and consequently every fresh addition materially increases either the meritorious or deleterious percentage. New additions ought, therefore, to be watched with jealous care, and would-be authors should be sure that their contributions would tend to increase the number of the good ere they ventured on publication. Curiously enough, the great bulk of our Gaelic literature is in verse. Yet we cordially welcome a new claimant to a place among the Gaelic bards, in the *Clarsach* now before us. Those who induced Mr Macleod to overcome his native modesty and try his hand "in guid black print" have conferred an obligation on all the lovers and readers of Gaelic. Apart altogether from its high poetic merits, Mr Macleod's work is important, being, as it undoubtedly is, a repertory of correct, idiomatic, smooth, and classic Gaelic, redolent of the heather and the healthy breezes of the Isle of Skye, and breathing the native humour and manly good sense of its people.

Many of the pieces comprised in the work have already appeared in a fugitive shape in newspapers and periodicals; some of them in the pages of the *Celtic Magazine*. Those who then enjoyed Mr Macleod's home-spun lilts will be glad to see them in a permanent shape in his very tasteful volume. It cannot be expected that all the pieces are equally meritorious; but they are all readable; the sentiment is, in all cases, good, rhythmically and pleasantly expressed.

Like most of our Gaelic poets, Mr Macleod belongs to the objective school, and he wields a facile brush in his delineations of Highland home scenes. Good examples of his powers in this respect will be found in his opening piece, "An Gleann 's an

robh mi òg," and in his "Fàilte do 'n Eilean Sgiathanach." We quote a stanza or two from the latter—

"Chi mi Cuchuilinn
Mar leoghan gun tioma,
Le fhiasaig de'n t-sneachd
Air a pasgadh m' a cheann.
'S a ghruaidhean a' srùladh,
Le easanan smùideach,
Tha tuiteam na'n lùban
Gu urlar nam beann.
Do chreagan gu h-uaibhreach
Mar challaid m' an cuairt dhut,
'S na neoil air an iomairt
A' filleadh mu 'm barr;
'S am bonn air a sguabadh
Le srùlaichean gruamach
Bho bhàrcadh a' chuain,
A toirt nuallain air tràigh."

In the dialogue between the Bee and the Fly, which first appeared in our own pages, and which might be described as an amplification of the fable of the Ant and the Grasshopper, Mr Macleod treats us to a moral lecture on the blessings and benefits of industry; but we do not think his poetic or perceptive powers appear in it to as much advantage as in his less ambitious productions—his songs, for instance, one or two of which are peculiarly sweet. A very potent inspirer of the bard's muse must have been Sine Chaluim Bhàin, for to her praises he dedicates a lyric of tenderness not surpassed by any in the book. After enlarging on her virtues and charms, he thus concludes his love-struck lay—

"Ach 's eagal leam gu bheil mi clì,
'S gu'n deachaidh m' inntinn ceàrr,
Cha'n fhaigh mi fois air muir no tìr,
Cha'n 'eil mi tinn no slàn;
'S cha'n 'eil ach dithis anns an sglr
A bheir dhomh sìth gu bràth;
'S e 'n dara h-aon diubh sin a' chill,
No Slne Chaluim Bhàin."

We trust for the sake of the bard himself, and for the future of Gaelic poetry, that he will not be reduced to the dire alternative of the church-yard for the cure of his heart-ache.

Another sweet and most musical song is that beginning "Ged tha mise 'n Dunèideann," the air chosen for it being that

known as "Duanag a Chiobair;" and we would here hint to Mr Macleod not to adapt so many of his pieces to Lowland airs; not because they are not worthy of his attention—far from it—but because the habits of English rhyme and rhythm, as well as of Lowland music, are so radically different from those of Highland music and song that, even with Mr Macleod's smooth versification, the singing of these gives rise to a sense of incongruity, and the difficulties of adjusting the accents of words and music cannot fail to have a cramping effect on his prosody, if not on his freedom of sentimental expression. The author is never more at home than when he allows his musical verses to swell out in cadence with some sweet time-honoured Highland melody. As an illustration, we refer the readers to "Mo Chruinneag Ileach."

A Skye poet could not be expected to ignore the stirring events which have rendered the island famous during the last two years. Mr Macleod has devoted a song to the expression of his sentiments on the social unrest in the Isle of Skye during those years, its causes and lessons. He counsels his fellow-countrymen to be valiant in maintaining their cause, but deprecates entirely any appeal to physical violence or misrule, and concludes by shadowing forth the restoration of peace, plenty, and comfort to his beloved native Isle. Here are the closing stanzas of this composition—

"Ach duisgibh, mo chàirdean,
'S bhur duthaich na fagaibh,
Ach seasaibh gu laidir,
'Ga tearnadh le buaidh.
Bhur sinnsirean dh'fhàg i
Mar dhìleab gu brath dhuibh—
'Us dionaibh-s' an traths' i
Do'n àl a thig uaibh.

Cha'n ann le mi-riaghailt,
Ach tuigseach 'us ciallach,
Gun lubadh, gun fhiaradh
Am briathran no'n gnàths.
Tha mìltean 'us ciadan
A sheasas mar dhion duibh,
Gu 'm faigh sibh na's miann leibh
De shliabh nam beann àrd.

Theid crioch air gach fòirneart,
'S bidh biadh agus stòras,
Bidh sìth agus sòlas
A' còmhdach na tìr';

Bidh fuinn agus òrain
Gu binn aig an òigridh,
'S na ribhinnean boidheach
Mu'n chrò le 'n crodh-laoidh.

Gach oighr' agus bàillidh,
Gun fhoill 'us gun àrdan,
Ri 'n daoine cho càirdeil,
Mar bhà iad o thùs;
'S bidh Gaidheil gun aireamh
An dùthaich nan ard-bheann,
Cuir mais' air an àite,
'S a' fàs ann an cliù."

Poetic effusions called forth by stirring events are not always successful performances, and much as we admire Mr Macleod's "Croitearar Sgiathanach," we venture to think that the picture presented in the following stanzas of "An Gleann 's an robh mi òg," already referred to, are very far superior, and appeal with much more effect to the warmest feelings of the patriotic Celt than the exhortations of his special effort :—

"Tha na fardaichean na'm fàsaich,
Far an d' àraicheadh na seòid,
Far 'm bu chridheil fuaim an gàire,
Far 'm bu chàirdeil iad mu'n bhord;
Far am faigheadh coigreach bàigh,
Agus ànrach bochd a lòn';
Ach cha'n fhaigh iad sin 's an àm so,
Anns a' ghleann 's an robh mi òg.

"Chaochail maduinn àit' ar n-oige,
Mar an ceò air bhàrr nam beann;
Tha ar càirdean 's ar luchd-eòlais,
Air am fogradh bhos 'us thall;
Tha cuid eile dhiubh nach gluais,
Tha 'n an cadal buan fodh 'n fhòid,
'Bha gun uaill, gun fhuath, gun antlachd,
Anns a' ghleann 's an robh mi òg."

We must, however, refer our readers to the book itself for further illustration of our observations, feeling quite sure that the result will be that they will agree with us in pronouncing the volume a valuable addition to Gaelic literature, and a delightful companion for a leisure hour. It is beautifully printed, in bold, clear type, at the Aberdeen University Press, by Messrs A. King & Co., and neatly bound in gilt cloth case, a production most creditable to all concerned.

THE HIGHLANDERS OF NEW ZEALAND AND THEIR DISTRESSED COUNTRYMEN AT HOME.

DEAN OF GUILD MACKENZIE, Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, has received the following communication. It speaks for itself. We trust other Highlanders abroad will copy the excellent example set them by their countrymen of Invercargill :—

INVERCARGILL, SOUTHLAND,
NEW ZEALAND, 14th June 1883.

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, Esquire,
Dean of Guild, Inverness,

DEAR SIR,—We beg to hand you enclosed a draft on London for the sum of £85. 15s. 0d., and shall count it a great favour if you will take the trouble to have this amount distributed amongst the distressed families in Skye and adjacent islands. The question may arise with you, Who is this money from? The appalling accounts given in the home papers of the distress existing among our unfortunate countrymen in the North Highlands, prompted the undersigned to be up and doing amongst their countrymen here, and the result was the subscription of the sum mentioned, in the course of a few days, in and around the town of Invercargill. It is with unmixed satisfaction we have to record the liberal and generous spirit in which our countrymen here responded to this call of charity. It shows that, though far distant from their native land, the kindly spirit of the Scot for his poorer countrymen is still undiminished. Long may it be so! We, in this colony, can scarcely realise that in a country like Britain (the wealthiest in the world), such destitution should exist, more especially amongst the most loyal and law-abiding subjects in the three kingdoms. It appears to be a truism what that doughty champion of our countrymen (Professor Blackie) says :—That they, the Highlanders, are the most loyal and most abused of Her Majesty's subjects. We have no hesitation in saying that, if some scheme of emigration could be arrived at between the Home and the New Zealand Governments, and a number of the Highlanders induced to come out here, they would receive in this colony a true Highland welcome. There is no such thing here as fighting with death for bread ; every man who is sober and willing to work can at all times command good wages, and it would be one of the greatest blessings that could befall the Highlanders if some mode could be arranged to give those willing to come out here a helping hand. May we ask you to acknowledge

receipt of this contribution, as also the enclosed list of subscribers in the *Celtic Magazine* and *Inverness Courier*. We may add that a further contribution will probably reach you by an early mail.—We are, dear sir, yours faithfully,

D. L. MATHESON, Merchant.
RODERICK MACLEOD, Accountant.

The following is the subscription list :—

	£	s.	d.
T. M. Macdonald, Invercargill	2	2	0
Donald L. Matheson, do. ...	2	2	0
Roderick Macleod, do. ...	2	2	0
Mackenzie & Gilbertson, do.	2	2	0
Duncan Macarthur, do. ...	2	2	0
Thomas Watson, do. ...	2	2	0
Thomas Denniston, do. ...	2	2	0
Mrs Robert Taylor, do. ...	2	2	0
A. J. Ellis, do.	2	0	0
John Macbride and Niece, do.	1	6	0
Kenneth Maciver, do. ...	1	5	0
Donald Macgregor, do. ...	1	1	0
J. L. Macdonald, do. ...	1	1	0
Neil Macleod, do.	1	1	0
J. C. Thomson, do.	1	1	0
R. Buchanan, do.	1	1	0
John Kingsland, do. ...	1	1	0
Robert Erskine, do.... ...	1	1	0
J. & W. Sloan, do.	1	1	0
Wm. Smith, do.	1	1	0
James Harvey, do.	1	1	0
J. T. Thomson, do.	1	1	0
Wm. Paisley & Co., do. ...	1	1	0
Wm. Craig, do.	1	1	0
James Mackintosh, sen., Gladfield	1	1	0
F. W. Burwell, Invercargill	1	1	0
James Manson, do.	1	1	0
A. & T. Carmichael, Wallacetown	1	1	0
Angus Kerr, Invercargill ...	1	1	0
Duncan Carmichael, do. ...	1	1	0
Donald Ross, Spey Street, do.	1	1	0
D. A. Cameron, Nokomai ...	1	1	0
Angus Mackay, Longbush ...	1	1	0
Lachlan Fraser, Waianiwa ...	1	1	0
James Mackay, Longbush ...	1	1	0
Alex. Munro, East Invercargill	1	1	0
Andrew White, Invercargill	1	1	0
David Smyth, do.	1	1	0
G. A. Birch, do.	1	1	0
John Murdoch, do.	1	1	0
Geo. Macleod, do.	1	0	0
Donald Macleod, Winton ...	1	0	0
Duncan Campbell, Invercargill	1	0	0
J. G. Brown, do.	1	0	0
Alex. Mair, do.	1	0	0
Campbell & Ritchie, do. ...	1	0	0
Carried forward ...	£57	16	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward ...	£57	16	0
James Mackintosh, jun., Gladfield	1	0	0
John Melvin, Invercargill ...	1	0	0
George Macleod, Forest Hill	1	0	0
Miss Agnes Taylor, sen., Invercargill	1	0	0
John M'Crostie, Spar Bush	1	0	0
John Borrie, Invercargill ...	1	0	0
J. W. Hamilton, Thornbury	1	0	0
Henry Macculloch, Invercargill	1	0	0
James G. Macneill, do. ...	1	0	0
Thomas Maclean, Forest Hill	0	15	0
William Todd, Invercargill	0	10	6
James Mackintosh, do. ...	0	10	6
John Mackenzie, do.	0	10	6
A. Mackenzie, Invercargill ; A. Macewen, do.; Miss Macgoun, do.; M. A. Ashendon, do.; James Thomson, do.; A. Mackellar, do.; A. Raeside, do.; Alexander Storie, do.; Hugh Hunter, do.; James Milne, Wyndham; John A. Mitchell, Invercargill ; David Strang, do.; John Maclean, Appleby ; John Macleod, Flints Bush ; Wm. Macleod, Jacobs River : Charles Douglas, Invercargill ; James Macgregor, do.; Wm. Millar, do.; Peter Walker, do.; W. S. Moir, do.; Eric Mackay, do.; W. J. Inglis, do.; R. P. Macgoun, do.; W. Handyside, do.; D. Maclean, North Invercargill ; John Campbell, Mokoreta—10s. each ...	13	0	0
Alexander Menzies, Invercargill ; William Pettigrew, do.; James Lennie, do.; D. Ross, Tay Street, do.; John Findlay, do.; D. G. Macpherson, do.; D. Erskine, do.; A Friend, do,; John Findlay, do.; William Martin, do.; J. A. Forbes, do.; F. Mackillop, do.; James Maccrostie, do.; W. J. Harvey, North Invercargill—5s. each	3	10	0
A Friend	0	2	6
Total	£85	15	0

"THE ISLE OF SKYE IN 1882 AND 1883."

THE following extracts are from the Introduction to a work, by the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, under the above title, referred to elsewhere, to be published immediately by A. & W. Mackenzie, Inverness:—

EVICTION RESULTS IN SKYE.

These Skye evictions [detailed in the work] affected directly some seven hundred families, each, on an average, representing at least five persons, and making a grand total of more than three thousand five hundred souls, not less than two thousand of whom were evicted, during the last half century, from the property of Macleod of Macleod! What physical misery, what agony of soul these figures represent, it is impossible even to imagine! The number of those removed in Skye, as elsewhere, from one portion of the island to another—even from one part of an estate to another—can never be ascertained; and the misery and loss endured by these can only be surpassed by the misfortunes of those who had been forcibly driven from their native land altogether; though that unfortunate class are left out of account when the more drastic and complete forms of eviction are written or spoken of. There is also another class who were, and are being, deprived of their hill pasture and left to comparative starvation, with their cattle, on wretchedly small and unprofitable arable patches among the barren rocks on the seashore. And all this misery and agony to gratify the inhuman selfishness of some two or three persons who, by the mere accident of birth, enjoy a power which they could never have otherwise secured for themselves!

THE "SCOTSMAN" IN THE SCALES.

The one-sided position taken up by the *Scotsman* in connection with this [the Crofter] question, can easily be gathered from what appears in the body of the book, especially at pages 135 to 143; but it may be added, as a further illustration, that its representative, while reporting the proceedings of the Royal Commission in the Lewis, was driven about the Island, and to the meetings of the Commission, by Lady Matheson's Chamberlain, while the other reporters had to provide carriages in the usual way, at their own expense; and that he was entertained as the guest of the Chamberlain's principal accountant while in Stornoway. It may further be added, that this reporter concocted and sent the most unfounded falsehoods to his journal regarding my own sayings and doings in the Isle of Skye, during my visit to the Island, on a recent occasion, and that his journal maintained its character for partiality and unfairness, by refusing to insert a correction of the false statements so meanly manufactured and sent to him by his own reporter.

If any further evidence be necessary, to prove the inexplicably one-sided unscrupulousness of the *Scotsman*, under its present management, it will be found in the following:—On the 20th of July last, it published a letter, from Macleod of Macleod, on "Highland Land Rights," in which he quotes a paragraph from a speech delivered by Dr Cameron, M.P. for Glasgow, at a meeting of the Federation of Celtic Societies, held in Liverpool, on the 2nd of January 1883, and charges me with using similar and even stronger language in the Isle of Skye. The quotation from Dr Cameron is as follows:—

"Before the '45 rising the tenants in the Highlands had distinct proprietary rights in the land they cultivated, and the chiefs were looked upon as the trustees for the clans. But after '45 the feudal system was introduced, the tenants lost their rights, and the landlords were made the absolute proprietors of the land. In Scotland there was provision made for the registration of titles to the land; but the very existence of that registration had the effect of quickly getting rid of the proprietary interests of the tenants. The landlords, of course, registered their titles, but the crofters knew nothing about the system of registration, and took no trouble to register the rights they had in the land."

What Macleod said regarding myself, and my comments thereon, will be found in my reply addressed to the *Scotsman*, but, consistently with that journal's characteristic lack of fair-play towards the crofters and their friends, it was refused insertion. The *Scotsman* has, on repeated occasions, misreported my remarks, and then honoured me by criticism, in his leading articles, on what I never did say. He cannot, in point of fact, afford to allow the truth to appear in his columns, as to what the crofter's friends say and do, and at the same time, make an outward appearance of decency and apparent truthfulness in his abuse of them for what they neither say nor do. Here is my reply to Macleod, which the *Scotsman*, for these and other reasons of his own, would not insert:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'SCOTSMAN.'"

"*Celtic Magazine* Office, 2nd Aug. 1883.

"SIR,—Having been from home for the last fortnight, I have hitherto been unable to notice Macleod of Macleod's letter on the above subject, which appeared in your issue of 20th July last. I expect that you will, on the simple ground of fairplay, permit me to do so now, though my doing so may seem somewhat late.

"Having given a quotation from the speech delivered by Dr Cameron, M.P., at Liverpool, on the 2nd of January last, as to the respective rights of landlords and tenants to the soil in the Highlands, Macleod proceeds:—'I should not have quoted this remarkable statement, for which there was no foundation whatever, were it not that similar language has been used lately by Dean of Guild Mackenzie, who has gone through Skye in advance of the Commission, assuring the people that the land belonged to them, and that, with a view to its recovery, they should represent their condition to the Commissioners as one of extreme hardship and suffering, and their proprietors as heartless oppressors.' This whole statement by Macleod regarding me, my doings and sayings, is simply and absolutely untrue. For this, however, I do not hold him responsible, except in so far as he has unwittingly accepted the statements of some underling flatterer, who must have drawn upon his imagination as to what I was saying and doing in the Isle of Skye. I *know* that Macleod was not in the island when I was there, and, therefore, he could not have had any personal knowledge of the subject upon which he wrote.

"I cannot but feel flattered that Macleod should consider my sayings of more importance than Dr Cameron's, M.P.; and as others, as well as he, may possibly care to know how the facts really stand, permit me to say that I not only disapproved of Dr Cameron's statement, as quoted by Macleod, but that a few days after it was made, I publicly said so in presence of one of the Royal Commissioners, Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch, Baronet, who, on the occasion, presided at the annual dinner of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, when I had the honour of occupying the opposite end of the table. I then pointed out the mischief that such crude and inaccurate statements were likely to lead to, and stated that most Highland proprietors held charters for the last four or five hundred years, as I myself had shown in my histories of the Macdonalds and Mackenzies, and, more recently, in my 'History of the Camerons,' now passing through the *Celtic Magazine*.

"It is quite possible that what I did say regarding the rights of landlords and tenants to the land would not be of sufficient interest to the general public to justify me in asking you to publish it. I may, however, be permitted to state that I hold the rights of the landlords to be *legally* unassailable, and that I said so in Skye and elsewhere, as well as that I would not, even in the public interest, deprive them of a sixpence worth without full compensation for the agricultural value of their estates. I,

however, hold very decided views as to the *natural* rights of the people to live in their native land as against the *legal* rights of the landlords to evict them. I have openly given expression to these views, and I shall not rest satisfied until the legal rights of the landlords are brought into harmony with the natural rights of the people by Act of Parliament. I shall soon have an opportunity of stating more fully, before the Royal Commission, what my views on that most important subject are; meanwhile I trust that you will insert this in your next issue.—I am, &c.,

"ALEX. MACKENZIE.

"*P.S.*—When men in Macleod of Macleod's position make such reckless and unfounded statements in your columns, people should hesitate before charging the less-favoured crofters with wilful misrepresentation in detailing their grievances to the Queen's representatives. They cannot all, like me, call a Royal Commissioner to their aid to rebut the baseless charges made against them. "A. M."

I am not, however, without hopes as to the future of the *Scotsman* on the Crofter question. As soon as he finds that his ravings are ignored by the Liberal Government of the day, so soon the *Scotsman* will ponderously support the Government and turn his back upon himself, as he has done in the past, with scarcely an exception, in similar circumstances. It, however, requires more talent than the editorial department at present commands to ensure success in so delicate an acrobatic performance, and, probably, rather than expose himself too glaringly he will make a further and stronger effort to maintain his consistency in a career of abuse and misrepresentation of the Highland people.

PATRICK SELLAR'S TRIAL.

Mr Sellar has chosen to publish a book in reply to those who believe that his father was largely responsible for the Sutherland Clearances. He has as completely failed in his object, as he would have failed in an attempt to turn the ocean into dry land. His book answers itself. By its publication he has, however, challenged further discussion of the whole question in dispute.

A valued correspondent, well acquainted with the history and traditions of Sutherland, oral and written, on seeing an intimation that such a book was forthcoming, wrote to me as follows:—"I see the Sellars are moved against you for exhibiting the part their famous father took in the atrocities committed in Sutherland; that one of them is to write a book in vindication of their father! Well, I have heard a fetish, to wit, that 'a clear-eyed person could distinguish the dust of the righteous from that of the wicked in the same grave; that the dust of the former lay still, but in that of the latter there was a perpetual vermicular motion which prevented its taking rest or being still.' It would appear that the memory of the unenviable Sellar is doomed to this endless restlessness. No learning, no literary skill, no power, no wealth, no ducal influence, can prevent that name going down to posterity otherwise than as an example to be avoided, a character to be shunned." After detailing various incidents connected with the Sutherland Clearances, he exclaims, "Such is a specimen of the accounts of Mr Sellar which is handed down from father to son, wherever a Sutherland man is to be found. And now the public character of this man is to be thatched with legal technicalities so as to make him appear a just and humane man! This will be accomplished when the world is made to believe that Ahab did justly in getting possession of the vineyard of Naboth. Before this promised book, justifying Mr Sellar, comes out, I would give the following review of it:—Nine-tenths of Sutherland was reduced to a wilderness, the inhabitants burnt out as vermin. Of this fact, there is no doubt, no possible dispute. Who did it? Earl Gower, the Countess of Sutherland, Mr Loch, and their most active lieutenant, Mr Sellar. It would be difficult, at this time of day, to balance the blame fairly between them, but almost all will conclude

that Mr Sellar's was not the least of the four. Let them divide the guilt between them; each of them will find his own share too much to bear." Hear I, at least, am satisfied, at present, to leave Mr Sellar and his book.

LORD NAPIER AS CHAIRMAN OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

In view of what has been said and written when the Royal Commission was appointed, and especially of what appears at pp. 150-152 of this book, I have much pleasure in acknowledging here the absolutely impartial and searching manner in which the grievances of the people have been inquired into, hitherto, under the guidance of the noble chairman, Lord Napier and Ettrick, who has not only proved himself possessed of the necessary qualifications—impartiality, knowledge of the subject, and a remarkable patience—for such a responsible and difficult position, but has, at the same time, exhibited an insight into the whole question of the Inquiry which has no less surprised than it has gratified the Crofters and their friends. His conduct as chairman has been in all respects unexceptional, a fact for which he deserves the universal gratitude of the Highland people at home and abroad.

It would be at present invidious to make special reference to other individual members of a Commission which, in its corporate capacity, has done its work so well. This will be in good time when the Inquiry is completed and the report issued.

THE NEW CANADIAN DEPUTY-MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.—Mr Alexander M. Burgess, just appointed by the Canadian Government to the high and responsible office of Dominion Deputy-Minister of the Interior, is a native of Strathspey, in the county of Inverness. He is still a young man, who only left the Highlands a few years ago, to push his fortune in Canada; the only capital in his possession being perseverance, steady habits, and natural ability. His present position is all the more creditable to Mr Burgess, from the fact that he owes it to the political party whom he had always opposed out of office. He began his career at home by writing local paragraphs from Strathspey for the *Aberdeen Daily Free Press* and for the *Elgin Courant*. Shortly after his arrival in the Dominion he secured a situation on the reporting staff of the *Toronto Globe*, in a short time becoming chief of the Parliamentary staff of that paper in Ottawa. While there he originated and continued to publish the Canadian *Hansard*, subsequently becoming proprietor and editor of the *Ottawa Daily Free Press*, which he conducted as a Government organ during the Liberal Administration of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie. His newspaper venture not proving successful, Mr Burgess was appointed Private Secretary to Mr David Mills, Minister of the Interior, and, shortly before the Mackenzie Government retired, he was appointed to the more responsible office of Permanent Official Secretary in the same Department. He was continued under Sir John A. Macdonald, who himself holds the Portfolio of the Interior, and he has now been promoted to the Deputy-Ministry, with all the responsibility attached to the Interior Department, the Premier, Sir John A. Macdonald, being only nominal Minister, while the duties have to be performed by his Deputy. We cordially congratulate Mr Burgess on the position which he has now secured; and that he thoroughly deserves it is fully admitted by the Canadian press of all shades of opinion. The leading Conservative paper in Ottawa, the *Daily Citizen* says, before the appointment was actually made:—"During Mr Russell's [Mr Burgess's predecessor] enforced confinement, the duties of Deputy-Minister have been ably discharged by Mr Burgess, whose ability, aptitude for work, industry and thorough knowledge of the affairs of the Department, will receive practical recognition by his promotion. In anticipation of his elevation to the highest position he can receive in the Department we tender him our congratulations. Merit was never more fitly rewarded." We may add that until he entered the office of the Ministry of the Interior, Mr Burgess was the special Canadian correspondent of the *Aberdeen Daily Free Press* at Ottawa; and that he is married to a daughter of Mr Thomas Anderson, proprietor and editor of the *Banffshire Reporter*, published at Portsoy, a lady, like her husband, of considerable literary ability and culture, and of whose kindly hospitality, during our late visit to Canada, we have a very pleasant recollection.

PROCLAMATION AGAINST ROB ROY MACGREGOR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

SIR,—I noticed with much interest the reprint of the above proclamation in the August *Celtic Magazine*, and am much indebted to you for reproducing it. I knew that such a document had been issued about the early portion of 1719 but after very extended researches I was compelled to abandon the quest for it as hopeless. The copy of it which is thus supplied fills up a gap that I was forced to leave with regret in my "History of Rob Roy." Your correspondent has not attempted to show the value of this document as a contribution towards Scottish history, and I trust you will allow me a little space that I may indicate its importance.

The proclamation against Rob Roy is dated 10th March 1719. The date is worthy of remembrance. Ormonde's expedition, which terminated fatally at Glenshiel in the following June, had already set sail from France, and the Hanoverians were well aware that a rising in the North of Scotland was imminent. Almost instinctively their suspicions fell upon Rob Roy as the man most likely to be concerned in it, since his activity had kept up the flame of rebellion long after the Jacobite cause had assumed a hopeless aspect; and I am convinced that it was the intention of the Government to direct special measures against him *before Ormonde or Marischall could land*, so as to prevent the chief from joining either of them. I found this conviction upon these facts—(1) The offence alleged against Rob Roy had been committed on the 28th of January, but no action was taken until the 10th of March—after intelligence of Ormonde's expedition had reached London. (2) The crime charged, even if proved, was a simple criminal offence, which could have been easily dealt with by the Lord Advocate for Scotland, and did not call for regal interference. Yet the proclamation was dated from "Our Court at St James," as though a murder in Scotland could not be punished by ordinary procedure.

It is most interesting to notice the effect of this document upon Rob Roy. The proclamation was published "at the Mercat Cross of Inverary" on the 27th March 1719, when Rob Roy was in the immediate neighbourhood mustering the Breadalbane Campbells, the Macgregors, and the Murrays, to join the Spanish Auxiliaries under Earl Marischall. There can be little doubt that it confirmed him in his resolution to oppose the Hanoverian rule in Scotland, and showed him that he might expect neither justice nor mercy from those in authority. It is no slight testimony to the steadfastness of his adherents that the munificent offers of reward for his apprehension were powerless to seduce them from their fidelity. "Two Hundred Pounds *sterling*" —the price put upon his head by this proclamation—would have been a positive fortune in those times to the traitor who should betray him.

One other point is worthy of notice. It is stated in this proclamation that the cattle which the King's men were following "had been stolen from one *Drunkie;* a tenant of the said Duke of Montrose." This Graham of Drunkie, whom Rob Roy had possibly despoiled, had a daughter, who afterwards became the wife of Rob's youngest and favourite son, Robin Og Macgregor, about 1747, but died shortly after her marriage. This bridal connects in a peculiar manner the rebellions of 1715 and 1745.

To illustrate the difficulties under which a historical writer labours, who wishes to indite a complete life of one around whom so many legends have gathered, I may be pardoned for mentioning a fact which has come to my knowledge since my "History of Rob Roy" was published. In that work I advance the theory that the Duke of Montrose, having found it impossible to bribe Rob Roy to betray the Duke of Argyll, took extreme measures to force him into this treachery. I had not then documentary evidence to support this theory, but I have since found, in the Records of the Court of Session, that in 1712 the Duke of Montrose presented a petition to that Court praying that they would cause Rob Roy to be declared an outlaw, as the Duke *did not expect him to appear* to answer a summons which was current against him, *but not due.* The Court unwillingly granted the petition, but expressed an opinion that it was premature to ask outlawry for non-appearance before it could be known whether the defendant would appear or not. Hence it is evident that Rob Roy was proclaimed an outlaw at the Crosses of the principal towns in Scotland by a most illegal assumption of authority on the part of the Court of Session, solely to please the Duke of Montrose, and whilst Macgregor was guiltless either of crime or contempt of court. The details of this curious legal paradox will be found in Forbes' "Decisions," page 635.—I remain, sir, &c.,

A. H. MILLAR.

DUNDEE, 15th August 1883.

THE HON. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, EX-PREMIER OF CANADA, IN INVERNESS.—This distinguished Canadian statesman visited Inverness on Monday and Tuesday, 13th and 14th of August. He was accompanied by Mrs Mackenzie; his brother, Mr James Mackenzie, of Sarnia, and Mrs Mackenzie; the Rev. Mr Thomson of the same place, and Mrs Thomson—the Ex-Premier's daughter. On Monday afternoon and Tuesday morning they were shown over the places of interest in the town of Inverness and neighbourhood, including the Town Hall, Free Library and Museum Buildings, the Ness Islands, and Tomnahurich Cemetery, by Dean of Guild Mackenzie, after which they were driven to the Battlefield of Culloden, and the famous stone circles at Clava, by Mr Kenneth Macdonald, Town-Clerk of Inverness; accompanied by Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*; Councillor W. G. Stuart; Mr James Barron, Editor of the *Inverness Courier;* and Mr Wallace, Rector of the High School; returning in the afternoon to Roseheath, the Town-Clerk's residence, where Mrs Macdonald entertained the party to dinner. In the evening they called on Dean of Guild and Mrs Mackenzie, in Academy Street. On Wednesday morning they proceeded on the return journey by the Caledonian Canal steamer, "Gondolier." Mr Mackenzie and his friends had completed an extended Continental tour, principally through Italy and France, and they return to Canada by the Allan liner, "Circassian," leaving Liverpool on the 30th of August. It will be remembered that the Freedom of the Burgh was conferred on Mr Mackenzie during his visit to Inverness two years ago.

"THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS," and other contributions, are unavoidably held over until our next issue.

THE

CELTIC MAGAZINE.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., Scot.

No. XCVI. OCTOBER 1883. VOL. VIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

IX.

SIR EWEN CAMERON—*Continued.*

LOCHIEL, at the age of eighteen, was received by his clansmen, and conducted home with great pomp amid the greatest enthusiasm. When his people met him, a day's journey from Lochaber, they were gratified to find that he even exceeded the flattering accounts which had reached them regarding him, and they were still more delighted to find that, notwithstanding his upbringing and education under Argyll's influence, he still adhered to the political and patriotic principles of his ancestors.

His biographer informs us that, at this time, he was "healthful and full of spirits, and grown up to the height of man, though somewhat slender. Though he had made no progress in letters, yet his natural quickness, and the polite company among whom he had the good fortune to be bred so formed his behaviour and polished his conversation, that he seemed to anticipate several years of his age. The truth is, the want of an academical education was an advantage to him, whatever losses he might afterwards sustain by that defect; and the reason is obvious, for the time employed on words and terms is of no further advantage than as it lays a foundation for the nobler acquisition of substantial knowledge; and before youth advance to any tolerable

reflection they commonly exceed that age ; and in place of a just and solid reasoning they acquire crude and undigested notions which renders them disagreeably conceited and self-sufficient." He then proceeds to reason that as teachers generally are more conversant with books than with men, it is no wonder if they are somewhat stiff and pedantic in their manners and conversation; and it is natural to those brought up under such influences to imitate, in these respects, those by whom, in their youth, they are taught; and experience shows that several years must pass before they can entirely lay aside the habits contracted under such influences in early life; " but as Lochiel," he continues, " had the misfortune not to be troubled with books, by the iniquity of the times, so his early introduction with good company gave him this advantage above those of his years, that he was sooner ripe for company and action, and more adroit in the exercises befitting a gentleman, wherein the Marquis was very careful to have him trained by expert masters," very much to his credit, when we consider the circumstances of the times.

Lochiel's principal amusement was hunting, of which he was keenly fond. He destroyed all the wolves which then largely infested his own country, and he is said to have killed, with his own hand, the last wolf seen in the Highlands of Scotland. In pursuit of his favourite amusement he exposed himself to continual hardships and fatigue, which only made him the more vigorous and robust, acquiring strength and experience which well fitted his constitution of body and mind for the many difficulties and dangers which he had to go through afterwards in his long and remarkable career. He kept Colonel Cameron, who commanded the party of the clan who joined Montrose, constantly about him. This officer, who had secured for himself a high reputation for gallantry, and had been repeatedly wounded in the recent war, related to his young chief the leading events and incidents of the campaign. These Lochiel listened to with great interest, and he was so charmed with the story and with the valour and general conduct of his brave clansmen, exhibited during the war, that he succeeded in procuring a life-pension for their commander from Charles II. On hearing the Colonel's relation of the distinguished gallantry and valour of the great Montrose, Lochiel keenly bewailed his own misfortune for having missed the opportunity of serving under such a commander and being

trained in such a noble school; and he often expressed the hope that the illustrious hero would soon again lead his countrymen in the cause of his king, in which event the youthful Lochiel declared his resolve to join him at the head of his brave clansmen.

The first opportunity which Lochiel had of leading his clan in the field was in a raid against Macdonald of Keppoch, who, dispising our hero on account of his youth, and the indifference of his uncle, who still continued his guardian, refused to pay an annuity payable by him on a mortgage which Lochiel held over Glen-Roy. Preparations were made by the Camerons to enforce payment. Lochiel gathered his men, placed himself at their head, and invaded the Keppoch country with several hundred resolute followers. Macdonald, though he at first determined and prepared to oppose the invaders, finding them resolute and well led, deemed it prudent to arrange peaceable terms, and Lochiel's claims were at once admitted and made good. A similar dispute arose between him and Glengarry, who refused to pay a feu of superiority payable by him to the head of the House of Lochiel for the lands of Knoydart. This matter was also amicably arranged, and a treaty entered into which Glengarry faithfully carried out in every particular. These incidents establish the fact that Lochiel's great qualities as a soldier and a leader of men was recognised by his turbulent neighbours even at this early age.

For a considerable time after this nothing remarkable seems to have occurred either in his history or in that of his people. The author of the *Memoirs* states that "Lochiel had, all this time, the pleasure to see his people happy in a profound peace, while the rest of the kingdom groaned under the most cruel tyranny that ever scourged the afflicted sons of men. The jails were crammed full of innocent people, in order to furnish our governors with blood-sacrifices wherewith to feast their eyes; the scaffolds daily smoked with the blood of our best patriots; anarchy swayed with an uncontroverted authority, and avarice, cruelty, and revenge seemed to be Ministers of State. The bones of the dead were digged out of their graves, and their living friends were compelled to ransom them at exorbitant sums. . . . . Every parish had a tyrant, who made the greatest lord in his district stoop to his authority. The Kirk was the place where he kept his court; the pulpit his throne, or tribunal,

from whence he issued out his terrible decrees; and twelve or fourteen sour, ignorant enthusiasts, under the title of elders, composed his councils. If any, of what quality soever, had the assurance to disobey his edicts, the dreadful sentence of excommunication was immediately thundered against him, his goods and chattles confiscated and seized, and he, himself, being looked upon as actually in possession of the devil, and irretrievably doomed to perdition, all that conversed with him were in no better esteem." The history of those times is already too well known to require recapitulation here. Fearful excesses were resorted to on both sides. We shall not attempt to show in whose favour the balance turned. The subject is repulsive in the extreme, but we confess a preference for the Patriots of those days than for the Kirk. The former were honest, though possibly mistaken in supporting a worthless king. The Kirk was dishonest, hypocritical, and intolerant, though the nation ultimately benefitted, in spite of their godless cant and their cruel persecution of far better men than those of whom the Establishment of the day was generally composed.

It is quite unnecessary to discuss here the mean conduct of the clergy in their dealings with and recall of, perhaps, their almost equally mean, and worthless king. The particulars of the second expedition of Montrose, his capture, and execution, are well known; but it may be stated that, when his sentence was read to him, he declared that he was so far from being troubled at his head being ordered to be hung on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and his limbs in conspicuous places in four of the principal cities of the kingdom, that "he heartily wished that he had flesh enough to be sent to every city in Christendom as a testimony of the cause for which he suffered." Such a magnificence and nobility of spirit had no counterpart among his enemies.

The king was now in the hands of the Kirk. In 1650 he sent the following letter, directed on the back:—

"*To our Right Trusty, and Right Well-beloved Ewen Cameron of Locheill, and to the rest of the Gentlemen and Friends of the Name of Cameron.*

"CHARLES R.

"Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousin, and Trusty and Well-beloved, wee greet you well. The condition and calamity of this Kingdom cannot but be too well

known unto you. Ane insolent enemy having gott so great ane advantage against the forces that were raised for the defence of it, and having overrun the parts upon the South sides of the Forth and the Clyde, and having of late also gotten into their hands the Castle of Edinburgh, by the treachery of those that commanded in it ; which city they before desolated, ruined the church, and maliciously and insolently burnt our Palace there. These injureys, and the maney other grievious pressures lying upon our good subjects in the South, East, and Western Shyrs, cry alowd for relief, assistance, and revenge. Therefore we have, with the Estates of our Parliament, been consulting and adviseing for remedys ; and have emited the act of levey which comes to your Shyrs, and which we thought fitt to accompaney with our oun letter : Conjureing and desireing you, by all the bands of your duty to God, love to your country, and respect to our person, that you will speedily and effectwally rise and putt yourselves in arms for the relief of your distressed brethren, and to revenge their bloodshed by the sword in diverse corners of the countrey ; besides the multitudes starved to death in prissons, and famished and dying every day for want of bread in each town and village. These things, we know well, exceedingly affect you ; therefore we will not lay any thing more before you but our own resolutions, which is, either, by the blessing and assistance of God, to remedy and recover these evils and losses, revenge what these insolent enemys have crewelly and wickedly done, vindicate this hitherto unconquered Nation from the ignominy and reproach it lyes under ; or to lay down our life in the undertaking, and not to survive the ruine of our people, for whose protection and defence we would give, if we had them, as many lives as we have subjects. And we are assured and perswaded you will not be wanting in your duties, but will chearfully come to offer your lives for the defence of your Religion, your Countrey, your King, your own honours, your wives, your children, your liberty, and will be worthy your forefathers and predecessors, and like them in their virtue, and brave defending their countrey. Wee will, therefore, in assurance you will strive who shall be soonest in sight of the enemy, march with the present forces we have towards Stirling (where the nixt assault will certainly be), and either make good that place till you come to us, or die upon the place ; and if the handfull we carrey with us shall be overborn by greater numbers throwgh your slackness in comeing to our assistance, you will have the shame that yow have not already come upon the call of a redoubled defeat given to your naturall and covenanted brethren, and that yow have not now used extraordinary dilligence, being so earnestly prest by your King on his part. But we confidently expect from yow all imaginable expressions and effects of duty, dilligence, loyalty, and courage. And so we bid yow heartily fairwell. Given att our Court att Perth, the 24th of December 1650, and in the second year of our reign."

In response to this Royal Message Lochiel declared his intention of joining the King with a body of his clansmen early in the following Spring, but finding great difficulty in raising them, as many of his name lived on the lands of others, he applied to the Marquis of Argyll, through whom he obtained a warrant, from the Committee of Estates, empowering him to raise his clansmen wherever he could find them. Meantime the Scottish army, of which the King was nominal Commander was defeated by Cromwell at Inverkeithing, and a report of this disaster was communicated to Lochiel as he was on his march to join the

Royal Standard, at the head of a thousand of his clansmen. In the spring of 1652 he was the first of the Highland chiefs who joined the Earl of Glencairn, with a body of seven hundred brave followers, afterwards considerably augmented by fresh arrivals from Lochaber. Lochiel having received a Colonelcy in this army, soon had an opportunity of displaying his metal, and of giving the first example of his bravery and courage in the field. "He was always the first that offered himself in any dangerous piece of service, and, in all that he undertook, acquited himself with such conduct and valour that he gained great glory and reputation;" and he, soon after joining Glencairn, found himself and his men in a position where they narrowly escaped from the imminent danger of being cut to pieces by the enemy, under Colonel Lilburn, then newly appointed Commander in succession to Monk and Colonel Dean. Lochiel was at this date, in 1652, only twenty years old.

Glencairn encamped with his army at Tullich, in Braemar, and Lochiel and his men were posted at a pass, which lay at some distance, to prevent the Earl being surprised by the enemy, who were possessed of a garrison within a few miles of him. Lochiel placed out guards and sentries at proper places, often visiting them in person; and, notwithstanding his youth, acted the part of a vigilant and prudent officer. Early next morning, as he was sending for orders from the General, his scouts returned in great haste, informing him that the enemy were advancing at a smart pace, but they could not inform him of their exact number. Having ordered his men from their several posts, he ascended a hill near him, where he had a full view of the enemy. Lilburn, who was there in person, with his whole army, having made a halt to form his troops, gave Lochiel time enough to advise Glencairn of the position of affairs. Glencairn at once retreated to a morass or bog two miles away, where he secured himself from the enemy's horse, of which he was most afraid, but in the confusion he forgot to send Lochiel orders to retire.

Lochiel, finding himself in this position, smartly posted his men so advantageously that he not only sustained the attack of the enemy, who charged his followers with great fury, but drove them back several times with considerable loss. Half of his men were armed with bows; and these he posted against the enemy's horse. The men were excellent archers, and seldom missed their

aim, galling the foe intensely with their unerring arrows. The ground was rugged and uneven, and covered with much snow, which not only rendered the cavalry comparatively useless, but made the position much more difficult for the foot regiments. Further, he could only be attacked in one place, posted, as he was, in a narrow pass between two high mountains. These advantages abated much of the fury of the English ; and Lochiel, concluding, in spite of their superiority of numbers, that they were not invincible, drew out two hundred of his men, who, in the situation in which they were then placed, he could not otherwise employ ; and having ordered a competent officer to maintain the pass with the remainder of his force, he, at the head of this band, charged a body of the enemy, who were separated from the main body by a hill, quickly broke them, and threw them into confusion ; but having no men to support him, and afraid of being surrounded, he deemed it prudent not to pursue his advantage farther.

The English General, perceiving that he could not force the pass so gallantly defended by Lochiel, and angry at the loss of his men whom the Highlanders killed without much danger to themselves, drew off about half his troops, and being conducted by guides, who he brought with him, took a round of the hills, and managed to get between Lochiel and the main army under Glencairn ; but by this time, Lochiel's Quarter-Master, whom he had sent after Glencairn for orders, happening to return, intimated that his lordship was now in complete security, and that he ordered the Camerons to retreat as best they could ; whereupon the young chief retired gradually up the hill, facing the enemy—who dare not pursue him, on account of the roughness of the ground and the snow that covered it—on both sides. The pass being thus opened as Lochiel retired, Lilburn drew up his men and marched towards the Highland army ; but finding that he could not force an engagement as they were then posted, and the season of the year not admitting of his continuing in the field, he fell back and returned to Inverness, where he then had his head-quarters. On his way he placed strong garrisons in the Castles of Ruthven and others in which he deemed this necessary for his purpose. Lochiel followed him for several miles, and whenever the ground favoured, he harrassed him on his march, killing several of his men and horse. Having finally seen

the English fairly out of the district he returned in triumph to Glencairn, who received him with open arms, and congratulated him as the deliverer of the Highland Army. The conflict had lasted for several hours, and though Lochiel had a few of his men killed and several wounded, the enemy lost six times as many men, as well as several horses. In the following spring, Glencairn again took the field, but his army soon melted away. The leaders became divided among themselves, and there was consequently little chance of success against the enemy ; but though he dared not engage in a general battle, he constantly harrassed Lilburn and his army, repelling his attacks, beating up his quarters, burning and destroying several of his garrisons.

Lochiel kept himself clear of any faction at head-quarters, and to enable him to do so he always chose the most distant posts, where he had the additional advantage and pleasure of being more frequently in action against the enemy than any one else; and the invariable success of his arms on these occasions made the General in command very willing to employ and give him the opportunities, which he so much courted, of measuring swords with the English. That his services were appreciated and acknowledged in high quarters will be seen by perusing the following letter from the King :—

"*To our Trusty and Well-beloved the Laird of Locheill.*

"CHARLES R.

"Trusty and Well-beloved, wee greet yow well. We are informed by the Earl of Glencairn with what notable courage and affection to us yow have beheaved yourself at this time of tryall, when our interest, and the honour and liberty of your countrey, is at stake ; and, therefore, we cannot but express our hearty sense of such your good courage, and return yow our princely thanks for the same. And we hope all honest men, who are lovers of us or their countrey, will follow your example, and that yow will unite together in the wayes we have directed ; and under that authority we have appointed to conduct yow, for the prosecution of so good a work. So we doe assure yow we shall be ready, as soone as we are able, signally to reward your service, and to repair the losses yow shall undergoe for our service ; and so wee bid yow fairwell. Given att Chantilly, the 3rd day of November 1653, in the fifth year of our reign."

Soon after this Lochiel was obliged to return home to defend his own country, information having reached him that it was to be invaded by the English army from Inverness.

(To be continued.)

THE ETHICS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

VIII.—Distributive Justice—*(Continued.)*

What is labour? This question may sound very strange in the ears of those who are accustomed to limit its meaning to mere manual labour. They, very properly, accept it as a truth that value consists in labour, and, by an easy transition, the working classes, who have been taught by the *doctrinaires* of a materialistic political economy, more intent upon crabbed theories than upon any true philosophy, have been led to think and believe that mere manual exertion possesses the only real value in the conduct and course of social life. Hence arises that communism which would reduce a highly organised society to the low level of the brute creation, under the idea that equality ought to mean an equal division of the products of industry, so that they would reinstitute, if they could, the public tables of Spartan life. Yet it is not to be wondered at that inequalities which arise from the exercise of power and privilege should create in the minds of those who feel themselves pressed down by this felt injustice the same revulsion of feeling which in all ages of the world produced the opposite extremes of license and plunder.

Those who are engaged in the production of the necessaries of life, and who toil hard upon very little pay, feel a not unnatural jealousy of those who obtain an easy, or an apparently easy, living by the exertion of very little bodily labour, and come to the conclusion that this arises from an unjust distribution of the proceeds of the produce of labour. In many cases, even outside the question of rent and taxes, no doubt this feeling is founded on just grounds of complaint; but, on the other hand, a great misconception obtains among the working classes regarding the relative merits of the various services, or kinds of labour, by which the intricate machinery of society is worked. It is evident, for instance, that the skilled labourer deserves to be better rewarded than the unskilled. So also with regard to the labour of those who are engaged in the business of exchange, as these require a higher education, and in most cases serve a longer apprenticeship to fit them for their various callings and positions

of trust. Then again with regard to professional men, such as clergymen, physicians, lawyers, literarymen, schoolmasters, and public servants of various grades. The use of the word labour in political economy does not appear to embrace such services as I have enumerated, and thus, by narrowing its application to the work of material production, it has had a misleading effect; for it is evident that it ought to embrace all human services necessary to society in economic life. It, therefore, means effort of brain and body in the pursuit of an honest livelihood. But then what is it that constitutes, or tends to establish, a natural ratio between the mere labour, or physical force, of the common digger, or field labourer, and all the different grades of society? This question will perhaps be better answered after we have enquired into and examined

What Constitutes Capital?

There is no term in political economy which has been so much hackneyed, mangled, and misapplied as the word capital, and no portion of Mr Henry George's book has done so much service to the cause of truth as the chapter in which he treats of this subject, which, indeed, is of itself sufficient to give a new direction to the current of thought. I have already pointed out, *perhaps in too unsparing language*, certain theories of this now celebrated author, and I find myself again obliged to vary his definitions and to enlarge their scope. I will not weary the reader by going over the field of discussion point by point. It is only necessary to mention that the confusion of the economists arises from attempts to particularise all the things which are embraced under the very comprehensive term capital. After comparing the definitions of various economists, and exposing them to a degree of ridicule, Mr George falls back upon and agrees with Adam Smith, except in so far as that distinguished philosopher included in his classification "the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants."* Now, to my mind, this shows

* The passage referred to is as follows:—Fourthly, of the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of the society. The acquisition of such talents by the maintainence of the acquirer during his education, study, or apprenticeship, always costs a real expense, which is a capital fixed and realised, as it were, in his person. Those talents, as they make a part of his fortune, so do they likewise of that

how vastly superior, not only in comprehensiveness, but also in detail, the Scotch philosopher was to all his successors, and how well he had thought out his subject. Mr George does not seem to apprehend that the origin of the word has reference to the human head, which is capital *par excellence.*

The Analogy of the Human Brain.

Mr George makes use of a very happy expression when he says that capital is "labour stored up in materiality," but it is necessary, for more exactness, to correct that definition by saying that *created wealth* is labour stored up in materiality, and capital is that part of it which is employed reproductively, whatever the occupation may be. He also makes what appears to be a good point in showing that wages are not, as is commonly asserted, paid out of capital, because, for instance, the shoemaker delivers the pair of shoes before he receives his wages, and the master shoemaker merely makes a transfer entry in his book by crediting cash and debiting stock, in which case, of course, both cash and stock form parts of his capital. The important point, however, to keep in view is that labour and capital are interdependent, the first antecedent and the other consequent. Not only so, but being both force, they are of *the same generic nature*, and we find capital going about seeking employment, like the most industrious workman, for, if standing idle, it receives no wages.

Impressed with the same idea as the House of Lords that value resides in the "natural capabilities" of the soil, Mr George discusses at some length the cause of interest, and, to make good his point, he assigns it to the increase of nature, as, for instance, the lamb becoming a sheep. Therefore, if you borrow a lamb of one year it would be hardly fair to return a lamb of the same age next year, for the one which you borrowed has by that time grown into a sheep. Now, this seems very plausible, but it is quite an illusion. *Interest is the wages of capital*, and it would be just as wise to discuss the cause of the wages of the workman, for the cause is one and the same. For example, let us embody capital

of the society to which he belongs. The improved dexterity of a workman may be considered in the same light as a machine or instrument of trade which facilitates and abridges labour, and which, though it costs a certain expense, repays that expense with profit."

and call it Brobdig, and suppose a thousand workmen *employing him*, if you will, whom we shall call Lilliputs. They have to weld an intractable piece of iron and say, "Now, Brobdig, for a blow," and down comes Brobdig, with his steam fist, and squelches in an instant what might take the Lilliputs a whole day. That is capital. Now, is Brobdig not worthy of his wages?

Mr Barnum's capital is invested in elephants for amusement, but this magnificent animal is very largely employed in India, *as force*, dragging and piling timber. One of them will perform the work of a hundred coolies, but his wages is in about the same proportion to the work performed; the advantage in favour of employing the elephant being that he does his work in less time and more effectually.

But I am more concerned about illustrating the far-reaching proposition of the "Wealth of Nations," and vindicating the profound genius of the author. By and by it will be necessary to show in what respect land is capital and in what respect it is not; but for the purpose of illustration, as well as to prove the truth of Adam Smith's definition, let us now consider the analogy of the human brain, and see how labour is stored up in it, and becomes capital. Man does not live by bread alone, and the advancement of society depends more upon the cultivation of the brain than upon the cultivation of the soil. That incomprehensible organism, with its two hemispheres, is not only the emanation of the genius of an intelligent first cause, and possessed, under limitation, of some of his divine attributes in order to subdue the worser part; but it is also the reflex and full diapason of all nature—man, as the learned ancients conceived, summarising in himself all the laws of the world. The brain is *power*, like the soil, but it has no value. What! the human brain has no value? No, the brain of the Lord Chancellor has no value. It is power, which is the gift of God, and who has restricted the rewards to labour alone. The respect in which the Lord Chancellor's brain has value consists in the labour he has bestowed upon its cultivation, and the effort required for mastering the logic of the law being of the highest order, he is deservedly the highest paid minister of the Crown.

But let us take another case to illustrate Adam Smith's doctrine, which will also help to show us the cause of the ratio between labour and capital, or, in other words, the difference of

remuneration between simple manual labour, into which the cultivation of the brain does not enter, and that labour in which is combined the capital deposited in the brain, along with the physical exertion of the capitalist. It is the case of that useful member of society and friend of humanity—the physician. During his seven years curriculum, he has not only laboured hard with the implements of knowledge on the cultivation of his brain, but he has also paid for books and fees, besides a large sum for his support. Is that not capital?

Having given the above illustrations, it will now be seen that justice, consisting, as Aristotle says, in something proportional, the perfection of which is in a mean, there must be a basis in commutative justice upon which to found the ratio, and that appears to be the wages of the common man, or unskilled labourer, which is the real measure of value. The wages of capital can be always ascertained by the average current rate of interest. It is, however, unnecessary to amplify on this part of the subject in this connection, as our inquiry concerns the real nature of capital. Its functions will be easily understood, if we can grasp what the thing really is. In many cases the best way to ascertain what a thing is, is first to clear the ground by showing what it is not, and for that purpose I make the following quotation from Mr Fawcett's Manual. In doing so, it is only just to that eminent practical economist to mention that he merely repeats the reasoning of Mr Mill, and I quote Mr Fawcett, as he has recently published an amended chapter of his work, and must, therefore, be still occupied in thinking over the science. Mr Fawcett commends himself to our sympathy and esteem in a way which no living public man can do, and in using the sharp weapons of controversy towards him, I must avow my unbounded respect for his person and character. He says—

"Since capital is the result of saving, it is often erroneously considered that capital is wealth which is set aside with the object of not being spent; but this is a fundamental misconception, for capital cannot fulfil any of its functions except by being wholly or partially consumed. Thus, capital provides the fund from which the wages of labour are paid, and these wages are of course consumed in ministering to the wants of the labourer, and in supplying him with all the various necessaries of life. If a man has so much wheat, it is wealth which may at any moment be employed as capital; but this wheat is not made capital by being hoarded, it becomes capital when it feeds the labourers, and it cannot feed the labourers unless it is consumed. These considerations apply to capital existing even in a more permanent

form, such as machinery. All machines must in a time wear out ; a steam engine, durable as it may appear, is only capable of performing so much work ; but a steam engine is capital, because it assists the production of wealth, and, therefore, it only fulfils the function of capital when it is in motion ; but every hour that it is kept in motion contributes somewhat to its ultimate wearing out. It is, therefore, manifest that all the wealth of the country, in whatever form it may be, can only perform the functions of capital by being wholly or partially consumed. The capital of a country is constantly being consumed in order to produce more wealth, and, therefore, capital is maintained by perpetual re-production, and not by hoarding and keeping wealth out of consumption. * * * * It will be, perhaps, useful to our readers if we give one or two practical applications of the laws of capital which have been enunciated in this chapter. One such application is suggested by considering the rapidity with which a country recovers from the ravages of a disastrous war. This phenomenon was first elucidated by Dr Chalmers. A conqueror over-runs a country, and destroys every vestige of accumulated wealth which he can discover. A great portion of the food with which the labourers were to be fed is gone: machinery and other appliances with which industry is assisted are destroyed. The capital of the country appears to be almost lost, and when it is remembered that the future production of wealth depended upon this capital, it might be supposed that the production would cease, and that the country must for years remain the same desolate waste. But, on the contrary, countries which have been thus ravaged and pillaged, have in a few years revived, and seemed to be as prosperous as before. The history of Athens, and the French wars in the Palatinate, afford many striking examples of a rapid recovery from the devastation of war. The remarkable rapidity with which France recovered her commercial and financial prosperity after the conclusion of the war with Germany in 1870-71 is another example in point."

On reading the foregoing remarkable discourse, the first thing that will occur to the reader is that no distinction appears to be drawn between wealth and capital. Capital may be wealth, but wealth may not be capital. Adam Smith drew a distinction between value in use and value in exchange; but the economists, it should seem, cannot recognise the difference, and consequently make no distinction between wealth and capital.

To say that capital is the result of saving, appears, on the face of it, a very negative proposition, which amounts to an absurdity when we are told that it must be consumed in order to become an efficient. Following the analogy which I have already drawn, it should seem that the Lord Chancellor must consume his own head in order to replace his capital; and I must swallow the spade which I made before I can turn it into capital. The spade would seem to be the result of my saving and not of my labour! I have hitherto acted on the belief that I have been living on my wages and profits, and consuming commodities and not my capital. The human race is increasing, and so is capital.

We do not require the economists to tell us that if there was no consumption there would be no reproduction. If the earth had not been prepared for man it would probably have remained, like the moon, without an atmosphere and without vegetation. The wheat merchant buys as fast as he sells; but if any one were to tell him that he must consume his capital in order to replace it, he would not regard that person as a philosopher. In like manner, the railway company, the shipowner, and manufacturer, if told that they must consume the railway, the ships, and the machinery in order to replace them, they would be very likely to exclaim, "Strange doctrine this! We have hitherto misunderstood our business." The enquiry is surely into the efficient cause of its existence, and not into its conservation. Mr Fawcett may not have studied book-keeping, but what has become of his logic? This *thing* which has come into existence *by being saved* must be consumed in order to become an efficient!

Capital lives and increases upon that on which it feeds—labour; and the duration of its natural life will be probably co-existent with the human race, but the economists have given it the life of a phœnix, which must be consumed so that it may grow again out of its own ashes. The capitals of states represent enormous accumulations of the force of labour, but it must seem that London has to be consumed in order that it may rise again, like a phœnix out of its own ashes, *by means of saving!*

The argument is a momentous one. It resolves itself into this: whether you are to believe God's truth or the devil's logic. I may here remind the intelligent reader that it is of a piece with Mr Mill's *logic of negation*, by which he attempts to prove that natural phenomena are the results of the laws of blind matter, self-acting, without an intelligent law-giver, or first cause.

Now, let it be observed that labour and capital are forces, and that saving proceeds from a moral attribute—human prudence. From this we see the close analogy there is between the physical and moral world; for the conservation of labour in the shape of wealth and capital is in strict analogy with the conservation of energy in nature. We, therefore, argue that the conservation of energy in nature is the result of Divine wisdom.

In the case of the grain merchant, what he really deals in is the force of labour and capital which produced the grain, the

amount of which is estimated in the labour of the digger, and to which he adds the value of his own labour in the distribution, with the wages of his capital, so that he lives upon these two wages which we call profit.

In the case of capital being destroyed by the ravages of war, it is evident that it can only be replaced by the same means as those by which it was originally created—labour and thrift, physical effort and human prudence. The inhabitants, finding themselves despoiled and impoverished, put forth a greater effort, and subject themselves to greater self-denial, until they find themselves again in the same state of comfort as they were in before the war, but if the war had not taken place this wealth would be still greater and their taxes less oppressive. If the argument is worth anything, it is, perhaps, to the landlords, who are fond of war, as they have been led to believe that war and pestilence are God's ordinances for keeping down the increase of population, but, of course, these are the hard truths of political science, which, according to Mr Fawcett, is wrongfully accused of being hard-hearted. I am not sure that its benevolent theories have been productive of any good, but rather the contrary, in the Highlands of Scotland.

But this exposition might fail to carry conviction, if I could not point out the cause of the confusion. The first cause arises from viewing things in an *inverse* order, which is a subtile cause of confusion, such as we observe when viewing a landscape through an inverting telescope; things appear upside down. As land is prior to labour, and as "the school" place value in it, they regard capital as prior to labour also. There is likewise another reason for this inversion. Rent, in the hands of private individuals, is an inverse proportional, and not having eliminated it as a *labour residuum*, which, in the hands of the State, and accruing to society, would become a direct proportional, the economists could not construct a logical science.

Depreciation.

It does not appear to form any part of the "dismal" science to observe and interpret physical phenomena, as hitherto no notice appears to have been taken of the phenomenon of depreciation, which forms a very important account in the books of commercial firms. Mr Fawcett confounds this phenomenon with

consumption. "So long as the Coloseum stands, so long will Rome stand," is a trite saying in the "Eternal City," and, acting upon that superstition, successive Popes have been patching it up, but the Coloseum goes on depreciating all the same. The ship, which is built of iron that has been conserved in the earth for eons of time, depreciates, so does the granite house, and so do all the works of man. This depreciation, as well as the tear and wear of machines and roads, must be made up by labour. Nothing of human invention stands against the erosion of time. Even if capital did not deserve its wages, this phenomenon of depreciation would account for interest. Why, for instance, is a man reluctant to lend his carriage? To all appearance, it is returned in as good a condition as when lent, yet a certain fraction of depreciation has taken place which must be made up for by human labour. Time is a great factor in human life. Not only must man work for his daily requirements; he must also provide against the erosion of time. The granite house *depreciates*, but the *superficies* upon which it is built *appreciates*. So that man may never be wholly exempted from the necessity to labour, all his works depreciate. It is only the works and ordinances of God that appreciate, and man endowed with a great labour faculty and genius for invention goes on appreciating whilst his works go on depreciating.

Labour, then, is human effort in pursuit of a livelihood, and it is by the exchange of these efforts that economic society is constituted. Capital, as has been explained, is of the same generic nature, created by, and auxilliary to, human effort. Therefore, Labour and Capital are Force, and it is Force only that has value. All natural Powers are, thus, gratuitous, for if they were otherwise who is entitled to represent the Great Author and make a charge for them?

But whilst all others are under the law of labour and depreciation, the landlord not only claims exemption from human effort in the service of society, but he also claims the appreciation.

Having thus resolved Value into Effort and Force, we must next inquire into "What are Power and Wealth?"

MALCOLM MACKENZIE.

Guernsey.

"PEER-MEN," AND SOME OF THEIR RELATIONS.

THE following interesting paper, originally delivered by Mr James Linn, of the Geological Survey, Keith, at the annual meeting of the Scientific Societies and Field Clubs, held in Banff on the 4th of August, has since been re-written and extended for the *Celtic Magazine*. Mr Linn exhibited, on that occasion, the various specimens referred to in the paper :—

Till very recent times it was not at all usual in country houses to have burning continuously any means of light, other than the fire, through the long dark evenings and mornings which, in our latitude, we have for a great part of the year. In earlier times too, night was not so much used either for work or for amusements as it now is, and as it could be only when artificial means of lighting became more easily available, cheaper, and more effective. Hence it is that in our time "night is turned into day" to so great an extent. Even in lower latitudes where at all seasons of the year the daylight is sufficiently long for a reasonable amount of work, a change in the same direction seems to be going on. In regard to this growing tendency to turn night into day, "An Old Technologist," in a valuable article "On Artificial Light" in the "Journal of Science" for February 1883, remarks that, "It is singular that among the points which the advocates of thrift systematically overlook, the excessive outlay for artificial light should be included. Would we, or could we, once more make noon the middle of the day we should compass an annual economy of some millions sterling."

However brightly the fire might blaze, and however well it might light up the room, or the part of the room immediately around it, it had the disadvantage of being a fixed light, and its light often could not be shed sufficiently, if at all, on the spot where it was specially wanted. Besides, the fire was usually on the hearth. However, in story, song, and poem, it is almost always the fire that is spoken of as the means of lighting, as in "The Cotter's Saturday Night" :—

> "The cheerfu' supper done, wi' serious face,
> They round the *ingle* form a circle wide:
> The sire turns o'er wi patriarchal grace,
> The big ha'-Bible ance his father's pride."

In "The Spinnin' Wheel," by Robert Nicoll, we have :—

> "The auld wife by the *ingle* sits, an draws her cannie thread:
> It hauds her baith in milk an' meal, an' a' thing she can need:
> An gleesome scenes o' early days upon her spirit steal
> Brought back to warm her withered heart by Scotland's spinnin' wheel."

In England it was much the same, as the following from "The Farmer's Boy," by Robert Bloomfield, will show :—

> "Him, though the cold may pierce and storms molest,
> Succeeding hours shall cheer with warmth and rest;
> Gladness to spread, and raise the grateful smile,
> He hurls the faggot bursting from the pile,

And many a log and rifted trunk conveys
To heap the fire and wide extend the blaze,
That quivering strong through every opening flies,
Whilst smoky columns unobstructed rise.
* * * *
Flat on the hearth the glowing embers lie
And flames reflected dance in every eye:
There the long billet, forced at last to bend,
While gushing sap froths out at either end,
Throws round its welcome heat."

"The fire fair-blazing," "the ingle," "the hearth," "his wee bit ingle blinkin' bonnily," and like expressions we meet with again and again in pictures of domestic life during the winter evenings. Reference to other means of lighting are very rare, and yet other means there certainly were. Every district, according to its situation and circumstances, had its own peculiar lighting appliances. In one district we may find the burning of oil of some kind through a wick of cotton threads, or of narrow stripes of cotton rag twisted together, or of the pith of the common rush gathered under the influence of the waxing moon. In another district we may find that a wick made of one or other of the materials just mentioned, dipped in melted tallow, and hence called a "dip" may have prevailed. In another, where that particular kind of coal known as parrot or cannel coal is to be found, splinters of this coal were used, and it was from this circumstance that it came to be called "cannel," that is, candle coal. Over a wide area, for instance, round Auchinheath in the parish of Lesmahagow, Lanarkshire, this was the ordinary light, but, of course, it was practically a fixed light. This coal was broken into thin splinters, one of which at a time was laid on an iron bracket attached to the front of the grate, so that the piece of cannel coal might be kept sufficiently in contact with the ordinary coal. The bracket was called the "coal-*airn*, "that is, the coal-iron, and the coal burned on it was called "licht-coal," or light-coal. I have here a specimen of the coal-iron. It was the one used in my father's house. It is now nearly fifty years since it was made. With the light that blazed from it in the winter evenings, spinning and all household work were done, books and newspapers read, and even writing done. This was the ordinary form. Larger and smaller ones I have seen, but so far as I recollect the shape and appearance were in all cases much the same. For going to other parts of the house or to the outhouses a tallow candle was used. I have been told that cannel coal was similarly used in some parts of lower Banffshire.

In certain districts peat-mosses containing plenty of resinous fir are found. These "bog" or "moss-firs" were split into thin lath-like pieces, called "fir-cannels," and were used over wide areas round such peat-mosses. Till not very long ago fir was so prepared in the upper parts of Banffshire, and brought down to various places in the low country to be sold. An instrument was used to probe or feel in the peat-moss for the fir trunk or root, which was then "holed," that is, a hole was dug round so as to free the trunk or root and allow it to be taken out. We have here a specimen of the "spit," as used in the Keith district. A suitable piece of fir—a "fat" or highly resinous piece—having been found, it was cut into lengths of about a foot and a-half or two feet, and split. The knife with which the splitting was done was called the "cannel-gullie" or "cannel-futtle," that is the candle-knife. Specimens of these "gullies" we have before us. The next thing was to lay a supply of the "fir-cannels" to dry on the "fir-reist," which usually hung in the wide chimney. We have two

specimens before us. Besides the name "fir-reist," their Gaelic name *Coilleachan* is still known in the district round Keith. *Coinnlean-speic* is the name used further up the country. It means *the support for the candles.* The Gaelic name *Coillinn*, a candle, according to "MacLeod and Dewar's Gaelic Dictionary," seems to be *coille-theine*, the flame of a wooden torch or fir-candle. A sacredness attached to the fir-tree in Scotland, as well as in Sweden and other countries. Women in childbirth were *sained* or hallowed with a fir candle (Dalyell's "Darker Superstitions of Scotland," p. 404), and "a piece of torch fir carried about the person, and a knife made of iron, which has never been applied to any purpose, are both excellent preservatives (Stewart's "Popular Superstitions of the Highlanders," p. 136).

In Lightfoot's *Flora Scotica* it is mentioned that the outer rind of the birch-tree was sometimes burned instead of fir or tallow candles, but how it was prepared and used I have not yet been able to make out. I can do little more than mention the "crusie." In Banffshire and adjoining counties it used to be called "Reekie Peter." Other names it had—"the black lamp," "the oily lamp," &c. Fish oil was commonly burned in the "crusie," by means of a wick of cotton or of the piths of rushes. Generally two piths were used. I asked one of my friends in the neighbourhood of Keith if more than two were ever used. "Very, very seldom," she said, "such a thing would have been counted extravagance." Then there was the "Ruffy." I have not been able to learn that the name "ruffy" was used in the North, but the thing itself was. "Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary" defines it as "a wick clogged with tallow. The blaze used in fishing by night with the lister." The derivation given is from two Swedish words *roe-ljus*, a rush-light. Rush-wicks were sometimes used, but more commonly stripes of cotton rags twisted or plaited loosely together. This was very often what I may call an extemporised light—hurriedly and roughly made, and hence its name "roughy" or "ruffy." Sometimes, instead of tallow, butter was used, and in that case it was called the "Butter-ruffy." My friend Mrs Stewart, of Selms, near Edinburgh, gives me an instance from the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire. At a farm there happened a case of emergency, such as is liable to occur in byres during the long dark nights of early spring. On this occasion the "gudewife" had no oil or candle in stock, and no tallow, but she had butter. Soon some cotton rags were torn up, twisted a little and coated with butter, and the needed light got. This was a "Butter-ruffy." I may add that the "gudewife" was accused of evading the law. At that time there was a duty on tallow candles. I have not heard of butter having been used in the North, but fat of all kinds was used, and as more of this fat melted than could be consumed in the flame, the stand in which the "ruffy" was placed was usually set on a plate in order that the grease might be caught and saved. In olden times, in the parish of Tongland, "when the goodman of the house made family worship, they lighted a 'ruffy' to enable him to read the Psalm and the portion of Scripture before he prayed." The light was put out before the prayer. In Mid-Lothian I have seen the same thing done in my grandfather's house, but it was a tallow candle or an oil lamp that was thus carefully and sparingly used. The same custom prevailed in the North here. It was always a matter for consideration whether the work to be done was "worth the candle" or not. Even "among persons of high station wax candles were in use on especial occasions, and were carefully extinguished when no longer needed." ("On Artificial Light," "by an Old Technologist," in *The Journal of Science* for February 1883).

Of sconces, links, torches, cressets, &c., and their characteristics and distinctions I must not at this time dwell.

The fir-candle, the tallow-candle, the wax-candle, and the oil-lamp were for long used contemporaneously, and in any house it was just a matter of convenience which was used. Since Paraffin Oil became so cheap the fir-candle and the strongly smelling black fish-oil have almost everywhere ceased to be used.

Supports or stands for "fir" and "white" candles, and for lamps are of very old date, and many of them were of great beauty and rare workmanship, such as those that have been discovered among the ruins of Pompeii. Exquisite engravings of some of these old Italian lamps and lamp-stands I have now before me, through the kindness of Dr Grigor, of Nairn. In general appearance some of them resemble our Scottish forms. Often stands were dispensed with, and the lights were simply held in the hand while needed. Sometimes a man or a boy was employed to hold the light, while others were engaged in work or amusement, and hence we have the saying in regard to a disagreeable unsociable person—"he'll neither dance, nor haud the cannel." Even when the light was placed on a stand it required some one to be in almost constant attendance upon it, to "snite" the fir-candle, to "snuff" the tallow candle, and to attend to the wick and oil of "Reekie Peter." In the North it was the business of the "herd-loon' to hold or to attend to the fir-light when it was used at supper time, or at other times during the long dark winter evenings and mornings. Before the present poor-law came into force, and even for some time after, at the farm "touns" there were few nights in which food and shelter were not given to one or more poor men and women, and one of these was often employed to hold or to attend to the fir-candle during the evening, and in the morning while the "flail" was plied in the barn. Sometimes it was only on condition that the poor man should hold the candle that shelter for the night was given. It was from this that the stand on which the fir-candle or the tallow candle was fixed, or the "crusie" hung, got the name "Peer-Man," "Pure-Man," or "Puir-Man"—these being local forms of "Poor-Man." The Gaelic name for it was *Bodach*, which is very nearly the equivalent of our "Peer-Man." In "The Dialect of Banffshire, with a Glossary of Words not in Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary," by the Rev. Walter Gregor, Pitsligo, I find under "Peer-Man" that "Peer-Page is another name for the same." In other countries as well as ours, pages were so employed. "Even the Italians of the eleventh century wore clothes of unlined leather, and had no taste except for horses and for shining arms; no pride except that of building strong towers for their lairs. Man and wife grabbled for their supper from the same plate, while a squalid boy stood by them with a torch to light their greasy fingers to their mouths" (*The Martyrdom of Man*, by Winwood Reade, p. 30). The name "Poor-Man," so applied, has not, so far as I have been able to make out, been used in the South, but fir-candles were used where the material could be got. I wrote to my friend the late Dr. Grossart, of Salsburgh, asking if out of his vast stores of antiquarian lore, he could give me any information as to the existence of "Poor-Men" in Lanarkshire. He replied:—"I have seen an old man, who, when a boy, held the burning bog-fir while men thrashed corn in the long dark mornings of winter, and *he* was the only 'Peer-Man' in Lanarkshire, as far as I know." In the North one may meet every day with men not yet old who have done the same thing. In *King Henry V.*, *Act IV.*, *Scene II.*, it may be doubtful whether Shakespeare refers to living candle-holders, or only to figures or images of men—such as we know were made to support candles, just as we at the present time often have figures of men, &c., as supports for our lamps—when he makes Grandpre say:—

"Big Mars seems bankrupt in their beggared host,
And faintly through a rusty beaver peeps.
Their (that is, the English) *horsemen sit like fixed candlesticks*
With torch staves in their hand."

In *Romeo and Juliet, Act I., Scene IV.*, he makes Romeo say:—

"Give me a torch,—I am not for this ambling;
Being but heavy, *I will bear the light.*"

Again Romeo says:—

"A torch for me: let wantons light of heart
Tickle the senseless rushes with their heels;
For I am proverbed with a grand-sire phrase—
I'll be a candle-holder and look on."

Every one will remember Sir Walter Scott's account in "A Legend of Montrose," chapter IV., of the visit of Angus M'Aulay to Sir Miles Musgrave, and the wager that Angus took on that he had more numerous and more valuable candlesticks than the six silver candlesticks on Sir Miles's table, and how Allan M'Aulay got his brother out of the difficulty on the visit of Sir Miles and his friend Christopher Hall. "The two English strangers were first ushered into the hall where an unexpected display awaited them. The large oaken table was spread with substantial joints of meat, and seats were placed in order for the guests. Behind every seat stood a gigantic Highlander, completely dressed and armed after the fashion of his country, holding in his right hand his drawn sword, with the point turned downwards, and in the left a blazing torch made of the bog-pine." The strangers of course were surprised, and "ere they had recovered from their surprise, Allan stepped forward, and pointing with his sheathed sword to the torch-bearers, said in a deep and stern tone of voice, 'Behold, gentlemen cavaliers, the chandeliers of my brother's house, the ancient fashion of our ancient name; not one of these men knows any law but his Chief's command. Would you dare to compare to THEM in value the richest ore that ever was dug out of the mine? How say you, cavaliers? Is your wager won or lost?'" "Lost, lost," said Musgrave gaily, "my own silver candlesticks are all melted and riding on horseback by this time."

The word *chandeliers*, applied by Allan M'Aulay to these "Peer-Men" was also applied to our "Peer-Men" of the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, and Elgin, under the form *chanlers*, pronounced *tch*anlers.

I have heard of a dog in the parish of Birnie having been trained to hold the fir-candle while his master shaved.

We must now turn to the anatomical structure of the "Peer-Men," and we must not be surprised if we find even among them proofs of "The Development Theory!"

Judging from the specimens in my own collection, and from any other specimens I have seen, "Peer-Men" may be divided into four species. Each species includes many varieties:—

I.—The first species includes those that stood on the floor or on the table. Originally they were wholly of wood, the stalk having a cleft at the top to hold the fir-candle. As might have been expected, I have not been able to meet with a specimen of this kind. Such cleft sticks were called "clevies," or "clivvies," or "clavies," and when a piece of iron was used, it took the form of a cleft, and still retained the name "clevie." This word, as first pointed out by Dr Joseph Anderson, is the same word as the famous Burghead "Clavie." Met as we are in Banff, it seems right and

fitting that your attention should be called to the fact that the earliest and best account of the remarkable and interesting ceremony of the "Burning of the Clavie" at Burghead appeared in the *Banffshire Journal*, of Tuesday, 6th January 1863. It was written by Alex. Jeffrey, jun., Burghead. This valuable article was quoted in full by Robert Chambers in "The Book of Days." The Burghead "Clavie" is just a "Peer-Man," highly developed and modified for a special purpose. In this case the "clevie" or "clavie" has become quite abnormally developed—developed, in fact, into the half of a tar-barrel. Though it has retained the name, there has long ceased to be anything about it to suggest the origin of the name. In this connection it may be noted how very soon, after the thing has gone out of use, its name is forgotten. I have met with but a few who know the word "clevie" or "clivvie," and only among those well advanced in years. In all cases it was pronounced "cleevie."

Other varieties had the base of a rounded or a squared stone with a hole in the centre. Into this hole a stalk of wood about thirty-four inches in height was fixed Into the top of this stalk the iron "clevie" was inserted. The stone base was frequently cut into neat forms. The top of the stalk was very often guarded by an iron ring, and sometimes there was an iron plate—round or square—through which the "clevie" passed into the wood. This iron plate protected the wood, and was also used for laying some fir-candles on to be in readiness for use.

The next variety is a very simple form. It is part of a young fir-tree that has been selected because of its suitably diverging branches, which have been sawn off at a sufficient distance from the stem to act as "claws" or feet. On one side where the distance between the "claws" had been thought too great for stability, a piece of wood had been inserted, but it has now crumbled nearly all away. In what was originally the lower part of the tree the "clevie" was inserted.

The next specimen has a wooden block for its base. It was used some sixty years ago in the kitchen of a farm in Glen-Rinnes.

This third variety has got the iron plate, already spoken of. The fourth has a stone base. The fifth has been formed so as to hold the fir-candle, the tallow or white candle and the "crusie." It is wholly of iron, and a good deal of work has been very effectively spent on it. These were all about three feet four inches high.

For standing on the table the next specimen is a remarkably fine one. The fir-candle was held by a spring, and part of the spring has been neatly utilised as a handle. It stands on three claws. This is probably the oldest I have. I have been able to trace its history a good way back into the last century. It is nine inches and a half in height. The next two are somewhat rude in form, being simply small blocks of wood into the tops of which "clevies" made to hold both the fir and the white candle have been driven. The third variety of table ones is an uncommon form. Its wooden base has been hollowed out into a bowl shape above, and, across the hollow runs a thin vertical piece of iron passing through the stalk. On this the fir-candle could be "snited," that is, have the "aizle" or charred tip struck off. In this case the "clevie" is double, that is, there are clefts for two fir-candles.

In England there was a stand, very like our "Peer-Men," for holding the "Rush-light." It is described by the Rev. Gilbert White in "The Natural History of Selborne," and is figured in "The Book of Days."

II.—The second species includes those that were attached to the wall at the fireside or to the jamb. They are altogether of metal, commonly of iron.

This variety is the simplest form. It was stuck into the wall and immovable. The next variety is almost equally simple, but it was so made as to be placed in a

staple and could be turned from side to side. The third differs only in having two clefts. The fourth shows a little advance. It has got one joint. The fifth has got two joints. The sixth has three joints. The seventh has, in addition, a ring on which some fir-candles might lie in readiness for use. It will be interesting to the members of the Banffshire and Keith Field Clubs, as well as to others, to know that this was the "Peer-Man," or "Chanler," used by Mr Coutts, the keeper of Balveny Castle, when he took up house more than sixty years ago. The eighth is not only jointed so that the light could be moved horizontally, and by means of the joints extended in all directions well out into the floor, but it is attached to an iron rod on which it could be moved up and down and fixed at any point by a spring. This iron rod was fixed to the wall by two staples, one at the top and the other at the bottom. The ninth is on the same principle, but very finely formed, and it has places for the fir-candle, the white candle, and the "crusie."

Between the above two species we have examples of crosses or hybrids! They are a combination of the two. One, for instance, has the stone base and iron stalk of the first species, and the jointed arm of the second species.

III.—The third species resembles the second in its jointed arm, but instead of a "clevie" it has an iron ring with bars crossing at right angles—three one way and two the other. This was the *spealg-chrois*, that is, the "crusie," on which "knappocks," or "knablocks," of fir were burned.

The next specimen is a cross between the first and third species. It has the "clevie" of the first with the ring and cross-bars of the third. When there were fir-candles the "clevie" was used; when only "knappocks" or "knablocks," the cross or "crusie" was used. This was the one used in the room of the farm-house in Glen-Rinnes already referred to.

IV.—The fourth species was made for hanging. The first variety was for burning fir either in the form of candles or of chips. The second holds only the white candle. The mode by which it could be lowered or raised is very simple, and at the same time very effective.

Much more I could have said of the "'Peer-Men' and their Relations." I might have gone more minutely into the general subject of lighting, and I might have entered minutely into the particular history of each of the "Peer-Men" whom I have had the honour of introducing, for each has a history, each could tell many a tale of gladness and of sadness, many a tale of hard work successfully accomplished under great disadvantages and difficulties—from the twisting of a Tyauve tether, to the study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

So far as I have been able to find, no poet has sung of the "Peer-Man," as Eliza Cook has done of the "Rush-light," and William Motherwell of "The Midnight Lamp." The only reference to the "fir-cannel" that I know of is in a Ballad which must have been composed over a hundred years ago somewhere in the district within sight of Tap o' Noth and of Benachie. For my knowledge of this Ballad, I am indebted to Mr James Simpson, Banff Distillery. I shall quote the lines that speak of the "herd-loon" holding the fir-candle:—

"And little Pate sits i' the neuk
And but the house daur hardly leuk,
But hauds an' snuffs the fir;
And fan the farmer tynes the line,
He says, 'I canna see a styme,
Haud in the canle, sir.'"

I shall conclude by quoting two verses—the first and the last—of Eliza Cook's "Song of the Rushlight," substituting for Rushlight "Peer-Man" in the first verse and "fir-light" in the last.

"Oh! scorn me not as a fameless thing,
Nor turn with contempt from the song I sing.
'Tis true I am not suffered to be
On the ringing board of wassail glee:
My pallid gleam must never fall
In the gay saloon or lordly hall;
But many a tale does the "Peer-Man" know
Of secret sorrow and lonely woe.

* * * *

Many a lesson the bosom learns
Of hapless grief while the "fir-light" burns;
Many a scene unfolds to me
That the heart of Mercy would bleed to see.
Then scorn me not as a fameless thing
Nor turn with contempt from the song I sing;
But smile as ye will or scorn as ye may,
There's nought but truth to be found in my lay."

TO-MORROW.

Away with grief; dull care away;
Away with canker, pain, and sorrow;
Where black clouds scowl and frown to-day,
The sun will brightly shine to-morrow.
The weary heart, when sore depressed,
Too oft, alas! will trouble borrow;
But joy will banish what distressed,
And eyes that wept will smile to-morrow.

Why should we grieve though friends forsake,
If one is left that's true and thorough
In adverse hours, who will partake
And share our woe or weal to-morrow?
No peaceful place of rest is this,
Here no immunity from sorrow,
But an enduring home and bliss
Awaits above when comes the morrow.

DUNCAN MACGREGOR CRERAR.

NEW YORK.

NUMBER OF DECREES OF REMOVING from Agricultural Small Holdings obtained against Crofters and Cottars on the various Estates in the Island of Skye, in each year from 1840 to 1883 inclusive, compiled from the Records of the Sheriff Court at Portree, by the Sheriff-Clerk, for the purposes of the Royal Commission (Highlands and Islands) 1883:—

YEAR.	Lord Macdonald's Estate.	Macleod's Estate.	Glendale and Husabost.	Waternish, Stein, and Lochbay.	Greshornish and Coishletter.	Edinbane, Skeabost, and Bernisdale.	Skeabost, and Bernisdale.	Lyndale.	Triaslan and Clachanish.	Kilmuir (Captain Fraser's).	Strathaird.	Raasay.	YEARLY TOTALS.	
1840	36	6	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	49	
1	46	7	1	...	2	...	...	...	1	..	7	...	64	
2	33	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	6	41	
3	40	10	3	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	6	11	72	
4	40	15	...	1	...	9	...	2	...	...	1	...	68	
5	26	6	2	...	...	9	..	...	...	...	3	11	57	
6	41	4	6	...	...	6	...	1	5	...	...	23	86	
7	52	2	4	4	1	8	..	...	4	...	...	8	83	
8	30	13	...	1	1	8	...	1	8	...	5	8	75	
9	53	...	2	...	2	7	...	7	2	...	...	4	79	
1850	73	22	5	8	...	12	...	1	...	...	7	4	132	
1	10	2	1	5	...	9	...	...	1	...	5	6	39	
2	47	11	...	2	2	7	...	...	1	...	6	8	84	
3	38	9	1	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	4	4	62	
4	12	13	3	...	...	11	...	..	1	...	4	6	50	
5	9	14	3	...	...	8	...	...	1	...	5	1	41	
6	17	6	3	1	...	7	...	...	...	3	1	...	38	
7	17	5	1	1	...	4	...	2	1	10	1	2	44	
8	6	10	...	1	...	5	...	...	...	6	...	2	30	
9	4	6	2	2	1	4	...	1	1	1	...	2	24	
1860	9	...	7	1	...	12	...	...	1	5	1	1	37	
1	10	2	5	2	...	16	...	2	1	1	...	1	40	
2	6	2	3	4	...	6	...	...	...	11	...	...	32	
3	11	8	9	1	...	2	...	...	2	7	2	2	44	
4	13	2	4	...	...	3	...	4	2	24	1	3	56	
5	13	5	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	32	...	...	52	
6	8	5	2	2	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	3	23	
7	5	2	7	1	...	...	...	2	...	2	2	...	21	
8	8	7	3	2	...	2	...	1	...	1	...	...	24	
9	2	8	2	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	4	5	25	
1870	11		5	...	..	...	3	...	...	1	...	1	23	
1	10		...	...	...	2	1	...	2	1	...	1	19	
2	8		5	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	16	
3	3		3	..	...	...	8	1	1	2	...	...	20	
4	5	2	1	3	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	14	
5	5	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	14	
6	4	3	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	13	
7	2	1	2	1	..	...	1	1	...	3	...	...	11	
8	6	1	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	2	...	...	12	
9	4	2	2	1	...	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	12	
1880	3	1	...	2	...	...	1	...	..	3	...	...	10	
1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
2	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
3	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	
	776	223	112	55	9	165	18	27	38	124	67	126	...	1740

Brought forward	1740
The preceding Decrees have proceeded on Summonses, each directed against, on an average, at least, four heads of families. The above total must therefore be multiplied by	4
Giving the number of heads of families warned to remove as	6960
And taking 5 as the average number of individuals in each family ...	5
Gives	34,800

As the number of individuals of the Crofter class, in the Isle of Skye, who, between the years 1840 and 1883, have had the fact of the insecurity of their tenure impressed upon them by process of Law, directly affecting them, and at an expense to the 6960 heads of families of an average of 10s. each, or £3480 sterling.

DUGALD MACLACHLAN.

[Just consider for a moment the amount of physical and mental misery represented by these figures! The whole population of Skye, including the village of Portree, the landlords, factors, and other estate officers and underlings, only numbers about 17,000 souls. Here you have decrees of removal, in forty years (for during the three years of the current agitation, only six decrees were obtained), against more than double the number of people living in the Island. In other words, a decree of removal is issued, on an average, against every man, woman, and child in Skye every twenty years! And yet these people are charged with being lazy because they will not sufficiently improve their dwellings and holdings under such incredible conditions of incessant persecution and insecurity as these official figures disclose. It should be stated that the factor and lawyer who usually obtains these decrees, and profits by them, is generally one and the same person. The proceeds of his factorial decrees of removal goes into the factor's pocket in his capacity of law-agent. Had we similar figures from other districts in the Highlands, we would probably find similar results. Their silent testimony is in itself sufficient to force a change in our present laws; but meantime we would submit them with all confidence for the careful consideration of our good friend—the *Scotsman*—who delights so much in showing off his arithmetical accomplishments. —Ed., *C. M.*]

THE KILT AFTER 1745.

The following curious document, supplied by a valued correspondent, explains itself. It is scarcely believable that such folly among our legislators was possible, little more than a hundred years ago:—

"John M'Leran of the Parish of Ardchattan, aged about twenty years, was brought befor me by Lieutenant John Campbell, being apprehended for wearing a Phelibeg [Kilt], and convicted of the same by his own confession: Therefore, in terms of the Act of Parliament, I delivered him over to the said Lieutenant John Campbell to serve His Majesty as a soldier in America, after reading to him the 2nd and 6th sections of the Act against mutiny and desertion. Certified at Ardmady, 26th September 1758. (Signed) "CO. CAMPBELL, J.P."

The document is indorsed as follows:—"Invry., 27th September 1758.—Appoints Peter Campbell, officer, to put the within John M'Leran in goal, therein to remain till liberated in due course of law.

(Signed) "JOHN RICHARDSON."

CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.

By Alexander Macbain, M.A.

VI.—Druidism.

One feature of the Gaulish religion still remains to be discussed, and that, too, perhaps its most important one. We have discussed the religious beliefs of the people, but not their ecclesiastical polity. This is known as Druidism, although that term is commonly made to include all that we know of the Gaulish religion as well. But the Druids were rather the philosophers and divines of the Gauls; and, as what we know of their opinions and practices is somewhat remarkable, it is better not to confuse their system with the ordinary Aryan religion of the Gauls. Here, again, it must be repeated that our information is meagre; in fact, with regard to the Druids no less meagre, and far more unsatisfactory than our comparatively poor information about their general religion. Indeed, with the addition of two chapters in Cæsar, a sentence in Cicero, and nigh a dozen lines of Lucan, our authorities for Druidism are included in the enumeration already made in regard to Gaulish religion in general. No monuments or inscriptions can help us; nor can we trust in the slightest degree the references made to Druidism by early Irish or Welsh writers: the Druids of Irish history are mere conjurors and magicians. Neither can any customs or religious survivals be referred to Druidic belief or usage. But it may be at the start premised that there is, perhaps, little to know, and that it is entirely due to Cæsar's account of them, probably itself somewhat exaggerated in its political aspect, and certainly misread by modern writers under the influence of their knowledge of mediæval ecclesiasticism, that this exaggerated opinion of Druidism is prevalent. So little is known, and the little that is known is so interesting, that it opened quite a new world for fancies and speculations. "Omne ignotum pro magnifico est;" the unknown passes for the magnificent. Here was an unknown and unknowable land, where in circular temples of stone, and mid groves of oak, in vestments of stainless white, and ornaments of glittering gold, stalked majestically the Druids, holding high converse with their disciples on the nature of the one God—for

such philosophers could only be monotheists!—on the immortality of the soul, the courses of the stars, and, in fact, on all the mighty problems of life. Dr Smith tells us that they alone kept the first tradition of monotheism intact in the West; and Reynaud, but a generation ago, found in their human sacrifices only the consequence of the idea, dominant now as in the days of the Druids, that the higher the victim the more complete the atonement offered to the Deity for the sins of man. John Toland, at the end of the 17th century, an Irishman of fertile imagination and advanced opinions, possessed of no small learning, was the first to lead the way into the undiscovered country of Druidism. The references in Pliny were made to disclose a pomp and ritual that could vie with the best days of the Church of Rome; surplices of white—incidentally worn, as may be seen from Pliny—were their usual dress, with golden ornaments, sacrifice utensils and amulets, all of gold. The megalithic monuments—circles, cromlechs, and menhirs, were of course their work — their temples and their altars, and these also showed their knowledge of the mechanical powers. Nay, cairns and barrows were Druidic remains, and vitrified forts! Everything unexplained in archæological monuments, in social customs, and in proverbial language must be Druidic. Dr Smith, of the "Seann Dana," followed Toland and made a most unscrupulous use of his classical authorities. Welsh and French writers took the same view of the old religion of Gaul, and Celtomania reigned supreme in this obscure region, until lately the light of modern criticism was allowed to shine through the overhanging mist of nonsensical speculation.

All that can with certainty be known of the Druids will first be briefly given, apart from any personal theories. Cæsar is again our first and best authority. In the digression in his 6th book, on the manners and customs of the Gauls and Germans, he tells us that all men of any consideration or position were included among either the Druids or the nobles. The Druids conduct public and private sacrifices, and interpret omens. Young men flock to them for instruction; and they are held in great honour, for they have the decision of all controversies, public and private; they are judges in cases of crime, murder, and disputes in regard to succession or boundaries; and whoever abides not by their decision is excommunicated—a most severe punishment, for such

are reckoned sacrilegists, and men flee from their presence for fear of disaster from contact with them. A chief Druid presides over them, having supreme authority. He may be elected with or without voting, and they at times resort to war to decide the matter. They meet at an appointed time of the year in the territories of the Carnutes, in the middle of Gaul, where there is a consecrated place; and there all come who have disputes, and abide by their decisions. It is thought that the system was found in Britain, and thence transferred to Gaul, and those who at the present time wish to know it thoroughly, as a rule proceed there to learn it. The Druids are wont to hold aloof from war, and pay no taxes, being thus free from military service and civil duties. Under the inducement of such great rewards, many come themselves into their ranks, or are sent by their parents and friends. With them they learn off a great number of lines of poetry, so that some remain under training for twenty years. And they do not regard it allowable by divine laws to commit these things to writing, though in secular matters they use Greek letters. The reason for this seems to be twofold, that they do not wish either their system to be made public, or their pupils to fail to cultivate their memory by trusting to writing, as generally happens when books can be resorted to. Their chief doctrine is that souls do not perish, but pass after death from one individual to another, and this—the removal of the fear of death—they think the greatest incitement to valour. They theorise largely on astronomy, on the size of the universe and the earth, on nature, and on the power and might of the gods, and in these matters they instruct the youth. Cæsar further on tells that the Druids presided at the human sacrifices, and in the 7th book he gives us to know that the Æduan magistrates, at least, were elected by them. Cicero, in his treatise on "Divination," written a few years later, introduces his brother Quintus as saying: "The principles of divination are not overlooked among barbarous nations even, as, for instance, in Gaul there are the Druids, one of whom Divitiacus, the Æduan, I knew; he was a guest of yours and great in your praises. He professed to know natural philosophy, which the Greeks call 'physiology,' and he used to tell partly by augury, partly by conjecture, what was to happen in the future." Cicero's contemporary, Diodorus Siculus, tells us that among the Gauls were

bards, certain philosophers and divines named Druids, and soothsayers, adding that "the system of Pythagoras held sway among them," that is, the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. To this doctrine Valerius Maximus refers when he says: "One would have laughed at these long-trousered philosophers [the Druids], if we had not found their doctrine under the cloak of Pythagoras." Strabo, his contemporary, in the first century of our era, gives us a short account of the Druids, half of which is but a variation of Cæsar's sketch. "Amongst the Gauls," he says, "there are generally three divisions of men, especially reverenced, the Bards, the Vates, and the Druids. The bards composed and chanted hymns; the Vates occupied themselves with the sacrifices and the study of nature; while the Druids joined to the study of nature that of moral philosophy. The belief in their justice is so great that the decision both of public and private disputes is referred to them, and they have before now by their decision prevented battle. All cases of murder are particularly referred to them. When there are plenty of these they imagine there will be a plentiful harvest. Both these and the others [Bards and Vates] assert that the soul is indestructible and likewise the world, but that fire and water will one day have the mastery." And further on he says that without the Druids the Gauls never sacrifice.

Another geographer, Pomponius Mela, refers to the Druids, but adds nothing to our knowledge, merely echoing Cæsar's description. Lucan, who died in 65, has been quoted in the former section for the names of the Gaulish gods; but he further proceeds to describe, after a reference to the Bards, the barbarous rites of the Druids and their theology. The passage is mostly an expansion of Cæsar's reference to the transmigration of souls, but the poet beautifully brings out how "Pluto's gloomy reign" is not the habitation of souls, but that—

> "Forth they fly immortal in their kind,
> And other bodies in new worlds they find;
> Thus life for ever runs its endless race,
> And like a line death but divides the space.
> Thrice happy they beneath their northern skies,
> Who that worst fear—the fear of death—despise;
> Hence they no cares for this frail being feel,
> But rush undaunted on the pointed steel;
> Provoke approaching fate and bravely scorn
> To spare that life which must so soon return."

The writer on the Druids, next in importance to Cæsar, is Pliny the Elder. He has several interesting allusions to them and their superstitions. At the end of his 16th book he mentions the admiration of the Gauls for the mistletoe. "The Druids," he says "(for so they name their *magi*) hold nothing more sacred than the mistletoe, and the tree on which it grows, provided it be the oak. They choose groves of that tree, and conduct no sacrifice without a garland of its leaves, so that we may possibly suppose the Druids are so called from its Greek name [*drus*]. Whatever grows on the oak is considered a gift from heaven." And he proceeds to tell how it was culled from the tree, as has already been told. Pliny mentions other plant superstitions of the Gauls, connecting the rites naturally enough with the Druids who presided. The next important *fetish* he mentions is the club-moss (selago); it must be touched by no metal, but plucked by the right hand passed through the tunic under the left, with a thievish gesture; the worshipper must be dressed in white, with feet washed and bare; and the plant must be carried in a new cloth. The Druids held that it was a charm against all misfortunes, and the smoke of its burning leaves cured diseases of the eye. In much the same way they thought the "samolus," or water pimpernel, a talisman against murrain in cattle. Vervain was another plant, "about which the Gaulish *magi* raged," which cured everything, and had to be gathered at the rise of the dog-star, and when neither sun nor moon was seen. But these plant superstitions and ceremonies have nothing especially "Druidic" about them; they are common among other nations as well. Pliny's account of the serpent's egg—the *anguinum*—is more important and special. The snake's egg was said to be produced from the frothy sweat of a number of serpents writhing in an entangled mass, and to be tossed up into the air as soon as formed. The Druid who was fortunate enough to catch it in his cloak as it fell rode off at full speed, pursued by the serpents, until stopped by a running stream. If tried, the egg would swim in water though cased in gold. Pliny says he saw one himself, "about the size of a moderately large apple, with a cartilaginous rind, studded with cavities like the arms of a polypus." A Roman knight was making use of it in court to gain an unfair verdict, and for this was put to death by Claudius the Emperor. And,

lastly, in speaking of magic and its "vanities," he says that "Britain celebrates them to-day with such ceremonies that it might seem possible that she taught magic to the Persians," and "Gaul was overrun with magic arts even up to our own time, until Tiberius Cæsar did away with the Druids and this class of prophets and medicine-men." This passage has puzzled many commentators, for if the Druids were done away with, how does Pliny elsewhere mention them as still existent in Gaul? And to add to the difficulty, Suetonius, a generation later, says that "Claudius abolished entirely the religion of the Druids, a religion of dreadful barbarity, and forbidden only the Roman citizens under Augustus." Pliny and Suetonius do not agree as to which Emperor abolished Druidism, nor can we well believe that it was altogether abolished even then: it would appear that only the human sacrifices and certain modes of divination were put a stop to. Strabo, indeed, says as much; and we can see from Tacitus that the prophecies of the Druids incurred political wrath as late as Vespasian's time—after the abolition of Druidism, according to Pliny. Human sacrifices and, probably, meddling in politics were sure to bring the wrath of Rome on the system. Tacitus gives us an insight of how at times the Romans did put a stop to these phases of Druidism. In describing the attack of the Romans on Mona, or Anglesea, he represents the legions as awe-struck by the appearance of the Druids amid their opponents' ranks, pouring curses and vengeance on their heads, with hands upraised to heaven. But they were rolled in their own fires, and the groves sacred to grim superstitions were cut down; "for," he adds, "they hold it lawful to sacrifice captives at their altars and to consult the gods from the movements of human entrails." After the first century, writers speak of Druidism as a thing of the past; evidently the decrees of the Emperors had done away with its fiercer elements of superstition, and the purer and more philosophical parts had been absorbed into the usual Roman faith. Christianity, at least, had no contest with Druidism either in Gaul or in England. It may be mentioned that Ammianus Marcellinus, in the fourth century, gives us a few lines on the old and long extinct Druidism. After noticing the foundation of Marseilles by a Phocean colony, he says that when the people in those parts got gradually civilised, the learned studies which had

been begun by the bards, the Euhages (probably a corruption of Vates) and the Druids, throve vigorously. Of these, he says, the Druids were the intellectual superiors of the others, and were formed into unions in accordance with the precepts of Pythagoras, where deep and hidden problems were discussed, and looking from a lofty philosophic pinnacle on human affairs, they pronounced human souls immortal.

PROPOSED CIVIL LIST PENSION FOR MRS MARY MACKELLAR.

THE Gaelic Society of Inverness, on the suggestion of one of its most influential members in the North, has just set a movement agoing with the view of securing a Civil List Pension for the Bard of the Society, Mrs Mary Mackellar. A "Draft proposed Memorial" to the Prime Minister has been sent to Celtic Societies throughout the country, as well as prominent friends of the Celtic cause north and south, with the view of combined action in support of the Memorial. We have no doubt, if Highlanders will do their duty, that its prayer will be granted. The following are the principal clauses of the Memorial:—

"Your Memorialists desire to respectfully bring under your notice that Gaelic Literature (differing in this respect from Welsh Literature) has not as yet been encouraged by receiving any of the patronage which it is in the power of the First Minister of the Crown to bestow, and in which the Highland people might justly expect to share:

"That Mrs Mary Mackellar has rendered very valuable services to Gaelic Literature—she having written and published Gaelic Poetry of great beauty and merit, and collected and published numerous ancient tales and traditions of literary and antiquarian value, which, but for her exertions, would in all probability be lost:

"That the bestowal of a Pension from the Civil List on Mrs Mackellar would not only be a deserved and suitable acknowledgment of these services, but would also be a source of great satisfaction to the Memorialists, and, it is believed, to Highlanders all over the World.

"May it therefore please you, Sir, to confer a Pension, from the Civil List, on Mrs Mackellar, for merit in connection with Gaelic Literature."

EVAN MACCOLL'S POEMS.—We are glad to learn, from the *Kingston Whig*, that Evan MacColl, perhaps better known in this country as "The Bard of Lochfyne," has at last decided to issue a complete edition of his poems in two volumes, one Gaelic, the other English. Those who read our sketch of the author, a few years ago, in volume v. of the *Celtic Magazine* need not be again told of his fame, both as a Gaelic and as an English bard, even forty-five years ago. We trust the result will be such an appreciation of genuine merit as will make the bard not only happy but independent of a rainy day in his old age.

THE LOWER FISHINGS OF THE NESS.

By Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, F.S.A. Scot, M.P.

I.

As early as 1240 Alexander II. of Scotland granted to the Friars of the Order of St Dominic, at Inverness, "the whole water and Fishing of Ness, from the Friar's Road to the Cherry;" having eight years previous in his charter of Kinmylies, reserved to the Bishop of Moray a half merk worth of fishings; no doubt those opposite to Wester and Easter Ballifeary. The various rights to fishings have always been looked upon as important, and struggled for and fought about with more keenness than any other species of property at Inverness.

The upper part of the west side of the River, granted originally to the Gordons in 1509, along with the Castle Lands, was feued by them to the Baillies of Dunean, and extended from the Black Stone of Abriachan, in Loch-Ness, to the Stone of Clachnahalig. They are presently the property of Dochfour and Ness Castle. On the east side, the upper fishings originally appertained to the Barony of Durris, extending from Aldourie to part of the Towns Lands of Drumdivan, near Balnahaun of Holm, and are now in possession of Aldourie, Dochfour, Ness Castle, and Holm.

The Town of Inverness acquired the whole property of the Friars, including their fishings, confirmed by Charter of Queen Mary in 1567; and all the Town's prior rights, which were early and numerous, were confirmed, renewed, and regranted by the Golden Charter of James VI., dated at Holyrood House, 1st January 1591. The terms of this charter are very comprehensive, "All and Haill the water of Ness, all the parts on both sides of the same, betwixt the Stone called Clachnahagaig and the Sea," etc., etc. The exact site of Clachnahagaig, usually and correctly termed Clachnahalig, has been questioned, but unnecessarily. It is shown on the plans of both May and Home (1762 and 1774), and when the present stone was placed some years ago, at the instance of the writer, on the Canal Bank, to denote

the boundary twixt Dunain and the Territory of the Burgh, amongst those present at the setting up, and who audibly declared it was truly placed, was Charles Fraser, then crofter at Dalrioch of Dunean, who recollected the old stone perfectly for many years, prior to its necessary removal during the construction of the Canal. Great changes took place in the course of the river, while the Canal was being made. The river formerly ran in close to the foot of the Torvean slopes, with the width merely of the old road to Dochgarroch and the Bona intervening. The stone stood on the margin of this old road by the river, being frequently in part submerged in flood time. The meaning of the word Clachnahalig was long a puzzle, the difficulty being enhanced by the error of the transcribing clerk of the charter of 1591, converting it into Clachnahagaig. Within the last two years, a paper, in the handwriting of the late Mr Campbell Mackintosh of Dalmigavie, long Town Clerk of Inverness, being "Memoir regarding the Cruive fishings of the Ness, 1822," fell under notice, and on the margin opposite the word Clachnahalig is marked thus, "The Gled Stone." There is little doubt, therefore, the original word was Clach-na-Faoileag, the Stone of the Sea Gulls. Frequenters of the upper island in the Ness, a few years ago in winter, could not have failed to arouse a great gull, which had its winter home in the small island opposite Island Bank House, no doubt a descendant of the ancient habitants of Clachnahalig, who found the stone a convenient spot, to watch for food. Four stones are noted by May as being in close proximity, the uppermost and largest being described as the March Stone, but the late Mr Allan Maclean of Dochgarroch, speaking on the point, in answer to questions, only recollected one, rather unshapely, but so large that he and companions going back and fore to the Academy at Inverness, used to play hide and seek around it.

The Town of Inverness, at an early period, feued out their fishings; and the whole lower river was thus divided, the Four Cobles, the Friar's Shot, the Stell and Red Pool, in Kessock Roads, all holding of the Town in feu, and the Castle Shot, belonging to the Gordons. Cruives had been established prior to 1591, and were the subject of enormous contention with the upper heritors. The litigations lasted over sixty years, the

upper heritors being ultimately successful in finding them illegal as placed. The restrictions in their use were found so onerous that they, in a short time, were allowed to fall into decay and disuse. The Kings Milns were originally at the Haugh, supplied by water drawn from the river, but on the remonstrance from the Town that they prejudiced the fishings, these were removed to the present stance several hundred years since, yet, curiously, the miln lade was open as late as 1785. In that year the Duke of Gordon and the Magistrates of Inverness composed certain differences, and the latter conveyed to the Duke, *inter alia*, "All and whole, the old mill lead or mill sheugh leading towards the village of Haugh."

Reference will now be made to some of the numerous disputes and litigations regarding these lower fishings.

I. Bught and the Town.—There was a miln at Killivean from an early period, and the lade had been formed long before memory of man. The lands of Bught, held of the Town, long in possession of a family named Paterson, had been acquired by William Fraser, writer in Inverness, afterwards Town-Clerk. Clerk Fraser, about 1765, desired much to enlarge the purposes to which the diverted water from the river had hitherto been alone used, viz., for a miln grinding the corn of the Barony of Kinmylies, a channel having been cut parallel to the river, joining the latter near the march with Wester Ballifeary. This gave great offence to the Coble proprietors, some of whom were also Magistrates, and the Clerk is accused

"Of pretending ignorance with respect to his intention of building a flour miln there. This is of a piece with the rest, for, besides the said flour miln, he is on terms with others who are to build a snuff miln, and a bleaching miln, he must have, he says, for himself, all on the banks of the River Ness, which banks belong to the Town of Inverness, and particularly in servitude to the proprietors of the river, and without which there could be no fishing. Besides, it is the common high road to go to the Isle for the inhabitants and strangers, and the only way the fishermen have of hauling their boats to the island to fish it, and the very place where their boats lie on shore in the day time."

The Clerk defends himself on various pleas, that his lands were Church lands, that they held of, or were part of, the regality of Spynie, that the neighbourhood was waste, unimproved, full of natural oak woods, etc., etc., but is pitched into mercilessly

"As to what he (Clerk Fraser of Bught) says of Church lands, any person without being a man of law, far less a clerk of a considerable community, knows that Church lands were disposed of at the Reformation in an odd and extraordinary way to friends and powerful neighbours by the then incumbents. His intentions to be no vassal of the Town's, is to make out by his Church right, titles to the milns, and multures of his lands and fishing (as he says) included in his said right. Neither of which can he have from the Magistrates, for all their fishings were disposed of by them long ago, as were their milns, to which last, the Town of Inverness, and lands holding of it, are thirled. But before, and at the Reformation, the Magistrates and Council were (it being Church lands) the Patrons of Bught, which is equal in the present case to Superiors, as by the disposition he mentions will appear, as likewise that these lands are burdened in the usages, liberties, and privileges, &c., used and wont to the Town of Inverness, their vassals and inhabitants. As to what he says of the regality of Spynie should it hold, the Town would have few vassals left them, for most of the carses of Inverness were of Arbroath, and others of the lands they are Superiors of, of different holdings. So this is a fine motion from their Town-Clerk. To imagine that this country was all oak 150 years ago is thoughtless. There was as little hereabouts then as now, our woods having been destroyed by Danes, English and intestine wars."

In the end the Clerk was either beaten fairly or concussed by his superiors into abandoning all his objects save that of bleaching, which was carried on higher up the river, twixt the present mill stream to the Miln of Killivean and the river.

II. The Town and the Lower Heritors.—(1) *The Islands.*—Much about the same time as that of the previous contest, the Burgh got into trouble with its feuars in the fishings, in regard to the islands in the river. The nature of the dispute is clearly brought out in the paper after quoted. In another paper it is stated that—

"The timber of the island was as fit for cutting these many years past as it is this day, but no Magistracy ever thought of pretending in the least any title thereto, far less of offering to make it their own, as they knew the property of it, and all that it contained, belonged to their vassals, the heritors of the fishing."

The Town was successful in this contest in asserting their full right of property in the island, cut down all the timber and replanted it, the Statistical Account of 1792 representing the then timber as about 30 years old. The references to the entertainments, etc., in the island are interesting. Here follows the paper referred to, being

Queries for David Polson, John Lyon, Murdo Polson, Thomas MacCoil-Roy, Andrew Mackilligan, Donald Forbes, and Donald Robie, old Fishers:—

"1mo. Whether, or not, the Heritors, or their Tacksmen, and

their fishermen, were not annually or generally in use to build two houses or hutts at the east end of the island, and at the little cosack, near the west end, wherein they watched or guarded the fish.

"2do. Whether, they did not always on these occasions, choose, cut, and use the most proper timber in and of the island for such houses; and, also, whether they did not always cut feal and divot anywhere they pleased of the ground of the said isle for the said houses, and likewise for tables, seats, and any other uses that they had occasion for, in entertainments in the islands, which happened frequently.

"3tio. Whether when any breach happened in the water works or carrys, they did not cut large trees of the said island, and carry them to such breach to close or mend the same, and whether when the corner or purses of these cossacks wanted any timber proper for making them up or mending them, such was not always cut of the timber of the said island for such uses.

"4to. Whether the bulk of the fish caught on the River Ness are not taken in the island by the different engines and otherwise.

"5to. Whether, if the Magistrates were allowed to make the island a thoroughfare, by cutting the wood thereof, &c., that conduct would not entirely destroy the water works and carrys, and consequently ruin the fishing of the river.

"6to. Whether they ever saw or heard of the Magistrates cutting, or giving orders to any other to cut, a tree there.

"7to. Whether, when formerly the Magistrates gave entertainment in the island to strangers, it was not by order of the Heritors, their Tacksmen, or Managers, that the fish was provided, and other preparations were made for the said entertainments; and whether it was not customary for the Heritors to entertain their friends there at their own expense, and whether they did not on such occasions cause, build, or repair seats, tables, and cause cut wood for dressing and boiling their fish, and shading the place of entertainment.

"8to. Whether any person was allowed to put a beast or cattle into the said island except the Heritors, Tacksmen, or fishermen, or by their allowance, in order to feed on the grass of said island.

"About fishing at the Well, etc., etc., whether or not there was any boat ever used by any person, passing or repassing to or from the island, for the foresaid purpose or any other, except those belonging to the Tacksmen, and which was always had by their consent upon application made. Whether any new and uncommon access to the said island, either for the cutters of wood, or for using the grass thereof by cattle at any season of the year, would not so absolutely impair the water works, cruives, etc. (erected at great expense), as to render the fishing naught, but would also by such uncommon and unprecedented use by making a common thoroughfare, and a perpetual subject of theft and stealth, render the Heritors' property of no avail."

Queries to be put to Richard Ord, Robert Graham, Samuel Ancram, Alexander Macurchie, and Daniel Denoon :—

"1mo. What proportion of about 200 barrels salmon, of 400 weight, green fish, each barrel which have been killed on the River Ness since the 12th of December last, 1762, till this date, was killed or taken in the island, and if it is not generally in the same proportion, especially in the winter and spring.

"2do. Whether if the Magistrates or any of them were to cut the wood of the island, &c., it would not destroy the water works and Carries, and ruin the fishing."

(2.) *The Stell, &c., Fishings at the Longman.*—The fishings feued by the Town, other than the Friar's Shot, commonly called the Four Cobles, were also divided into Shots, viz. :—Pol-Chro Shot, or the Pool of the Cattle, being the highest; Pol-B'nn Shot, or the clear bottomed pool; Island Shot, Silver Pool and Trot Shot, Cherry Shot. This last was the lowest, but its north boundary seems to have been undefined. The Four Cobles' Heritors in 1774 complained that—

"Though they had right to fishings from Clachnahalig to the Sea, and had exercised the right, yet, of late, the Magistrates and Council have interrupted them therein, and have attempted to erect a stell fishing, at or near the mouth of the river, at a point called the Longman's Grave, altho' absolute denuded of every right of fishing in said river and mouth thereof."

On the other hand the Magistrates alleged that their predecessors

"Did at different times make feu grants of certain parts of coble fishings on the River Ness, making in all four cobles, the grantees whereof did exercise their right at

certain known stations or places, without pretending to use more cobles than four, or pretending to fish in any other place of the river other than those which had been customary for their respective cobles. That the said Magistrates and Council did also grant in feu another fishing on said river, called the Friar's fishing, and did also grant in feu the Stell fishing in the Ferry of Kessock, both which have their known stations and boundaries. That the said Magistrates and Council being advised that another convenient fishing might be erected upon the east side of the mouth of said river, at a place called the Longman's Grave, did upon the 22nd January 1773, let the same by public roup for the space of eight years. That the Cobles' Heritors had not only interrupted them, but by their lessees had of late taken upon them to fish at places or stations different from their known stations where they have been in use to fish, particularly at two places in the river and mouth thereof called the Thornbush and Cairn Ark, notwithstanding that the Town of Inverness has by grant from the Crown, right to the whole fishings on said river, &c., &c."

It will be observed that the question then raised did not refer to the Stell fishings in Kessock, expressly granted by the Charter of 1591, but to another Stell proposed to be created a long time subsequent to the date of the Four Cobles and Friar's fishings charters. Nevertheless, from the Coble Heritors not being in use to draw their nets lower than the Citadel Harbour, the Town was successful. These fishings were from Burgh exigencies unfortunately sold to the Harbour Trustees at a comparatively recent date. At one time the Town was entirely denuded of its fishings in property right, but at present it possesses half a coble and the Friar's Shot.

(To be continued.)

"THE ISLE OF SKYE IN 1882 AND 1883."—This work, by Alexander Mackenzie, Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, is just out. The book, which extends to 257 pages, gives a complete account of the social state of Skye for the last two years to date, illustrated by full Reports of the Trials of the Braes and Glendale Crofters in Inverness and Edinburgh. An introductory chapter of 54 pages deals specially with the evidence submitted to the Royal Commission in the Island, by the Crofters, "Tormore," Dr Martin, and others, particularly in reference to evictions and other factorial proceedings, for the last seventy years. The *Liverpool Mercury*, reviewing it almost immediately on publication, says, "It is a real contribution to the economical history of Scotland," and, "every Member of Parliament should have a copy of it sent to him; for the reform of the land laws of the Highlands cannot be shelved, as the subject is fast becoming one of the leading questions of the day." The author of "Literary Notes," in the *Daily Mail*, says that "it ought to be in the hands of every one who is attempting to get at the truth respecting the great problem of the Highlands and their population. Its conspectus of the history and condition of Skye will be simply invaluable to the political student." The *Invergordon Times* says, "every one should be possessed of a copy of this valuable book; and every public library in our Highland parishes should deem its store of Celtic history incomplete without it;" while the *London Echo*, in a long article on the subject of the book, "would specially commend it to students of the Land Question as it affects the Highlands of Scotland." Price, 2s. 6d.; by Parcel Post, 2s. 9d.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION AND THE "SCOTSMAN."

ALLEGED MANIPULATION OF CROFTERS' EVIDENCE.

Copies of the following was sent to the Editors of the principal newspapers in the United Kingdom, many of whom reproduced it, thus providing for it a much wider circulation than the *Scotsman* could have given it:—

"Celtic Magazine" Office,
Inverness, 14th September 1883.

Sir,—In the name of the Highland people, I beg that you will, in an early issue, publish the following letter, refused insertion, as I expected, by the Edinburgh *Scotsman*. This misnamed paper, finding the evidence overwhelmingly against the position he has taken up, thinks it possible to rob the people of the Highlands of simple justice by abuse and misrepresentation of those who succeeded in getting public opinion directed to their condition, and then refusing, as in my own case, three times in succession, to insert any correction of his baseless charges. From such an ignoble attempt to suppress the truth, I appeal, in the name of an oppressed people, to the sense of fair-play of the British public and the British press, and ask you to publish the following, which speaks for itself.—Yours fraternally,

ALEX. MACKENZIE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "SCOTSMAN."

25 Academy Street,
Inverness, 12th September 1883.

Sir,—In a leading article criticising a letter by "Scotus," in your issue of this morning, you make statements the truthfulness of which I feel called upon emphatically to deny, and at the same time challenge you to substantiate them in any single instance so far as I am concerned; and I must be one of the "two or three men" whom you charge with "the manipulation of evidence for the Royal Commission" for inquiring into the grievances of the Highland Crofters. I believe I am one of the only *two* who went over any portion of the ground hitherto visited by the Commissioners, and if there could be any doubt about your including me among the "two or three" against whom you make these charges, any such supposition is disposed of by direct reference to me by name by yourself and by your Special Reporter on previous occasions in connection with this question, when you refused to insert any reply to your unwarrantable statements. Though, from my past experience of you, I expect you to continue in the same unfair mood of mind, yet I shall send you my contradiction, partly with the view, should you refuse it insertion, of getting it published elsewhere.

The charges you make are as follows:—

"We said, and we repeat, that a great part of the evidence given by the Crofters was carefully prepared beforehand by, or with the assistance of, two or three men

who were concerned to prove the allegations that have been made the foundation of the Crofters' agitation for years past. . . . . It will probably be thought that this manipulation of the witnesses ought to be known to the public. The fact cannot be truthfully denied," &c.

Throughout the article you charge me, as one of "the two or three," with "concocting" and "manipulating" the evidence, and with "the painful distortion and misrepresentation of facts" presented to the Royal Commission; for it happens that I am the only one of "the two or three" who visited any portion of the Isle of Skye; or of the Long Island, from Barra Head to the Sound of Harris; or from Ullapool to Lochcarron on the West Coast. In these circumstances, I must request you to publish the following categorical denial of your charges repeatedly made:—

1st. I have not written a single line of a single statement presented to the Commission.

2nd. I have not seen one of the statements, except a hurried glance at one or two at the church in Glendale after the Commissioners had actually arrived at the church. I did not suggest the alteration of a single word in those that I saw, and not a word was altered.

3rd. In every case I not only had not written anything myself, but I invariably recommended the people to write or tell their grievances in their own way, and not to go even to their minister or schoolmaster, so as not to sacrifice the simplicity of their story for any literary polish which these gentlemen might give it in translating, or extending it in more correct English when first written by some of the people themselves in that language.

4th. My meetings were public, and almost without exception in a public building—a church or school-house, one of the ministers or some leading local gentleman presiding. I impressed upon the people the importance of the inquiry, and the necessity of expressing their grievances, if they had any, then or never; but I strongly urged upon them the great importance of not overstating, but rather of understating them, in view of the use you and others would be sure to make of any incorrect statement unintentionally made by them.

5th. Evidence to prove the truthfulness of these statements, and the baselessness of your charges, so far as they refer to me, by implication or otherwise, will be forthcoming, even to satisfy the *Scotsman*, and if such charges be persisted in I shall be reluctantly obliged to provide you with a suitable opportunity of substantiating them.

6th. Personally, I have no interest in the question raised as to whether the Royal Commissioners did or did not indicate any desire that "outside agitators" or others should prepare their statements for the crofters. I never heard of this allegation until now, but that the Commissioners, through their chairman, did thank people for preparing the crofters' statements is beyond question. At Isle Ornsay the Rev. Finlay Graham said [I quote from the *Scotsman's* report], "The documents which have been given in from the several townships [in Sleat] were prepared by the parish minister and myself. I do not know that Mr Cameron agrees with what is in them, but they are a correct statement of the wishes of the people. We thought we had a duty to perform in preparing the people for the Royal Commission, and we did the work together." To this statement the chairman, Lord Napier, replied, "*We are very much obliged to you.*"

So long as you do not misrepresent my sayings and doings, I care not how severely you criticise them or me.—Yours, &c.,

ALEX. MACKENZIE,
Dean of Guild of Inverness.

NETHER-LOCHABER: THE NATURAL HISTORY, LEGENDS, AND FOLK-LORE OF THE WEST HIGHLANDS. By the Rev. ALEXANDER STEWART, F.S.A. Scot. Edinburgh: William Paterson.

To all true Highlanders throughout the world the name of "Nether-Lochaber" is a household word; and all such will gladly welcome the volume which has now appeared. For the last quarter of a century the Rev. Mr Stewart, minister of Ballachulish, has written a letter once a fortnight for the *Inverness Courier*, made up of descriptions of Highland scenery, of natural history, of folk-lore, of Gaelic poetry, tradition and legend, and of such other subjects as came in his way in the quiet manse on the shores of Loch-Linnhe. Many men, placed like Mr Stewart, in a secluded district of the country, remote from the influences that excite mental effort, rest content with the discharge of their ordinary duty, and slip into a quiet, easy routine, productive of intellectual drowsiness, sometimes amounting to actual torpor. But Nether-Lochaber enjoys the gift of an active and retentive mind. His memory is well stored with youthful reading; he manages in some wonderful manner, known to himself alone, to keep abreast of the literature of the day; and better even than the culture which he has acquired from books, is the lore which he has picked up in his own experience, in his rambles among the hills or along the shore, in his visits to humble cottages, and in his talks with the men and women whom he meets in their daily vocations. If there is anything interesting in any human being within the range of Mr Stewart's acquaintance, he is sure to draw it out and turn it to account. The fisherman mending his nets—the shepherd coming from the hillside—the gamekeeper careful of eggs and birds—the University Professor on his summer holiday—the parish doctor and the neighbouring clergyman—all like to meet with Nether-Lochaber and talk their best when in his company. His own genial and happy nature casts its atmosphere around every person with whom he converses. Going about with ears and eyes ever open, he is equally ready to learn and to impart. From a full and fresh mind he pours forth his own stores, and realises in ample measure the reward of the man who scatters and yet increases. Thus it happens that Mr Stewart has become the poet-naturalist of Nether-Lochaber, and has invested it with the charm of his sunny humour and cheerful imagination.

The volume before us is a collection of letters extending over ten years, from 1868 to 1878. It is dedicated to Dr Campbell of Ballachulish, "in pleasant recollection of happy hours at Onich and Craigrannoch, and of many a delightful midsummer ramble." Only a few weeks ago we had the pleasure of meeting Mr Stewart in Inverness, on one of his summer trips, with Dr Campbell as his companion. In a prefatory note to the volume, the author tells us that he has allowed the papers to retain very much the form in which they first attracted attention, believing that any good that would result from re-writing or re-constructing would be dearly purchased if it interfered with their directness of phrase and freshness of local colouring. In this we believe Mr Stewart has been well advised. The book is divided into chapters, and forms in a way a connected whole; yet the freedom of the epistolary style has been preserved, and the reader enjoys to the full its colloquial facility and unimpaired breezy aroma. The opening chapter begins with an allusion to the primroses and daisies of early March, forming a graceful introduction to a work which deals so largely with the external aspects of nature. The second chapter describes the glories of October—the ripe, ruddy, bloom of the heather, the brown brackens mantling the mountain side, and the tints of the birch, alder, and hazel fringing the mountain torrent.—

"As you gaze on such a scene as this you feel that no painter could paint it; that there is a something in it all too subtile and spiritual to be transferred to canvas by any art whatever. An imitation, indeed, of all that is palpable and tangible about it you may get, and it may be very beautiful perhaps, and a triumph of art in a way; but even as you gaze in admiration, ready to grant the artist all the praise that is his due, are you not apt, remembering the scene as nature has it, to

'Start, for *soul* is wanting there.'"

Our limits do not allow us to indulge in quotation, but we think it only just to say that the descriptive passages are of rare beauty, never too long, but always true and impressive, touched with that poetic art which is a natural endowment, never a product of culture. An artist in words, Mr Stewart does not merely photograph a scene, but reveals its inner spirit and latent suggestiveness. As a translator of Gaelic poetry he attains marked success. There are comparatively few specimens of his skill in this field in the volume before us, but those that are given are so

exquisite in workmanship, that beautiful as the prose is, we could sacrifice some of it for the sake of further efforts in verse. His rendering of a Gaelic poem is no bald, literal transcript; it is a poem by itself, perfect in its English dress, and yet preserving all that is most characteristic and attractive in the original. In Highland history, legend, and tradition, Nether-Lochaber is equally at home. The truth is, the reader feels inclined to ask, what is it that he does not know? At any rate we willingly resign ourselves to his guidance and instruction in these charming pages, knowing that we are safe in his hands, and never dreaming of uttering a protest either against his scientific or his literary judgments.

THE HIGHLANDERS OF NEW ZEALAND AND THEIR DISTRESSED COUNTRYMEN AT HOME.

IN addition to the handsome subscription of £85. 15s., received by the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, from the Highlanders of Invercargill, New Zealand, for distressed Highlanders at home, another contribution of £62. 14s. was received by him on the 27th of August, accompanied by the following letter:—

"INVERCARGILL, NEW ZEALAND, 12th July 1883.

"ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, Esq., Dean of Guild, Inverness.

"DEAR SIR,—In terms of our letter of the 15th ult., we have again the pleasing duty of handing you enclosed a draft on London [for £62. 14s.], being an additional amount collected for the relief of our distressed countrymen. The enclosed list contains the names of the contributors. May we ask you to publish it in your valuable *Celtic Magazine*, as also in the *Inverness Courier*. We may add that these subscriptions were in all cases voluntary on the part of the subscribers. The cause had simply to be mentioned by the collectors, and they at once received a ready response. Although, in our last letter, we asked you to apply these funds in Skye and adjacent islands, if there are any other parts of the Highlands that you think should participate, by all means do not neglect them. We beg to assure you that we have every confidence in your impartiality, and we leave the matter in your hands. We sincerely hope that the distress may be somewhat abated by this time, and that good results may arise from the Royal Commission now sitting, the proceedings of which are keenly watched by the Highlanders here. We expect very shortly to send you a further contribution.—Yours faithfully,

(Signed) "D. L. MATHESON,
"RODERICK MACLEOD."

The following is a list of the subscriptions :—

Alexander Macnab of Knapdale	£5	0	0
Southland *Times* Company, Invercargill	3	3	0
James Fullarton, Riverton	2	2	0
Hon. J. A. R. Menzies, Dunalister	2	2	0
Reginald Mackinnon, Mount Linton, Southland	2	2	0
Robert M. Maccallum, Edendale, late of Argyllshire	2	0	0
John Fraser, Gore; Hugh Cameron, Mataura; D. B. Esther, Gore; C. Basstian, Woodstock; Green & Souness, Gore; Duncan R. Macdonald, Invercargill; John Thompson, draper, do.; Wm. Fraser, Governor, H.M. Gaol, Invercargill; John Turnbull, manager, N.Z.L. and M.A. Company, Invercargill; Alexander Dean, Otautau; Allan Carmichael, do.; Fleming, Gilkison, & Co. Gore; Duncan Kennedy, late of Applecross, Ross-shire; Alexander Macdonald, Ardross, Wyndham; Jessie Macmaster and F. S. Canning, Gore; Alexander Matheson, Wyndham; P. F. Monaghan, Gore—one guinea each	17	17	0
Samuel Kerr, Spar Bush; John Gee, Pyramids; John Macintyre, Limestone Plains; Flora Mackinnon, Invercargill; Samuel J. Deck, do.; A. Friend, C. A. do.; Roderick Macdonald, Wyndham Valley; Duncan Macdonald, do.; John Macdonald, do.; Kenneth Macdonald, do.; William Pool, do.; Colin Macphail, Redan Valley; Kenneth Macdonald, Ferndale, Wyndham; John Craig, carpenter, do.; Andrew Noble, farmer, do.; John Macdonald, Mabel Bush; William Menzies, Glenure; J. O. Macardell (manager British and N.Z.M. and A. Co.), Invercargill; Benjamin Ross, contractor, Wyndham—£1 each ...	19	0	0
John Campbell, Wyndham Valley; Murdoch Maclennan, Wyndham; Hugh Stuart, Gore—10s 6d each	1	11	6
John Templeton, Wyndham; David Milne, do.; A Friend, dc.; Mackay and Co., do.; Hugh Livingstone, do.; Archibald Mackay, Glendale; David Rennie, Invercargill; David Sutherland, do.; W. H. Mathieson, do.; James Ramsay, jun., Wyndham; Robert Campbell, Otautau; James Grant, do.; Thomas Maclean, Mount Linton; John Melville, do.; John Macdonald, do.; William Marshall, do.; Hugh Littlejohn, do.; Andrew Duncan, do.—10s each	9	0	0
John Heallywood, Wyndham	0	7	0
William Cameron, Makarewa; George Stuart, Jacobs River; John King, Otautau; Duncan Maciver, do.; William Strang, Invercargill; Hugh Graham, do.—5s each	1	10	0
A Friend, Invercargill	0	2	6
Total	£65	17	0
Less expenses	3	3	0
Amount remitted	£62	14	0

To secure the proper distribution of the money, Mr Mackenzie, visited the Isle of Skye, where, personally, and through those best acquainted with the real state of the people, he distributed

three tons of oatmeal (supplied expressly at a very low price, by Mr John Macdonald, merchant, Inverness), and some £50 in cash. Half-a-ton of meal has also been forwarded to Uist and Barra ; while cash is being sent to Lewis, Gairloch, Lochbroom, Durness, in Sutherland ; etc. Our friends abroad will be glad to learn that there is now no actual distress, beyond that usual in any ordinary year, in the country. Indeed, except in the Island of Lewis, it was greatly exaggerated from the beginning.

DROVING IN 1746.

An esteemed correspondent supplies the following :—

"Permit the bearer, James M'Nab, Drover in Craig of Glenorchy, who goes with two servants to purchase and bring black cattle from Kintail and the Isle of Skye, to pass to and from these countrys, with their arms, alwise behaving themselves as Loyall subjects to his Majesty. Given under my hand, at Inveraray, the Eleventh day of December 1746 years.

(Signed) ARCH. CAMPBELL, Sh. Dt.

"*To all Officers, Civil and Military.*"

It is endorsed as follows :—"Pass to James M'Nab, Drover in Glenorchy, 11 December, 1746, By Mr Archibald Campbell of Stonefield, Advocat Sheriff Depute of the Sheriffdome of Argyll."

QUERY.

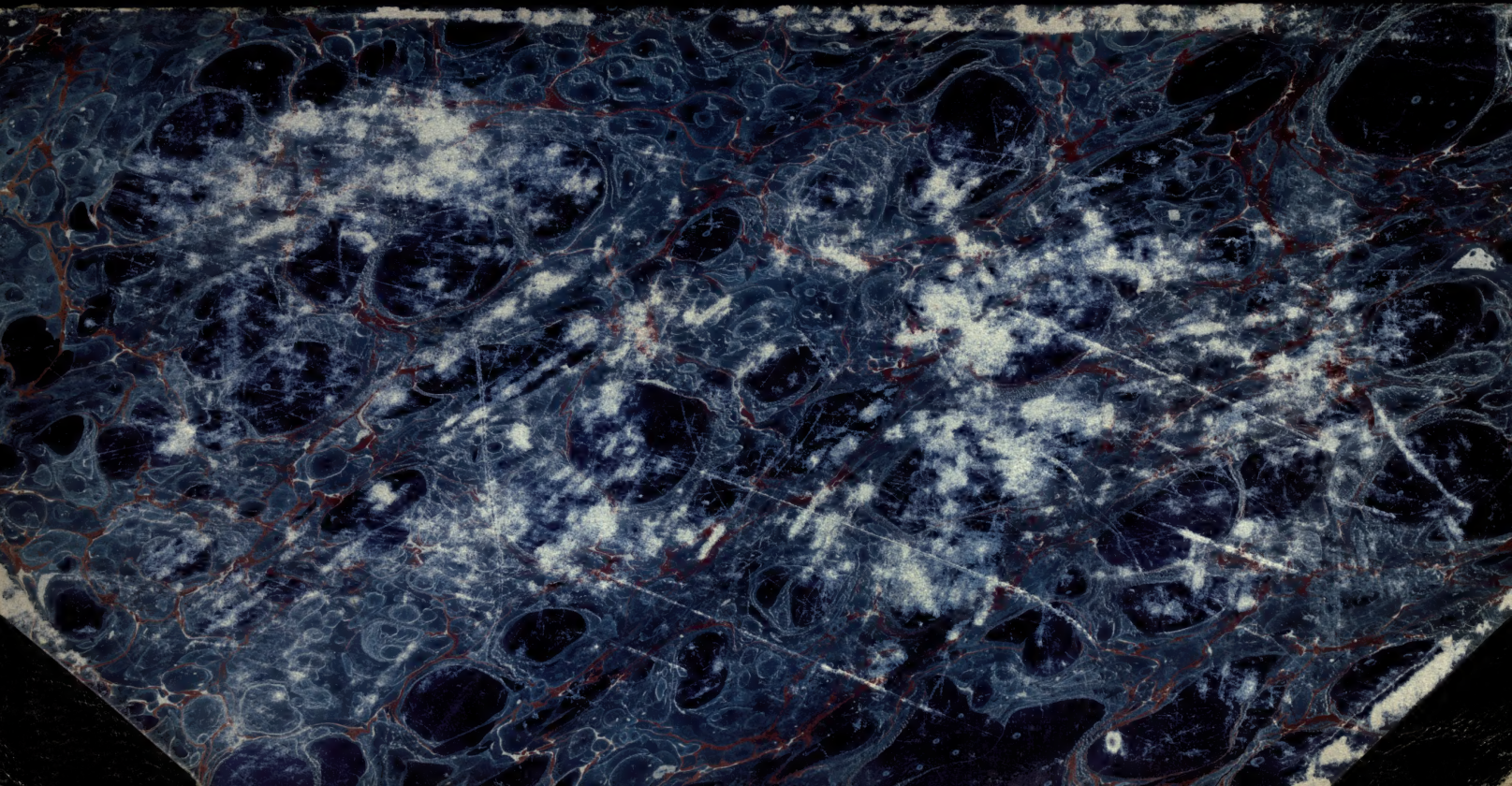
The Name Reoch.—Can you, or any of your readers, give me any information with regard to the name Reoch ; whether those bearing it belonged to any clan, &c. ? Their country seems to have lain in Strathspey, as Chambers states (*Domestic Annals of Scotland*, Vol. II., p. 306), that a number of Reochs were concerned in disturbances there in the year 1666. To what event does the song called "Lord Reoch's daughter" refer? Riabhach.

COMPLETION OF OUR EIGHTH VOLUME.—This number completes our eighth annual volume. A glance at the Table of Contents, issued herewith, will at once convince the reader that a mass of valuable matter has been brought together, and that the volume is at least equal, in all respects, to any of its predecessors. We are glad to say that our efforts are well appreciated by the public, for the number and quality of our subscribers were never so high as at present. The first number jumped at one bound into a large circulation, which has continued to increase steadily ever since. If every subscriber were only to secure one friend, the *Celtic Magazine* could be made a yet much more potent influence for good in the country. No effort will be spared on our part to make it still more worthy of support.

THE HISTORY OF CIVILISATION IN SCOTLAND.—The third volume of this work, by John Mackintosh, Aberdeen, will appear in October.

DA
750
C3
v.8

The Celtic magazine

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY